

ROMAN LIFE & MANNERS

BY LUDWIG FRIEDLÄNDER

TRANSLATED BY A.B. GOUGH















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ROMAN LIFE AND MANNERS UNDER  
THE EARLY EMPIRE



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# ROMAN LIFE AND MANNERS UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE

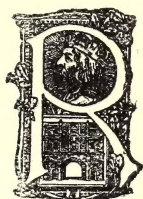
By  
LUDWIG FRIEDLÄNDER

Authorised Translation of the Seventh Enlarged  
and Revised Edition of the *Sittengeschichte Roms*

VOLUME IV

APPENDICES AND NOTES  
(from the Sixth Edition)

By  
A. B. GOUGH, M.A. (OXON.), PH.D.



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## ERRATA.

Page line

- 41 2 from bottom, *For Africanus read Afranius.*  
52 3 from bottom, *For nares read naves.*  
55 9 *Delete full stop after copiis.*  
72 11 from bottom, *For Praeseus read Praesens.*  
73 14 *For Septimus read Septimius.*  
134 1, 2, *Read little desire for amber, although it had been much esteemed before that date.*  
134 12 *For north European gold read amber.*  
171 24 *For Borghesi read Borghese.*  
176 20 *For from read for.*  
202 17, 18 *For Sorrentum read Surrentum.*  
235 5 from bottom, *For Carthage read Carthago nova.*  
240 20 from bottom, *For minor read minus.*  
285 3, 4 *For The Aurelian read Aurelian's.*

In Teuffel, *RLG (Geschichte der römischen Litteratur)* the numerals denote the paragraphs, which are the same in the English translation of the 5th edition by G. C. Warr, *History of Roman Literature*, 1900.

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## APPENDICES AND NOTES

## ABBREVIATIONS

|                                                                                                          |       |                                                                                                             |
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| <i>AdI</i>                                                                                               | .. .. | <i>Annali dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica.</i>                                                |
| <i>BdI</i>                                                                                               | .. .. | <i>Bulletino dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica.</i>                                             |
| Becker-Göll                                                                                              | .. .. | Becker, Gallus, neu bearbeitet von Göll, 1880-82.                                                           |
| <i>Bull. com. d. R.</i>                                                                                  | .. .. | <i>Bulletino comunale di Roma.</i>                                                                          |
| <i>CIG</i>                                                                                               | .. .. | <i>Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum.</i>                                                                      |
| <i>CIL</i>                                                                                               | .. .. | <i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum.</i>                                                                      |
| <i>D. or Digg.</i>                                                                                       | .. .. | <i>Digesta.</i>                                                                                             |
| Dio (alone)                                                                                              | .. .. | Cassius Dio, the historian.                                                                                 |
| Dio Chr.                                                                                                 | .. .. | Dio Chrysostom, the rhetorician of Prusa.                                                                   |
| Epictet., <i>D.</i>                                                                                      | .. .. | <i>Epicteti Dissertationes.</i>                                                                             |
| Galen. In the references the Roman numeral denotes the volume and the Arabic the page in Kühn's edition. |       |                                                                                                             |
| <i>H.A.</i>                                                                                              | .. .. | <i>Scriptores historiae Augustae.</i> The biographies are cited without the authors' names.                 |
| <i>Hdb. d. R. A...</i>                                                                                   | .. .. | Becker and Marquardt, <i>Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer</i> , 1st edition.                              |
| Henzen or Henzen-Orelli                                                                                  |       | Orelli (Henzen), <i>Inscriptionum latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio.</i>                            |
| Hirschfeld, <i>VG</i>                                                                                    | .. .. | <i>Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiet der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte.</i>                                   |
| <i>IRN...</i>                                                                                            | .. .. | <i>Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani</i> (Mommsen).                                                           |
| Josephus, <i>A.J.</i> , <i>B.J.</i>                                                                      | .. .. | <i>Antiquitates Judaicae, Bellum Judaicum.</i>                                                              |
| Lebas-Waddington                                                                                         | .. .. | Lebas et Waddington, <i>Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie-Mineure</i> ( <i>Inscriptions</i> ).       |
| Marquardt, <i>Prl.</i>                                                                                   | .. .. | <i>Privatleben der Römer.</i>                                                                               |
| „ <i>StV</i>                                                                                             | .. .. | <i>Staatsverwaltung.</i>                                                                                    |
| Mommsen, <i>StR</i>                                                                                      | .. .. | <i>Staatsrecht.</i>                                                                                         |
| <i>Oesterr. Mitth.</i>                                                                                   | .. .. | <i>Epigraphisch-archäologische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn.</i>                                    |
| Orelli, see Henzen.                                                                                      |       |                                                                                                             |
| Pliny, <i>N.h.</i> or <i>H.N.</i>                                                                        |       | The second numeral denotes the paragraph in Sillig and von Jan's edition of the <i>Nat. Hist.</i>           |
| Preller, <i>R. M...</i>                                                                                  | .. .. | <i>Römische Mythologie</i> , 3. Auflage, bearbeitet von Jordan.                                             |
| Renier                                                                                                   | .. .. | <i>Inscriptions de l'Algérie.</i>                                                                           |
| <i>RGDA</i>                                                                                              | .. .. | <i>Res gestae divi Augusti</i> (Mommsen).                                                                   |
| <i>StRE.</i>                                                                                             | .. .. | <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft</i> , herausgegeben von Pauly, Walz und Teuffel. |
| Teuffel, <i>R.L.G.</i>                                                                                   | .. .. | <i>Geschichte der römischen Litteratur</i> , also English translation by G. C. WARR, 1900.                  |
| Wilmanns                                                                                                 | .. .. | <i>Exempla Inscriptionum.</i>                                                                               |

# APPENDICES

## VOL. I

### I. THE LOTUS TREE.

By Professor Ferdinand Cohn, Breslau.

(Vol. I, p. 10, l. 9 from bottom.)

THE word lotus does not appear to exist in the Semitic or Egyptian languages. Homer, like our modern poets, uses it as a foreign word, to which no clearly defined meaning is attached. It grows on the meadows of Ida under the embrace of Zeus; it is the sweet fruit which, eaten by the companions of Odysseus, made them forget their home; but this gives the botanist no better clue than the *moly* of Homer or the 'blue flower' of romantic poetry.<sup>1</sup> Only the lotus, which according to Homer was eaten by horses, may have been an ordinary fodder plant. In Herodotus (ii, 92) we first meet with the lotus of the Nile, 'as it is called by the Egyptians'; from the description it is easily identified with the *Nymphaea Lotus* L., to be distinguished from *Nymphaea Nelumbo*, also called lotus by us. The blue lotus-flower of the Nile (*Nymphaea caerulea* Sav.) is not mentioned either by Herodotus or Theophrastus. The latter, whose merits have not hitherto been sufficiently recognized by botanists and scholars, mentions (*Hist. Plant.*, vii, 15) the lotus as an example of those plants of which various forms bear the same name; the different kinds of lotus are distinguished by their leaves, stalk, flower, fruit, value as a food (δύναμις κατὰ τὴν προσφορὰν), and habitat. One kind is herbaceous (ποιώδες), with foliate stalk; it includes the μελίλωτος (a kind of clover). Another kind, also called lotus, resembles the Egyptian bean (κύαμος Αἰγύπτιος, *Nelumbium*), only it is smaller, more slender, and bears a fruit like poppy-heads (*Nymphaea Lotus*; *Hist. Plant.*, iv, 8, 9).

Further, lotus is the name given to certain trees in Libya, of which again there are several kinds, distinguished by their fruit. One kind thrives best and is most commonly found in the Syrtis, in the country of the Nasamones, in the island of Pharos, the old home of the Lotophagi, who took their name from it; and in larger quantities on the neighbouring mainland. This lotus (*Hist. Plant.*, iv, 3) is a tree, as large as a pear tree or a little smaller, with incised

<sup>1</sup> [See Novalis, *Henry of Ofterdingen*.]

leaves, like a sort of holm-oak (*πρίνος*, translated *ilex* by Pliny); its wood is black, very close, sapless (*ἄσαρκον*), does not rot (*ἄσαπές*), is too heavy to float, like box, ebony, and cornel wood; the heart (*μήτρα*) of the wood is especially thick and heavy. The fruit is broad, as large as a bean (*κύαμος*), changes its colour like the grape when ripe, grows closely together on the young shoots like myrtle berries, is sweet, of agreeable flavour, harmless, and even wholesome for the stomach; there is also a sweeter kind without stone or kernel, used for making a kind of wine or as a food. This kind of lotus is so common in Libya that the fruit is sufficient to provide food for an army for days.

The lotus called *παλινυρος* is of a different kind. It is used in the Euhesperides islands as firewood (*κανσίμοις χρώνται*); it is distinguished from the lotus of the Lotophagi by its more shrub-like growth and its round red fruit of the size of the *κέδρος*; its wood is superior, but its fruit not so sweet; Pliny appears to call it the Cyrenaic lotus.

Lastly, some authorities mention a shrub-like (*θαμνώδες*) lotus, with many branches, a thick stalk (*στελέχει εὐπαχής*), and large fruit, not fleshy outside but more like leather, not so sweet as that of the lotus of the Lotophagi, but still of agreeable flavour; the wine which is made from it will not keep longer than two or three days, after which it turns sour.

Pliny's account of the lotus (*Nat. Hist.*, xiii, 104-6), of which he distinguishes (xiv, 101) three kinds—the tree, the shrub, and the herb—is taken word for word from Theophrastus, but he adds some comments not to be found in that author; *e.g.* that the Libyan tree (which he also calls *Syrtica*, the Syrtian) was also called *celtis* (or *celthis*) in Africa; that the fruit, as large as a bean, was saffron-coloured; that the berries were preserved in jars.

Again, Theophrastus does not allude to the fact that the lotus is also found out of Africa; in the passage referred to above he only speaks of the wood, which was used for making flutes, knife blades, etc., and may have been imported like ebony. Pliny, on the other hand, observes that the lotus was common (*familiaris*) in Italy, but was modified by the change of soil. He gives the name of African to a small (*brevis*, according to Nepos) tree or shrub (*frutex*), branching out from the root (*haec ibi natura arboris*, he says at the end of his description). On the other hand, the lotus of Italy is a tree with a short trunk, which throws out such a luxuriant growth of strong branches that they themselves resemble trunks. For this reason it is much in request in the front of houses, where its thick shade often extends to the neighbouring buildings; but it soon loses its foliage, and in winter does not shut out the sun. Its fruit, although wild, is agreeable in flavour, resembling the cherry, while that of the African lotus is only the size of a bean. Pliny sings its praises (*Nat. Hist.*, xvi, 123): no tree has longer, more numerous, or stouter branches, or a bark more agreeable to the eye; moreover, it attains a great age. A lotus tree in the grove of the temple of Lucina must, he thinks, be at least 450 years old, since Lucina derives her name from this very grove; a lotus in the Volcanal is considered to be as old as Rome itself; its roots penetrate through



the *stationes municipiorum*<sup>1</sup> as far as the Forum of Caesar (xvi, 235).

Although Pliny (certainly on insufficient grounds) asserts that the Italian lotus, as contrasted with the *Lotus transmarina*, had been from very early times indigenous, he does not give it a Latin but a Greek name (λωτός), and also calls it the Greek bean (*jaba graeca*). The latter name would be inexplicable, if it were not intended to distinguish it from the Egyptian bean, which is also called lotus (*Nelumbium*); yet it is difficult to understand how a really native tree could have acquired a name which indicated a foreign origin. Dioscorides only says of the λωτός δένδρον, that it is a large tree with sweet berries larger than peppercorns. According to Orazio Comes the lotus tree is not represented in Pompeii.

As for the botanical determination of the lotus-tree, the African can be entirely disregarded, while it cannot be decided which of the different kinds mentioned by the ancients are to be referred to the *Zizyphus Lotus* Willd. (*Rhamnus Lotus* L.), *Z. vulgaris* Lam., *Z. Spina Christi* Willd. or other kinds of fruit-trees. The 'so-called lotus-trees in Rome, or Greek beans', including those in the garden of the orator Crassus on the Palatine, which were 180 years old and still fresh and green when destroyed during the Neronian fire, must have been nettle-trees (*Celtis australis*). They certainly cannot belong to the species mentioned above, which are all only thorny shrubs or small trees. Mattioli (Matthiolus) of Siena, the commentator on Dioscorides, has already identified them: 'if lotus-trees still grow in Italy, they can only be the trees which are called *Bagolaro* in the Trentino and near Görz, and *Perlaro* in the Veronese country; this is shown by the thick branches and stems, the drooping leaves notched like those of the *ilex*, the agreeable blue-black colour of the smooth bark, the stone-fruit like cherries, with long stalk, first green, then yellowish, then red, and finally black, of a sweet and agreeable flavour' (*gustu suavi non ingrato*; *Comment. in Dioscor.*, Venice, 1558, p. 157).

In Istria this tree is sometimes a metre in diameter; its blackish heart-wood, surrounded by a light, white sap-wood, is made into carriage-poles; the branches, on account of their toughness, are chiefly used at the present time for making whip-handles, which are exported in great quantities from Trieste. It is remarkable that no mention is made of this in ancient writers; Theophrastus and Pliny (following him) only speak of the lotus-wood (especially the root) being used for all kinds of turnery-ware. A *Celtis* is also found in German gardens, especially in South Germany; the Mediterranean species (*Celtis australis*) is not so hard as the kindred North American (*C. occidentalis*). *Diospyros Lotus* L., the date-plum, belonging to the order *Ebenaceae* and indigenous in the Mediterranean countries, is still cultivated in Italian gardens for its sweet, yellow stone-fruit as large as a cherry. It forms an imposing shrub, or even tree, and sometimes attains a height of 10 metres; its wood is hard and blackish. It has been often identified

<sup>1</sup> [Possibly seats allotted in the Forum to the inhabitants of the *municipia*, so that they might hear the speeches; cp. the *graecostasis* or station of the Greeks, i.e. foreign ambassadors.]

with the lotus of Pliny, but in my opinion answers to his description less than the *Celtis*.

## II. EXHIBITION OF NATURAL CURIOSITIES AT ROME.

(Vol. I, p. 14, l. 8.)

IN republican times remarkable and rare productions of nature and art were publicly exhibited at Rome on two occasions in particular—at triumphs and the games. From the time of Pompey, who exhibited an ebony tree at the triumphal procession in honour of his victory over Mithridates (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xii, 20), it became customary to carry trees in triumphal processions (for instance, the balsam-tree after the triumph over the Jews). The ornaments (*insignia*) used at the games to decorate the Forum, Comitium and other places, were chiefly works of art, but also included natural curiosities. Thus Scaurus, during his aedileship, in addition to other marvels (*miracula*) exhibited the bones (brought from Joppa) of the monster to which Andromeda had been exposed; they were larger than the ribs of the Indian elephant (*Nat. Hist.*, ix, 11). Parrots and other rare birds also seem to have been used to decorate the Forum (Varro, *R.R.*, iii, 9, 7).

In imperial times all rarities and marvels were, if possible, sent from the provinces to the emperors, who usually exhibited them in public. They were then deposited in generally accessible places, especially temples (see Pliny, *N. H.*, ix, 116, xii, 94), which in ancient times were frequently used as museums. The name given to all these curiosities was *miracula* (Pliny, xxxvi, 196, *dicavitque ipse pro miraculo—obsianos quatuor elephantes*), or θαύματα (Pausanias, ix, 21); the curators were called οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς θαύμασιν (Paus., viii, 46, 2): see the note of Siebelis and Spanheim, *De Praestantia et Usu Numismatum*, i, p. 7. The *acta diurna*, which furnished material to the compilers of the city chronicles and other writers, often made mention of such exhibitions (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, x, 5; cp. E. Hübner, *De senatus populi que Romani actis*, 1860). Of course, all notices of the kind are not derived directly or indirectly from this source; e.g. in many cases Pliny relates instances that came under his personal knowledge.

Human deformities perhaps excited the greatest interest. Philodemus, *Περὶ σημειῶν καὶ σημειώσεων*, col. 2, 3 (T. Gomperz, *Herkulanische Studien*, heft i, p. 4): καὶ σπάνια δ' ἔστιν ἔνια, καθάπερ ὁ γενόμενος ἡμίπηχυσ ἀνθρωπο(ς) ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, κεφαλὴν δὲ κολοσσι(κ)ήν ἔχων, ἐφ' ἧς ἐσφυροκόπουν, δ(ν ἐ)πεδείκνυνον οἱ ταριχευταί, (κ)αὶ ὁ γαμηθεὶς ὡς παρθένος ἐ(ν Ἐ)πιδαύρῳ κάπειτα γενό(μενο)ς ἀνὴρ, καὶ ὁ γενόμενος ἐ(ν Κρή)τῃ πηχῶν ὀκτῶ καὶ τεττ(αράκ)οντα τοῖς ἐκ τῶν εὐρεθέ(ν)των ὁστῶν σημειούμενοις, ἔτ(ι δ' οὖ)ς(?) ἐν Ἀκώρῃ πυγμαίους δ(εικνύ)ουσιν, ἀμέλει δ' ἀνα(λ)όγο(υς τοῖς οὖς) Ἀντώνιος νῦν ἐξ Ἑλλά(ς ἐκο)μίσ(ατο . . .) (ἐκ Συρίας ἐκ.?) Cp. the editor's preface, p. xix; the pygmies of Acoris (in Middle Egypt, on the east bank of the Nile) remind us of the representations of pygmies in Egyptian landscapes. Such monstrosities could be most successfully exhibited in Rome, at a time when not only dwarfs were frequently kept in the houses of the great, the deformity being sometimes caused by artificial means (Pseudo-Longinus, *De Sublimitate*, 44, 5, ed. Jahn, p. 68, 17: τὰ γλωττόκομα, ἐν οἷς οἱ πυγμαῖοι,

καλούμενοι δὲ νῆανι τρέφονται; cp. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, p. 430; J. Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, i, 1886, p. 152; Casaubon on Suetonius, *Augustus*, 83), but also giants and giantesses (Martial, vii, 38). 'Genuine' crétins also fetched a high price (Martial, viii, 13) and hermaphrodites were greatly in favour (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii, 34, in deliciis habiti). There was also a monstrosity market in Rome, where specimens of men without calves, with short arms, with three eyes, and pointed heads could be bought (Plutarch, *De Curiositate*, 10: ὥσπερ οἶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τινὲς τὰς γραφὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας καὶ νῆ Δία τὰ κάλλη τῶν ὀνίων παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐν μηδενὶ λόγῳ θιθέμενοι, περὶ τὴν τῶν τεράτων ἀγορὰν ἀναστρέφονται, τοὺς ἀκνήμους καὶ τοὺς γαλεάγκωνας καὶ τοὺς τριοφθάλμους καὶ τοὺς στρουθιοκεφάλους καταμανθάνοντες καὶ ζητοῦντες, εἴ τι γεγέννηται σύμμικτον εἶδος κάποφώλιον τέρας κ.τ.λ.).

Augustus publicly exhibited a boy named Lucius Icius, who was not quite 2 feet high, weighed 17 pounds and had a stentorian voice (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 43). On the other hand, according to Papius Fabianus, there was at that time in Rome a boy, whose stature was that of a very tall man; but he soon died, as had been generally anticipated (Seneca, *Ad Marciam*, 23, 5). In the reign of Claudius a giant from Arabia, named Gabbara (= 'giant' in Arabic), 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  Roman feet high, was exhibited (cp. Fleischer in Sillig on Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii, 74). He is perhaps identical with the one mentioned by Columella (*De Re Rustica*, iii, 8, 2), who calls him a Jew, and states that he had recently been exhibited at a *pompa circensis*, and was taller than the tallest Germans. Amongst the presents sent to Tiberius by Artabanus was a Jew named Eleazar, seven ells long (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii, 4, 5: ὃς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος γίγας ἐπεκαλεῖτο). Such curiosities were preserved after their death for public edification. Pliny (vii, 75) saw some dwarfs' bodies in cases; a giant and giantess named Posio and Secundilla were to be seen in the time of Augustus in a vault in the gardens of Sallust. From Antioch on the Macander an androgynous being was brought to Rome and presented to Claudius. Up to the age of thirteen it had been a girl, and in the year 45, when about to be married, exhibited the signs of manhood. Nero, in 61, was presented with a child with four heads, with limbs corresponding (Phlegon, *Mirabilia*, 35 and 49, in C. W. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, iii, pp. 618, 622).

Any rare and remarkable animals that reached Rome were exhibited by Augustus, who took special delight in them (Aurelius Victor, *epit.*, i, 25), in the circus and other places: a snake 50 ells long in the Comitium, a rhinoceros near the Septa, a tiger on the stage (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 43). Apparently he also exhibited the presents received from India, it was said from King Porus: a man without arms, three large adders, a snake ten ells, and a river tortoise three ells long, a partridge larger than a vulture—perhaps 'the jungle fowl which Forbes describes as having something of the plumage of the partridge' (O. de Beauvoir Priaulx in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xvii, 370, 27; Strabo, xv, 719: τὸν τε ἐρμᾶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων ἀφρημένον ἐκ νηπίου τοῦ βραχίονος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς εἶδομεν κ.τ.λ.). The phoenix which was brought to Rome in 47, to justify the celebration of the Secular Games (Hirschfeld, *Zu den*



*Silvae des Statius*, in *Oesterr. Mitth.* iii, 1881, p. 275 f.) was exhibited by Claudius in the Comitium; but it was universally regarded as an imposture (Pliny, x, 5; Tacitus, *Annals*, vi, 28; Dio, lviii, 27; Hübner as above, p. 48 f.). The white deer, which Pausanias (viii, 17, 4) admired at Rome, also appear to have been publicly exhibited; on the other hand, the animals mentioned by him in ix, 21 were probably seen by him in the amphitheatre or confined in cages. A model of the skeleton of a whale, which had strayed into the Mediterranean, was shown by Severus in the amphitheatre, probably at the games; it was large enough to hold fifty bears (Dio, lxxv, 16).

Tiberius also exhibited a beam from the longest trunk of a tree known up to Pliny's time. It belonged to a larch that had been felled in Raetia, was 120 feet long, and of a uniform thickness of 2 feet. It was used in the building of Nero's amphitheatre. Agrippa also kept as a curiosity, in a portico of the *Septa* built by him, a beam  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick, and 20 feet shorter. Pliny had seen it himself (xvi, 200 ff.). Curiosities of the vegetable kingdom were certainly sent regularly from the provinces to the emperors. A procurator sent from Byzacium in Africa nearly 400 sprouts from a single grain of wheat; Nero received from the same district 360 stalks from a single grain (Pliny, xviii, 94), and from Cyrenaica a specimen of the plant *silphion*, a great rarity, since at that time it had completely died out in the district (Pliny, xix, 39). During the reign of Nero a transparent stone as hard as marble was discovered in Cappadocia, which soon became known in Rome, for Nero used it for building in the Golden House a temple of Fortuna which remained light by day, even when the doors were shut (Pliny, xxxvi, 163). Galen says (*De Antid.*, i, 4 ed. K., xiv, p. 25), κομιζομένων γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῶν ἀρίστων ἀπανταχόθεν, etc., and mentions (*ib.*, p. 64) that the most valuable medicaments from distant lands were kept in large quantities in the imperial storehouses (ἀποθήκαις).

On more than one occasion gluttons excited general interest in Rome. The chronicler of the year 354 informs us that 'in the reign of Nero there lived a glutton, named Arpocras, an Alexandrian by birth, who consumed the following trifles (*manducavit pauca*): a boiled wild pig, a live hen with its feathers, 100 eggs, 100 stone-pine kernels, hobnails, broken glass, the twigs of a palm-broom, four tablecloths, a sucking pig, a bundle of hay—and then still seemed hungry'. It was said that Nero wanted to give him live men to tear in pieces and devour (Suet., *Nero*, 37). Another person exhibited himself under Alexander Severus, who, according to the same chronicler, performed similar feats of gluttony. A third named Phagon lived under Aurelian, who was highly delighted with him (*Vit. Aurel.*, 50; cp. Mommsen in *Abhandlungen der Sächs. Ges.*, ii, p. 646).

Instances of remarkable female fecundity and multiple births also attracted attention. Amongst the images of remarkable persons set up by Pompey in his theatre was one of a woman of Tralles named Eutychis, who had borne 30 children, 20 of whom had carried her body to the pyre (Pliny, vii, 34). The *acta* of the 11th of April, 5 B.C., reported that a citizen of Faesulae had sacrificed on the Capitol with 8 children, 28 grandsons, 19 great-grandsons,



and 8 granddaughters (*ib.*, vii, 60) ; this was recorded not merely as a curiosity, but as affording a vivid contrast to the ever-increasing celibacy and the low birthrate. The State chronicle of 354, under Diocletian and Maximin, reports that a woman in Rome named Irene had four children at once, three boys and a girl. A female slave of Augustus bore five children at once, and Augustus ordered the fact to be recorded on her tombstone after her death, which took place soon afterwards (Gellius, x, 2). It is repeatedly mentioned in the *Digests* that under Hadrian a woman of Alexandria, named Serapias, was brought to Rome, who bore four children at a birth, and forty days later brought a fifth into the world (Ulpian, *Digg.*, v, 4, 3 : sed et Laelius scribit se vidisse in Palatio mulierem liberam, quae ab Alexandria perducta est, ut Hadriano ostenderetur, cum quinque liberis, ex quibus quatuor eodem tempore enixa, inquit, dicebatur, quintum post diem quadragesimum). According to Gaius it was only a single birth (*ib.*, xxxiv, 5, 7) : Julianus, who says the same, adds : Et hoc et in Aegypto affirmatum est mihi (*ib.*, xlvi, 3, 36). This is certainly the same woman whose children, according to Phlegon of Tralles, were brought up at the expense of the emperor Trajan (*Mirabilia*, 58 in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, iii, p. 623) : καὶ ἑτέρα τις γυνή κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν, πέντε ἐν ἐνὶ τοκετῷ ἀπεκύησε παῖδας, τρεῖς μὲν ἄρρενας, δύο δὲ θηλείας· οὓς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Τραϊανὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων τρέφεσθαι. πάλιν δὲ μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄλλα τρία ἡ αὐτὴ γυνὴ ἔτεκεν (cp. S. W. Zimmern, *Geschichte des römischen Privatrechts*, i, 330). Phlegon also reports that he had seen a man 136 years of age, who had been shown to the emperor Hadrian (*Mirab.*, p. 610 : Φαῦστος Καίσαρος δούλος ἐκ Σαβίνων ἀπὸ πραιτωρίου Παλλαντιανοῦ ἔτη ρλς, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεασάμην, Ἀδριανῷ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐπιδειχθέντα). A friend of Porphyry the Neoplatonist had a slave, who understood the language of birds ; but his mother, being afraid that he might be sent as a present to the Emperor, made water in his ears while he was asleep, with the result that he lost the gift (Porphyry, *De Abstin.*, iii, 3, p. 220 Rhoer.).

Sometimes pretended fabulous creatures were brought to the capital from distant parts of the vast empire. Manilius, who (in the last days of Augustus) mentions (*Astron.*, iv, 101) 'the bodies of animals with human limbs', appears to have seen such creatures. A wild man is said to have been brought to Rome from the African desert, where there were supposed to be wild men and women (the latter of which some considered to be the origin of the Medusa legend). The date cannot be ascertained, for Pausanias who mentions the fact (ii, 21, 7) relies on an unknown writer, the Carthaginian Procles, son of Eucrates. Under Claudius a hippocentaur (a fabulous monster, half-man, half-horse) was caught alive on a mountain in Arabia and sent to the prefect of Egypt with other presents intended for the Emperor ; it died there, was preserved in honey, sent on to Rome, and shown in the imperial palace. Phlegon, who describes it fully, says (*Mirab.*, 63, Müller, p. 623) that any one who disbelieved it could see it, ἀπόκειται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις (ὄρτοις Xyl. and Jordan, *Topographie*, ii, 151 : ὁρρείοις Meursius, *θησαυροῖς* Bochart) τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τεταριχευμένος ὥς προεῖπον. Pliny also briefly refers to the creature (vii, 35). A satyr was sent to Constantine at

Antioch (sale infuso—ut ab imperatore videretur; Jerome, *Vit. Paul. Erem.*, ed. Vallars, ii, 7 f.; cp. J. Beckmann, *Gesch. d. Erfind.*, ii, 274). Up to Pliny's time Tritons and Nereids appear to have been only heard of, not seen. An embassy from Olisipo (Lisbon) to Tiberius announced that a Triton of the well known type had been seen and heard there in a cave, blowing a shell; that a Nereid, also of the usual type, but covered with scales in the human part of the body, had been seen on the same bank, and the inhabitants had heard the melancholy wail of the dying water-nymph (Pliny, ix, 9). Pausanias, however, saw a Triton in Rome (ix, 21, ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων θαύμασι), with green hair, skin covered with scales, large teeth, the hands covered with shells like those of mussels, ending in a fish's tail. Poggio also mentions the appearance of a Triton, of which he saw a wooden model in Ferrara (Jakob Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, p. 528).

In the year 17, when Asia Minor and several other countries were visited by an earthquake, a supposed relic from the heroic age was sent to Tiberius. In places where the earth had split asunder remains were found of bodies of enormous size. As a sample, a tooth from one of them, more than a foot long, was sent to Tiberius. Being asked whether he would like the whole body to be sent, he declined, being unwilling to disturb the rest of the heroes in their grave; but, in order to form an idea of its size, he ordered a geometrician, named Pulcher, to make a model of a head in proportion to the length of the tooth, which he then sent back (Phlegon, according to the grammarian Apollonius, *Mirabilia*, 43, Müller, p. 621).

These freaks of nature aroused fresh interest in Christian times. They proved the possibility of many of the statements in the Bible. Augustine remarked that there was nothing incredible in giants being born from the union of angels and mortal women, since shortly before the destruction of Rome by the Goths (410) a giantess had been publicly shown, whose parents were of the ordinary stature. Augustine had also seen the molar-tooth of a giant on the shore at Utica (*De Civitate Dei*, xx, 9; 23, 2). On the other hand, the freaks of nature, real and fictitious, such as pygmies, *skiapodes*,<sup>1</sup> et caetera hominum vel quasi hominum genera, quae in maritima platea Carthaginis musivo picta sunt, ex libris deprompta velut (?) curiosioris historiae (*ib.*, xvi, 8, 1), were used by unbelievers as arguments against the possibility of the descent of all men from Adam. Although Augustine regarded many of these supposed freaks as pure invention, he observes that there were certainly many men who, though wonderfully made, were still men and consequently descended from Adam. At Hippo Diarrhytus there was a man whose feet were almost crescent-shaped, with only two toes on each, and hands the same. Hermaphrodites undoubtedly existed, although they were very uncommon. Further, several years before, but during his time, a man had lived in the East who had two heads, two breasts and four hands; from the middle of the body downwards his limbs were single, but of remarkable length. As long as he lived

<sup>1</sup> [A fabulous people in Libya, the soles of whose feet were so large that they could turn them up and use them as umbrellas.]

many persons undertook the journey to the East on purpose to see him.

### III. PROVINCIALS IN ROME.

(Vol. I, p. 14, l. 13.)

THE victories of Greek and Asiatic athletes, musicians, singers, flute and cithara players in the Capitoline and other Roman *agones* are frequently mentioned in their inscriptions (*CIG*, i, 247, 1440; ii, 2682, 3425, 3674; *Add.*, p. 1112, no. 2810 b; iii, 5804-6, 5919, 6829). On plastic artists from Greece and Asia Minor see vol. ii, pp. 322f. The majority of the sophists, whose lives are described by Philostratus, appeared in Rome. On the influx of Greek savants into Rome (in Strabo's time especially from Tarsus and Alexandria), cp. Bernhardt, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, § 82, 2, vol. 1<sup>2</sup>, p. 497 ff. On the grammarians, who settled in Rome during the period from Augustus to Trajan, see E. A. Gräfenhan, *Geschichte der klassischen Philologie*, iii, 32-67.

The following poets of the Anthology mention their stay in Rome: Antipater of Thessalonica (ep. 27), Jacobs, ii, p. 102; Crinagoras (ep. 24), *ib.*, p. 134; Antiphillus of Byzantium (ep. 16), *ib.*, p. 158; Leonidas of Alexandria (ep. 8), *ib.*, p. 175; Lucillius, *ib.*, iii, p. 29. Greek, Oriental and Egyptian physicians and astrologers in Rome will be spoken of later. Here we may add a few examples of provincials, who came to Rome, some of them at a very early age, to finish their education. From Rhegium (*CIG*, iii, 6112):—

δῶρα δὲ Μουσάων καὶ βρέφος ὦν ἀγαπῶν,  
δωδεκέτης ἦλθον Ῥώμην, φίλε, τῆς με καλύπτει  
ἥδε νέον βῶλος πατρὶ λιπόντ' ἄχρα.

From Lugdunum (Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 499): Memoriae A. Vitellii Valerii. Hic annorum X in studiis Romae defunctus]. A beautiful youth from Messene in Arcadia studied law in Rome (Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan.*, vii, 42). Epitaph of one Titus Oclatius Athenagoras Nicomedensis juris studiosus on the Via Labicana (Henzen, 7235). Other instances of provincials studying law in Rome in E. Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, i, 88, 608; O. Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, i, 674. Epitaph of a youth of Salona who died in his twenty-second year (*CIL*, iii, 2, 6414: nam studiis jam Rome (*sic*) laetantem invida Fortuna repentini funere mersit).<sup>1</sup> From Leptis the future emperor Severus: octavo decimo anno publice declamavit. Postea studiorum causa Romam venit (*Vita*, 1). Journeys to Rome and residence there for study are mentioned by Julianus, *Digg.*, v, 1, 18 § 1; Scaevola in Ulpian, *Digg.*, xii, 1, 17; Ulpian, xlvii, 10, 5, § 5; and Modestinus, l. i, 36: Titio, quum esset Romae studiorum gratia, epistola missa est a magistratibus patriae suae, ut porrigeret imperatori.

It can only be an accident that no such evidence is forthcoming from the first two centuries. From the beginning of the empire there must have been a constant influx of provincials into the capital for purposes of study; Seneca mentions this as one of the usual

<sup>1</sup> [According to note in *CIL*, the inscription was found at Plastova near Scardona.]

inducements for foreigners to come to Rome (*Consol. ad Helviam*, 6, 2). See also Tacitus, *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, 20: Juvenes, qui profectus sui causa oratores sectantur, saepe in colonias ac provincias suas scribunt; also *ib.*, 10. Suidas, s.v. *Μαρκιανός*: οὗτος συνῆν Μουσωνίῳ ἐκ Παμφυλίας· φιλόκαλος γὰρ ὦν καὶ φιλάγαθος ὁ Μουσώ- νιος τοὺς πανταχόθεν εἶλκε παρ' αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ ἡ μαγνήτις τὸν σίδηρον.

#### IV. EMBASSIES TO ROMAN EMPERORS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

(Vol. I, p. 17, l. 2.)

IN his *Mémoire où l'on discute la réalité d'une mission arienne* (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, x, p. 226) Letronne throws doubt upon several of the supposed Indian embassies to the Roman emperors. In particular, following Mannert, he doubts the reality of the embassy of King Porus or Pandion, lord over 600 kings, to Augustus, referred to by Strabo (xiv, 686; xv, 719) on the authority of Nicolaus of Damascus, who had met it at Antioch. As he observes, the account rather gives the idea of a company of Indian jugglers eager to get the best price for their curiosities, than of the embassy of a powerful Indian prince: three ambassadors (the reputed sole survivors of a larger number), bearing presents consisting of eight slaves almost naked, an armless man, three large adders, a snake ten ells long, a river-tortoise three ells long, and a large bird: their credentials, a Greek letter written on parchment.<sup>1</sup> One of the members of the embassy was the Indian, who voluntarily burnt himself to death at Athens.

Although Letronne's suspicions deserve consideration, he is certainly wrong in regarding all the Indian embassies to Augustus referred to by ancient writers as one and the same. Augustus' own statement on the Marmor Ancyranum shows this idea to be inadmissible: 'that embassies from Indian kings had frequently been sent to him, which had never happened before in the case of a Roman general' (Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 132 f., from which Suetonius, *Augustus*, 21, followed by others, has borrowed). At least one such embassy was known as early as 17 B.C., in which year Horace says that the proud Scythians and Indians had recently (*nuper*) petitioned Augustus (*Carmen saeculare*, 65; cp. *Odes*, iv, 14, 41: *Te Cantaber non ante domabilis Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes Miratur*).

In fact, we know that Augustus had received at least two embassies from India before 17 B.C.: the first during his stay at Tarraco in Spain (26 or 25 B.C.; Orosius, vi, 21; Jerome, *Chron.*, ad Ol. 188), the second in the island of Samos (20 B.C.). The latter is referred to at length by Cassius Dio (liv, 9). As he mentions the man without arms and the self-immolation of one of the Indians on the pyre, he evidently means the embassy seen by Nicolaus of Damascus. A further statement, however, makes it probable that he has confused the report of the embassy of Nicolaus with a report of a later Indian embassy (about 12 or 11 B.C.). Dio says that amongst

<sup>1</sup> The use of parchment for writing purposes by the old Hindus is doubted by O. de Beauvoir Priaux (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xvii, 309).



the presents brought by the Indians were some tigers, the first that had been seen in Rome. Is it likely that Nicolaus, who describes item by item the presents brought by the ambassadors whom he met at Antioch, would have omitted this 'truly royal present' ? (O. de B. Priaulx, as above, p. 313).

Now, we know from the statement of Pliny, to all appearance taken from the *acta diurna*, that Augustus, on the occasion of the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus on the 4th of May, 11 B.C., exhibited, for the first time in Rome, a tame tiger in a cage (Pliny, viii, 65). Is it conceivable that Augustus postponed for nine years the exhibition of a curiosity that had never been seen before (Varro declared that it was impossible to catch a tiger alive, *De ling. lat.*, v, 20), and ran the risk of the valuable animal dying in the interim ? Against such a supposition we have the express statement of Suetonius (*Augustus*, 43) that Augustus always exhibited objects of interest at once, without waiting for the show for which they were intended (*citra spectaculorum dies*), such as 'a rhinoceros in the Septa, a tiger on the stage, a snake 50 ells long in the Comitium ? The tiger here mentioned is undoubtedly the one exhibited in the theatre of Marcellus—at a show certainly, but not one at which wild animals were common. Augustus, without waiting for the next wild beast hunt, took advantage of the first opportunity that offered itself for the exhibition.

If, then, the first (tame) tiger in Rome (according to Pliny) was exhibited in 11 B.C. ; if this exhibition (according to Suetonius) to all appearance took place soon after the arrival of the animal in Rome ; if (according to Dio) the first tigers were brought to Rome by Indian ambassadors, for whom it would be comparatively easy to bring tame tigers with them, it follows that this embassy must have reached Europe in 11 B.C. or shortly before, and that Dio has confused two reports of two different embassies.

Nor can the statement of Florus (iv, 12) refer to the embassy of 20 B.C. : *Seres etiam habitantesque sub ipso sole Indi cum gemmis et margaritis, elephantos quoque inter munera trahentes, nihil magis quam longinquitatem vitæ imputabant quam quadriennio impleverant ; et tamen ipse hominum color alio venire caelo fatebatur.* Borghesi (*Œuvres*, ii, 96) has certainly shown it to be very probable that amongst the marks of respect decided upon by the senate on the occasion of Augustus's return to Rome in 19 B.C. was an entry on a car drawn by elephants (of which certainly Augustus made no use). The statue of Augustus on an elephant *biga* (the first of its kind, Pliny, xxxiv, 19) appears first on coins of this period, and stood over the arch of the Milvian bridge, which was finished in 16 B.C. Borghesi (p. 105) expresses the belief that the elephants brought by the Indian ambassadors in 20 B.C. (to which he refers the statement of Florus) suggested this distinction, and Mommsen (*RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 133) agrees with him. But the omission of the elephants in Nicolaus would be as inexplicable as that of the tigers ; hence, Florus must be referring to another Indian embassy (of which Augustus according to the *sæpe* of the Monumentum Ancyranum had received at least three). Further, no special reason was needed for the decree of an elephant car, since Pompey had already desired to make his entry

in one on the occasion of his African triumph (81 B.C.), and had only been prevented from carrying out his intention by the narrowness of the gate (Pliny, viii, 4; Plutarch, *Pompey*, 14).

Specialists in Indian antiquities, who are convinced of the reality of the embassy described by Nicolaus, have attempted to determine by whom and whence it was sent, but have arrived at the most different conclusions. Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, iii, p. 59) takes the Porus of Nicolaus to be some descendant of the old Pançava nation, who founded an independent kingdom in the western Punjab, and was a snake-worshipper. A. Weber (in Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>1</sup>, p. 133) is of opinion that Porus is the people of the Pançava, Pandion the tribe of the Pandya in southern India (Lassen, i, 158). O. de Beauvoir Priaulx (*On the Indian Embassy to Augustus*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xvii, 1860, p. 309, where it is assumed that there was only one embassy) arrives at the conclusion that a Buddhist Hindu rajah in the north of the peninsula was persuaded by Alexandrian merchants to send an embassy with them for commercial purposes to Alexandria, whence it proceeded to Augustus (perhaps by way of Antioch to Samos). Lastly, Reinaud (*Relations politiques et commerciales de l'empire romain avec l'Asie orientale* in *Journal asiatique*, 1863), who also supports the view that there was only one embassy, considers that it was dispatched by a Buddhist prince of Bactriana, who is called Kanishka in a history written in Sanskrit, Kanerké and βασιλεὺς βασιλέων on his coins (on which half the legend is Greek), and was the most powerful Indian prince of his time (see A. Weber, *Indische Skizzen*, p. 99).

Reinaud (p. 189) also assumes a Chinese embassy to Augustus, on the evidence of Florus, iv, 2, Seres etiam (misere legatos) and the ode of Horace to Maecenas (iii, 29), in the eighth strophe of which he finds an allusion to it (Tu civitatem quis deceat status Curas et urbi sollicitus times Quid Seres et regnata Cyro Bactra parent Tanaisque discors), and in *Odes*, iv, 15, 23 an allusion to a treaty concluded with China. This assumption, however, is inadmissible, since Augustus would certainly not have omitted to mention a Chinese embassy in his list of those received by him.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the Indian, he only records embassies from the German peoples (*RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 104 f. : Cimbrique et Charydes et Semnones); from the kings of the Sugambri, Marcomanni, and Suevi (pp. 135 and 140); further the frequently mentioned embassy of the Scythians (between the Danube and the Dnieper) and Bastarnae (in lower Moesia beyond the Danube), of the Sarmatae on both banks of the Don, of the Albani and Iberi (in Shirwan, southern Daghestan, Grusia), of the Medes and Parthians (in Atropatene; *ib.*, p. 133 f.). The embassies of *plurinae aliae gentes* are not specified by name, obviously as not being of sufficient importance. Probably they included those of the Aethiopes and Garamantes mentioned in Rufius Festus (*Brev.*, 19) and Victor (*epit.*, i, 9), unless they wrote *abusi vocabulis Vergilianis* (*Æneid*, vi, 795: super et Garamantas et Indos proferet imperium; *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 133). Strabo (iv, p. 200) also speaks of an embassy of

<sup>1</sup> F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient* (1885), p. 305, says: The Chinese annals clearly insinuate that Kan Ying (A.D. 98) was the first Chinese who ever penetrated as far west as T'iao Chih (according to Hirth, Chaldaea).

British princes : *νυνὶ μέντοι τῶν δυναστῶν τινὲς τῶν αὐτόθι πρεσβεύσεσι καὶ θεραπαίαις κατασκευασόμενοι τὴν πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν Σεβαστὸν φιλίαν, ἀναθήματα τε ἀνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ οἰκίαν σχεδὸν τι παρεσκεύασαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅλην τὴν νῆσον*. Augustus himself mentions the presence of two British kings Dumnobellaunus, whose gold coins have been found in Kent and Essex, and Tim . . ., more correctly Tinc . . ., son of Commus, whose coins have been found, especially in Sussex (*RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 139 f.).

Ambassadors from the Garamantes also visited Rome in the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 24) : *sequebantur et Garamantum legati, raro in urbe visi, quos Tacfarinate caeso perculsa gens et culpa sociā satisfaciendum populo Romano miserat* (Tacitus, *Annals*, iv, 26).

In the reign of Claudius, according to Pliny (vi, 84), four ambassadors from Taprobane (Ceylon), the chief of whom was named Rachias, arrived in Rome. They were escorted by a freedman of Annius Plocamus, farmer of taxes on the Red Sea, who was supposed to have been cast ashore on Ceylon during a voyage round Arabia, and to have persuaded the king of the island (by his accounts of Rome and by the excellence of the Roman denarii)<sup>1</sup> to make overtures to the Roman Emperor. Letronne also contests the reality of this embassy, chiefly on the ground of the absurdity of some of its statements, *e.g.* that the Great Bear and the Pleiades were not visible in Ceylon. Lassen, who takes no offence at these 'inventions' (p. 216), is of opinion (p. 61) that the embassy was sent by King Kandramukhaçiva (Chandra-Mukha-Siva, A.D. 44-52). O. de B. Priaulx (*On the Second Indian Embassy to Rome*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xviii, 345), who also regards the ambassadors as actual representatives of an actual prince, explains their false statements as due to misunderstanding, since no one but Plocamus' freedman understood their language, and that probably only very imperfectly. He thinks that the ambassadors were not real Sinhalese, but belonged to the Tamil stock, who frequently penetrated from south Hindustan into Ceylon, and were ruled by rajahs, whose court was at Nalloor (pp. 357-360 ; J. Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon*, i, p. 532).

Pliny further mentions an Arabian embassy which visited Rome during his time : *qui mea aetate legati ex Arabia venerunt, (de ture) omnia incertiora fecerunt* (xii, 57). This was probably one of the embassies sent by Charibael, king of the Sabaeans and Homerites of southern Arabia, to ask for the friendship 'of the Emperors' (Vespasian and Titus, as Gutschmid also assumes) ; see *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 23, and *cp.* the chronological abstract, *συνέχεσι πρεσβείαις καὶ ὁδῶσι φίλοις τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων*. The inhabitants of Hadramaut (Chatramotitae), whose chief town Sabattha was the chief centre of the incense trade, at that time were included in the Sabaean kingdom (Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, 167).

After his return to Rome (106) from the Dacian war Trajan received numerous embassies from barbarian peoples, including Indians (Dio, lxxviii, 15 : *πλείσται ὕσαι πρεσβείαι παρὰ βαρβάρων ἄλλων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν*). Letronne, who wrongly throws doubt even upon this Indian embassy, believes (with Reimarus) that it came from southern Arabia (included under India), and was due to the recent

<sup>1</sup> Quod pares pondere denarii essent, cum diversae imagines indicarent a pluribus factos,



conquest of Arabia Petraea by Palma (Dio, lxviii, 14). In itself it is very probable that Indian princes after this event endeavoured to gain the friendship of Trajan, who ten years later penetrated as far as the Persian Gulf and only very unwillingly abandoned his designs on India on account of his advanced age (Dio, lxviii, 28; cp. Reinaud, p. 369). The ambassadors were present at the spectacles provided by Trajan where they occupied the seats of the senators. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius received ambassadors from Bactriana (*Vita*, 21: reges Bactrianorum legatos ad eum amicitiae petendae causa supplices miserunt), the latter also from Hyrcania and India (Victor, *epit.*, 15, 4: ad quem etiam Indi, Bactri, Hyrcani legatos misere; Appian, *praef.*, 7: βάρβαρα ἔθνη πενιχρά καὶ ἀκερδῆ, ὧν ἐγὼ τινὰς εἶδον ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρεσβευομένους τε καὶ διδόντας ἑαυτοῖς ὑπηκόους εἶναι).

The Indian embassy to Elagabalus, which the Gnostic Bardesanes met, is the first whose reality is admitted by Letronne, although not entirely without reserve. Lassen (p. 62) and Reinaud (p. 376) assume that it was sent to Marcus Aurelius (Lassen calls him Antoninus Pius); but it is clear from Stobaeus (*Ecl.*, i, 3, 56) that the emperor was Elagabalus: Ἴνδοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ ἐξ Ἑμισῶν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν Βαρδῆσανη τῷ ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας εἰς λόγους ἀφικόμενοι: cp. Porphyry, *De Abstemitia*, iv, 17, p. 355: Βαρδῆσανης ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν γεγονώς καὶ ἐντυχὼν τοῖς περὶ Δαμάδαμιν πεπεμμένοις Ἴνδοις πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. From the name of one of the ambassadors (Sandanes), Lassen concludes that the sender of the embassy ruled over that part of the Malabar coast which is called Ariake of the Sandani and less correctly Sandani; in Stobaeus, however, the name is Σανδάλης.

In the description of Aurelian's great triumph (A.D. 274) in Vopiscus (*Vita*, 33) the ambassadors of foreign peoples present in Rome are enumerated in addition to the captives (as Reinaud, p. 389, 1, correctly observes); for Aurelian had not been at war with the Axomitae, Indi and others, and no captives from these tribes could have figured in his triumph; further, the words *cum suis quique muneribus* show that the preceding names refer, not to captives, but to ambassadors. The ordinary punctuation must, however, be altered; perhaps the word *legati* (although not indispensable) has dropped out. After enumerating the wild animals in the procession the writer proceeds: gladiatorum paria octingenta praeter captivos. [legati] gentium barbararum Blemmyes, Axomitae, Arabes eudae-mones, Indi, Bactriani, Hiberi, Saraceni, Persae, cum suis quique muneribus. Gothi, Alani, Roxolani, Sarmatae, Franci, Suevoi Vandali, Germani religatis manibus captivi processerunt. inter hos etiam Palmyreni. A car, richly ornamented with gold, silver and precious stones, was one of the presents sent by the King of Persia. Tacitus (afterwards emperor) speaks of the same embassies and their presents (*ib.*, 42): illum (Aurelianum) Saraceni, Blemmyes, Axomitae, Bactriani, Seres, Hiberi, Albani, Armenii, populi etiam Indorum veluti praesentem venerati sunt deum. Illius donis, quae a barbaris gentibus meruit, refertum est Capitolium. Reinaud rightly observes that this triumph was the last great festival of pagan Rome.



The numerous embassies of barbarian peoples to Constantine, of foreign appearance, in their national costume, the bearers of valuable presents, are described by Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iv, 7; he speaks of Blemmyes, Indians and Aethiopians, and (in 8) of an embassy from the King of Persia. In iv, 50 he further mentions ambassadors from east India (*Ἰνδῶν τῶν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον*), who reported that Indian princes rendered homage to Constantine by setting up paintings and statues of him. Letronne rightly considers this incredible, but admits that the embassy might really have been sent by a prince of northern India (cp. Reinaud, p. 393; see also Hirth as above, p. 305, and on the despatch of a Syrian merchant Ts'in-lun to Ta-ts'in with 10 male and 10 female dwarfs (222-252), whose arrival is not mentioned in the Chinese annals).

The embassies which Julian received at Constantinople in 362 were intended for Constantius (Zonaras: *ἐχρημάτιζε δὲ καὶ πρέσβεισιν ἐκ διαφορῶν ἐθνῶν σταλεῖσι πρὸς τὸν Κωνσταντῖον*) and, as Gibbon has observed (chap. xxiv),<sup>1</sup> could not possibly have arrived in time, if they had not been dispatched till after Julian's accession, as is asserted by Ammianus (xxii, 7, 10): *proinde timore ejus per finitimos longeque distantes explicato, legationes undique solito ocus concurrebant: hinc Transgistranum pacem obsecrantibus et Armeniis, inde nationibus Indicis certati cum donis optimates mittentibus ante tempus (?) abusque Divis et Serendivis; ab australi plaga ad famulandum rei Romanae semet offerentibus Mauris; ab aquilone et regionibus solis; per quas in mare Phasis accipitur, Bosporanis aliisque antehac ignotis legationes vehentibus supplices, ut annua complentes sollemnia, intra terrarum genitalium terminos otiose vivere sinerentur*. It is generally recognized that *Serendib* is Ceylon; according to Letronne (p. 234) the *Divi* can only be looked for on the south or south-east coast of the western Indian peninsula; on the other hand, Reinaud (p. 401) says: *quant au mot dib, c'est probablement une ile de la mer Rouge, appartenant à ce qu'on nommait alors l'Inde citérieure*.

## V. THE POPULATION OF ROME.

(Vol. I, p. 17, l. 13.)

FROM the facts at our disposal we can only form an incomplete and conjectural estimate of the population of Rome. We shall do no more than attempt to examine individual data as carefully as possible and to justify the conclusions to be drawn from them. The details communicated to me by C. Rodbertus (died 1875) have been of great service. I assume the reader to be acquainted with the examination of the subject by E. von Wietersheim (*Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, i, 1859, pp. 259-265).<sup>2</sup> A criticism of the latest

<sup>1</sup> 'These embassies had been sent to Constantine. Ammianus, who unwarily deviates into gross flattery, must have forgotten the length of the way, and the short duration of the reign of Julian'.

<sup>2</sup> Pietro Castiglioni (*Della popolazione di Roma dalle origini ai nostri tempi in Monografia della Città di Roma*, ii, 1878, pp. 187-395), arguing from the census lists, arrives (p. 251) at the conclusion that in the reign of Claudius the whole population of Rome was about 1,250,000 (950,000 free citizens, 300,000-350,000 slaves), di cui metà abitante nelle 14 regioni, che son quelli—che potevansi mantenere col grano provveduto per l'annua consumazione di Roma.

view—that of Beloch (*Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* 1886, pp. 392–413) will be found at the end of this section.

The estimates of Bunsen, Zumpt, Hock and Marquardt are based upon the statement of Augustus that in 749 A.U.C. he had given 'trecentis et viginti milibus plebis urbanae sexagenos denarios viritum' (Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 58). I now agree with Marquardt (*Staatsverwaltung*, ii<sup>2</sup>, p. 119), after Hirschfeld's convincing statement (*Die Getreideverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, in *Philologus*, xxix), that the 320,000 of the 'plebs urbana' only include those citizens who were qualified to vote, not freeborn male children. Dio expressly states (liv, 16, A.U.C. 747) that the free female population of Rome was considerably smaller than the male: ἐπειδὴ τε πολλὴ πλείον τοῦ ἀρρέν τοῦ θήλεος τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἦν, ἐπέτρεψε καὶ ἐξελευθέρας τοῖς ἐθέλουσι, πλὴν τῶν βουλευόντων, ἀγεσθαι. There being nothing to settle the question, I reckon (with Wietersheim) the free female population to be about 17 per cent. less than the male (5 per cent. in accordance with the usual proportion in great modern cities, and 12 per cent. owing to the lack in Rome of free female domestics from other places).<sup>1</sup> The usual but quite arbitrary estimate of knights and senators and their families as 10,000 is too low; the 3,000 *judices quadringenarii* and their families must have equalled that number, and they by no means comprised all the knights in Rome (Madvig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung*, i, p. 176); at the *transvectio* on the 15th of July, which was never attended by all those who had a right to take part in it, 5,000 knights put in an appearance in the reign of Augustus (Dion. Halic., vi, 13) and, to judge from the increasing frequency of the equestrian title on inscriptions, their number was being continually augmented (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii, 1, 491). Consequently the number of the knights and the members of their families may be reckoned at 15,000 during the reign of Augustus; the 600 (at least) senatorial families (Madvig, i, 128) may have numbered 2,000. The number of non-Romans (residing temporarily, for a considerable period, or permanently in the capital) may be assumed, for purposes of comparison, to be twice that of the foreign population of Paris at the time of its greatest splendour under Napoleon I (Dureau de la Malle, *Écon. polit.*, i, 370). The number of soldiers did not amount to 30,000 (Wietersheim), but about 20,000; in the time of Augustus, when only three praetorian cohorts were stationed in Rome (Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, ii<sup>2</sup>, p. 476), only about 13,000. Consequently, for 749 we get the following figures:—

<sup>1</sup> The following estimates of the population of Rome in modern times are borrowed from Castiglioni's tables (p. 351); the large preponderance of males is undoubtedly due to the clergy.

|      |    |    |    |    |    | Male.   |    | Female. |    | Total.  |
|------|----|----|----|----|----|---------|----|---------|----|---------|
| 1600 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 63,133  | .. | 46,596  | .. | 109,729 |
| 1700 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 88,929  | .. | 60,518  | .. | 149,447 |
| 1800 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 80,580  | .. | 72,424  | .. | 153,004 |
| 1877 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 160,184 | .. | 122,030 | .. | 282,214 |

According to the *Censimento della popolazione del Regno d'Italia al 31 Dec. 1822*, vol. iii, there were 796 females in Rome to 1,000 males, and 137 boys under 10 years; see Beloch (*Bevölkerung*, p. 401). The same proportion being assumed, Rome would have contained (in 759) 254,720 free adult females of the *plebs*; but this is not permissible, for the reason given above.

- (1) 320,000 free grown up males belonging to the plebs.
- (2) 265,600 free grown up females belonging to the plebs.
- (3) 17,000 senators and knights with their families.
- (4) 13,000 soldiers.
- (5) 60,000 foreigners.

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675,600

With the exception of (1) and (4), these figures are useless for real statistical purposes; and there are absolutely no trustworthy data for estimating the number of freeborn children of both sexes, or of the slaves. As to the first, it can only be affirmed with certainty that it was considerably less than the number of children in modern large cities, marriages being less frequent and less prolific. It is perhaps doubtful whether the effects of infanticide and exposure (Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, i<sup>2</sup>, 3 and 4) were more ruinous than the enormous infant mortality of modern times, the reasons of which are well known. Duruy (*Hist. des Romains*, v, 16) remarks: En pleine civilisation moderne le nombre des enfans trouvés a été en France de 125,997 en 1861, malgré la suppression des tours, avec une moyenne annuelle de 203 infanticides. In the time of the Revolution the number of exposed children rose from 23,000 in 1790 to more than 63,000 in 1802 (Taine, *Origines de la Fr. c., Révolution*, iii, p. 108, 1); as early as 1796 it reached 50,000 (out of about 800,000 births; in the foundling hospitals  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the foster-children died; see Sybel, *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit*, iv, 440).

As for the slaves, Marquardt (*Staatsverwaltung*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 123) has adduced a number of weighty arguments in support of his view, that they were at least half as numerous again as the free. But it does not seem to me that so high an estimate is justified.<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered, first of all, that most of the *plebs urbana* were poor people, or even *proletarii*, few of whom had slaves, while persons of moderate means found the maintenance of slaves a very heavy burden owing to the high price of provisions (Juvenal, iii, 166: magno Servorum ventres). In Petronius' colony a well-to-do freedman might certainly be able *viginti ventres pascere* (mostly slaves; *Petron.*, 57), but not in Rome. The entire household of Umbricius, who was not quite without means, could be taken on a single *reda* (Juvenal, iii, 10), and he lights himself home with the end of a candle (286).

Juvenal's Naevolus in his straitened circumstances has only one slave, yet he will be obliged to buy another; but even if his yearly income should reach 20,000 sesterces, he does not want more than four, two of whom are to be skilled workmen, so that they may bring in more than they cost to keep (Juvenal, ix, 64-66, 142-146). We cannot even conjecture the number of the wealthy households (in which large numbers of slaves were kept) or of the *servi publici*, so that I make no attempt to estimate the total number of slaves.

<sup>1</sup> Castiglioni estimates the slaves in Rome from 700-800 A.U.C. at a half, from 800 onwards at two-thirds of the male burgess population. Beloch (p. 404) thinks that the proportion of slaves to freemen was 1 to 2. Apart from other objections, a slave population of 280,000 in a total population of 850,000 (870,000 including the garrison) in 749, could hardly have increased to an alarming number by the year 24.

That it was very large, however, is shown by the statement of Tacitus (*Annals*, iv, 27) that in the year 24 Rome was terrified by the fear of a slave war: *urbem . . . jam trepidam ob multitudinem familiarum, quae gliscebant immensum minore in dies plebe ingenua* (cp. also iii, 53). But a male slave population of *e.g.* half a million (the female must have been very much smaller) was enough for that. I would also observe that it is unsafe to argue from the 400 slaves in the house of Pedanius Secundus (Tacitus, *Ann.*, xiv, 42), the man of the highest position in Rome at that time, that the *average* number of domestics in rich and well-to-do households was very large. In 12 A.D. Augustus, in order to check the growing luxury of persons in exile, ordered that they should not possess more than 125,000 *denarii* (500,000 sesterces, about £5,000), or more than 20 slaves or freedmen (Dio Cassius, lvi, 27). May we not assume that these two standards were proportionate to each other? If a man required many more servants in Rome than in places of exile, life in the latter was much cheaper; and it is not to be believed that the number of servants would have been set down as very small in relation to property for reasons of security, since a large property offered a much better opportunity for dangerous undertakings than a large number of servants.

Assuming the above figures to be approximately correct, we can only say that the population of Rome in 749 probably exceeded a million; but, owing to the varying estimates of the number of slaves, we cannot say by how much.

On the analogy of the changes in the population of modern large towns, we must assume in the case of Rome (to the time of the epidemic in the reign of Marcus Aurelius) a constant increase, only temporarily arrested by pestilence, famine, and civil war. In 1788 the population of Paris was 599,569, in 1836 899,315, in 1856 1,178,262, in 1860 (after the enlargement of the city) 1,525,235, in 1866 1,825,300. In 1600 the population of London was 150,000, in 1760 676,000, in 1811 1,304,000, in 1841 1,948,000, in 1881 3,816,483, in 1886 (estimated) 4,149,533. In 1709, after the union with Cölln and the adjacent suburbs, the population of Berlin was 55,000, in 1749 110,000, in 1825 220,000, in 1855 440,000, before 1873 880,000, on the 1st of December, 1885, 1,315,297; the increase (about 4 per cent. yearly) is twice as large as that of London and Paris, and is only rivalled by that of New York (Lammers, *Berliner städtische Selbstverwaltung*, in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, Feb., 1882, p. 182).

Owing to the great difference in the numbers of the male and female inhabitants of Rome and the resulting limitation of marriage, the growth of the population by births must have been considerably less than in a modern large town. In any case, the number of children of the wealthy classes born in wedlock was far smaller than in the nineteenth century in a great part of Central Europe. At the beginning of the 'thirties in Naples, Würtemberg, and Bohemia there were five or six children of a single marriage, in Hesse, Mecklenburg, Prussia, Russia, and the Netherlands four or five. The legislation of Augustus, with its punishments and rewards (*e.g.* the *jus trium liberorum*), framed in reference to the well-to-do classes especially, produced no effect (Tacitus, *Ann.*, iii, 25). The fact



that this legislation did not extend to the poorer classes is no proof that marriages were more frequent or more prolific amongst them, as is assumed by Pöhlmann (*Übervölkerung der antiken Grossstädte*, p. 48, 7). It is quite conceivable that Augustus only had in view the promotion of prolific marriages in the middle classes; it is also possible that he regarded this as unattainable in the case of the proletariat. On the other hand, Pöhlmann is right in saying that the passage (Dion. Halic., ix, 51) quoted by Rodbertus only refers to the rarity of marriage amongst the country day-labourers, not amongst the city proletariat. Further, it must be borne in mind that amongst slave populations the proportion of births is always unusually low (Wappäus, *Allgemeine Bevölkerungsstatistik*, i, 157). Lastly, considering the unhealthiness of Rome and the frequent occurrence of devastating calamities we are justified in assuming an extraordinarily high rate of mortality.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the irresistible and many-sided attractiveness of Rome, with the absence of restrictions on migration, probably brought about a larger increase of population by additions from without than in any modern large town. 'The emancipations of slaves *en masse* also contributed to its growth, since undoubtedly the place of those who obtained their freedom was in part at least filled from without' (Rodbertus).

Of course it is impossible to determine the rate of increase. The number of recipients of the *congiarium* (320,000) in 749, compared with 250,000 in the distributions from 710 to 742, does not justify us in assuming with Mommsen (*RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 60), that the number of the plebs increased from 250,000 to 320,000 during the years from 710 to 749; as early as 708 Caesar found 320,000 recipients of free corn (Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 118) and the munificence of Augustus in 749 may have been unusual. Nor is it safe to conclude from the statement (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 41) that Augustus during the dearth of 759 *tesseras nummarias duplicavit*, that there was a very considerable increase of population during the ten years 749-759 (as Rodbertus does, in discussing the real value of money in antiquity in Hildebrand's *Zeitschrift für Nationalöconomie*, xiv, 386 note). Rodbertus identifies the *tesserae nummariae* with the *tesserae frumentariae*, and concludes from their duplication that from 749 to 759 the number of the plebs (with 200,000 recipients of corn gratis from 752) rose to more than 400,000. But it is at least doubtful whether the *tesserae nummariae* are really (with Benndorf, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des attischen Theaters*, in *Zeitschrift für Oester. Gymn.*, xvi, 1875, pp. 592 ff. and 621, 1) to be taken as *frumentariae*, or (with Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 125 and Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 26) as tickets for the purchase of corn at a reduced price.<sup>2</sup> The communication of Tiberius to the senate during the scarcity of the year 32 (Tacitus, *Ann.*, vi, 13: *quanta majorem quam Augustus rei frumen-*

<sup>1</sup> No doubt infant mortality was very high, but I am not inclined to believe (with Pöhlmann, p. 27, 2) that the sepulchral inscriptions distributed over four or five centuries are conclusive on the point. According to Beloch (p. 48) the epitaphs in the 1st, 2nd and 10th *regiones* of Italy show that 289 persons out of 1,000 died before the age of 16, as compared with 540·4 in Prussia in 1876.

<sup>2</sup> Hirschfeld also has abandoned his former view (*VG*, 131, 1) and now agrees with Marquardt and Mommsen.

tariae copiam advectaret) is perhaps a stronger argument for an increase of the population.

But if the population of Rome in 749 amounted to more than a million, allowing for a considerably smaller increase than in the case of the large towns of Europe in modern times, it might have risen to a million and a half or more in 70 or 80 years.

A statement in Josephus (*B.J.*, ii, 16, 4) on the consumption of corn in Rome, derived from an official document (cp. *Ind. lect. Regimont aestiv.*, 1873), probably dates from this period. The document was a *breviarium totius imperii*, drawn up under the same headings as that composed by Augustus and read in the senate after his death (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 101; Tac., *Ann.*, i, 11). Like the latter it probably contained a list of the *regna* and *provinciae*, no doubt the source of the statements that Thrace was a five days' journey (of the imperial *tabellarii*) in breadth, and a six days' journey in length: that Asia contained 500 cities, Gaul 305 tribes, and (in round numbers) 1,200 cities: that Asia was under a proconsul, Achaia and Macedonia under a governor with six lictors (Mommsen, *StR.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 369, 2). Also a list of the *tributa* and *vectigalia*, the source of the statements that the population of Egypt (Alexandria not included) was 7,500,000 according to the poll-tax lists, and that the tribute from Judaea was not a twelfth of the tribute from Egypt. *Largitiones ac necessitates*: that Egypt supplied one-third, Africa two-thirds of the annual corn supply required by Rome. *Classes*: the Pontus fleet of forty ships of war with a personnel of 3,000. *Quantum militum sub signis ubique esset*: cp. Marquardt, *StV.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 453 ff. Josephus could hardly have had the opportunity of utilizing such a document before he settled in Rome, where he wrote the history of the Jewish war about the year 75 (cp. Paret, *Josephus' Geschichte des jüdischen Krieges*, introd., p. 19).

In the *Epitome de Caesaribus* (2) it is stated that under Augustus 20,000,000 *modii* of corn were supplied every year by Egypt to Rome. There is no doubt that this figure is taken from an official source, and it is at least probable that this source is Augustus' *Breviarium totius imperii*, since the historians certainly utilized it as much as his *Index rerum gestarum* (Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. ix). In this case the 20,000,000 *modii* would be the budgetary amount of corn to be supplied to Rome by Egypt as fixed under Augustus.

Marquardt (*StV.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 126, 6) assumes that the amount mentioned in the *Epitome* was still contributed by Egypt in the time of Josephus, and, since it formed a third of the total amount required, reckons the latter at 60,000,000 *modii*. From this he draws a conclusion as to the population. On the other hand, Rodbertus observes that the double tithe contributed by Egypt both under Augustus and in the time of Josephus (Marquardt, *ib.*, 196, 3) was only a proportionate impost, which varied with the produce of the harvest. 'The 20,000,000 *modii*, even, in Augustus' time, could accordingly only be taken as an average figure for five or ten years. But during the interval down to the time of Vespasian are we to assume that the productive development of Egypt ceased? 20,000,000 *modii* suppose a harvest of 100,000,000 in the time of Augustus. In the first century of the empire the provinces were especially flourishing.

If the production of Egypt rose during this period from 100,000,000 to 150,000,000 *modii*, the fifth in Vespasian's time brought in 30,000,000, and the application of the figures to the population gives a different result'. The fact that according to the passage in Tacitus (*Annals*, vi, 13) the total import of corn in 32 was greater than in 14, also justifies us in believing that the third of the total required, supplied by Egypt under Vespasian, amounted to more than the impost of 20,000,000 *modii* under Augustus.

Hence it may be assumed as probable that under Vespasian Rome consumed more than 60,000,000 *modii*, and that the population was really larger than would appear from calculations based upon this rate of consumption. In attempting to ascertain the number of the people from the consumption of corn, we must not (as Marquardt has already observed) reckon 5 *modii* monthly (or 60 *modii* yearly) as the average consumption per head. For this ration of gratuitous corn was given with the intention that it should be more than enough. Slaves, who lived almost entirely on grain, in Cato's time received 4 to 4½ *modii* (Marquardt, *ib.*, 110 ff.). But at Rome certainly only part of the slaves and the poorest inhabitants lived exclusively on grain; vegetables also were one of the chief articles of food (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xix, 52); the better to do amongst the plebs and upper classes consumed other articles, while women and children needed considerably less than hardworking slaves. Consequently, the average consumption of corn probably amounted to less than 4 *modii* per head.

Assuming a consumption of 4 *modii* per head monthly a total consumption of 60,000,000 *modii* would give a population of 1,250,000; with a consumption of 3½ *modii* the total would be 1,714,285.

Further, the expressions used by Josephus in regard to the deliveries of corn from Egypt and Africa (τῇ 'Ρώμῃ σίτον μνηνών τεσσάρων and μνηνὸν ὀκτώ τὸ κατὰ τὴν 'Ρώμην πληθος τρέφουσι) leave scarcely any doubt that the total amount required by Rome was fixed officially during the reign of Vespasian. It may be assumed that the state granaries always contained more than a year's supply, in case of navigation being interrupted, or any other emergency.

Another official statement of Vespasian's reign may also be utilized in estimating the population of Rome. The survey begun in 74 gave 13,200 paces as the circumference of the inhabited part of the city (Jordan, *Topographie*, ii, 85-87), or 13.13 Roman *miglia* (1 Roman *miglio* = 1484.9 metres; *mille passus* = 1478.7). The length of the wall of Aurelian (not including the projections of the 251 rectangular towers) was, according to Bernardini 10.58, according to Nolli 11.13 *miglia* (Jordan, *ib.*, i, 343, note 9). His statement on p. 334 that these figures denote the length of the wall on the left bank, is an error. In the measurement given by D'Anville, quoted in Preller, *Roma, StRE*, vi, 507, namely, 12,345 Roman paces, the projections are evidently included). Its area, according to Dureau de la Malle (*Écon. pol.*, i, 347) is 1396.469 hectares; according to Beloch (p. 404) only 1230 (not including the river).

De la Malle's calculation (*ib.*, 406), that the assumed area of 1396 hectares was inhabited by 560,000 people, hardly needs refutation.



Zumpt (*Stand der Bevölkerung*, p. 62, note) has already observed, that if De la Malle had argued from the population of the most crowded quarter of Paris in 1821 (the fourth *arrondissement*), where 46,624 people occupied 51.63 hectares, he would have arrived at nearly double the number. But in the year 74 it is not a question of the area enclosed by the Aurelian wall (1,230 hectares, if Beloch is right), but of a considerably larger area. If the circumference of the wall was 11.13 miles, the area of Rome (supposing a similar figure) in the time of Vespasian, with its circumference of 13.13 miles, amounted to 1,712 hectares; if the circumference of the wall was 10.58, the area in 74 under the same assumption was 1,894 hectares.

For that time we must assume a greater density of population than even in the most thickly populated of modern large cities, owing to the greater height of the houses and the greater narrowness of the streets. In addition to this, as already observed by Wietersheim (p. 260) we must take into consideration the radical difference between ancient and modern dwelling-houses, 'such as is most vividly shown by the example of Pompeii. Protection against the weather was the only thing considered in ancient houses; the furniture was limited to what was absolutely essential; so that at least four of the Pompeian rooms or chambers could be contained in a tolerably large modern room. Even in later times, down to the Middle Ages, the accommodation was extremely limited, and no essential alteration took place till the last three or four centuries'.<sup>1</sup>

Certainly, thousands of dwellings were merely 'sleeping rooms' (Rodbertus), as is shown by numerous allusions to dark rooms which could not be entered without stooping (Martial, ii, 53; iii, 30); many probably slept in sheds (Tacitus, *Hist.*, i, 86; cp. Horace, *Odes*, i, 4, 13, *pauperum tabernas*, *Ars Poetica*, 229; Nissen, *Pompeianische Studien*, p. 600); it is clear that attics and garrets were often used as lodgings (Juvenal, iii, 159 ff.; Suetonius, *Gramm.*, 9; Pöhlmann, p. 98), and a considerable number may have spent the night in the open air or under the archways (Martial, x, 5, 7).<sup>2</sup> But above all it must be remembered that the population of Rome consisted in great part of slaves, who certainly as a rule had the poorest sleeping accommodation. Consequently, if we must assume a denser population in ancient Rome than even in Naples (where in 1881 1,470 persons lived in quarters only a hectare in extent near the harbour), certainly many more than 650 lived on a single hectare, which Beloch regards as the highest possible average number.<sup>3</sup> On this calculation, Rome in 74 would have had 1,117,000 inhabitants to 1,800 hectares (the mean between 1,712 and 1,894); consequently, in reality their number must have been considerably

<sup>1</sup> In some quarters of Naples the sleeping apartments (all without windows) of 4 to 5 square metres are divided by a horizontal partition wall into an upper and a lower room and afford shelter in favourable circumstances to no less than 20 human beings, in addition to various animals. (W. Kaden in *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15 Dec., 1873.)

<sup>2</sup> Pöhlmann wrongly takes these and other *fornices* for cellar-lodgings. There may have been some in Rome, but there is no evidence of it.

<sup>3</sup> Neither the imperial palaces swarming with inmates nor the Circus Maximus with its shops in the arches of the lowest storey are to be included amongst the uninhabited public buildings (Beloch, p. 409) which are to be deducted from the total area.



larger. Here we may mention again that the amount of water supplied by the aqueducts in 97 under Frontinus' administration was more than sufficient for a population of 2,000,000 (Pöhlmann, p. 143).

In spite of the ravages of the epidemic in 79, and other set-backs from time to time, there must have been on the whole a constant increase in the population down to the beginning of the epidemic in 167; and, supposing the correctness of the results hitherto obtained, we must assume with every probability that it exceeded 1,500,000 in the first half of the second century.<sup>1</sup> As there can hardly have been much more space available for new buildings in the interior of the city, and many were probably pulled down to make room for the splendid edifices (chiefly erected during the period from Vespasian to Hadrian),<sup>2</sup> the suburbs must have continually extended from 74 to 167. As a matter of fact, the number of the police districts (*vici*) of Rome from the year 74 to the time of Constantine increased from 265 to a total between 307 (304) and 423 (nearer the former). Five *regiones* (I, X, XII, XIII, XIV), which in 136 contained 66 *vici*, had 143 under Constantine (Jordan, *Topographie*, i, 315). The two *regiones* that formed the west end, the ninth (Campus Martius) and the fourteenth (Transtiberina), especially increased rapidly and constantly; under Constantine their circumferences were 32,500 and 33,388 Roman feet respectively, more than twice the circumference of all the rest (with the exception of the thirteenth, Aventinus). The fourteenth (6.6 Roman *miglia* in extent) was consequently larger than the modern Trastevere, since the fortifications which surround the latter (excluding the castle of Sant' Angelo) are in all only 5.5 Roman *miglia* in length. If this circumference of the fourteenth region be added to the length of the Aurelian wall on the left bank, the total circumference of Rome under Constantine is, according to Bernardini (8.96 + 6.6) 15.56, according to Nolli (9.51 + 6.6) 16.11 Roman *miglia*; consequently, considerably greater than in 74 with a correspondingly greater area.<sup>3</sup>

Further, since it is probable that the suburbs in particular suffered from the devastating effects of the great epidemic, which raged under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (chiefly amongst the lower classes), the Aurelian wall might have excluded an area, which 100–150 years earlier was thickly populated, but at that time was a desert. But it also still excluded a suburban population, which, as Rodbertus concludes from the *Vita Elagabali* (27), must have been considerable. At his death Severus left a supply of corn for seven years (septem annorum canonem), 75,000 *modii* of which could be given out daily (*Severus*, 8; 23). Of Elagabalus it is said :

<sup>1</sup> Pöhlmann (p. 23), while rejecting every attempt to solve the question of ancient populations with the data at our disposal, nevertheless says that imperial Rome may once have reached the figure of 2,000,000 (p. 123), but can scarcely have exceeded it.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand space was gained by the removal of the *vestibula*. They are last mentioned by Juvenal (i, 132) in the last years of Trajan; on the other hand, at a time which Gellius (born 130–134) could still remember, none can have existed (xvi, 5, 3). Probably they disappeared under Hadrian, no doubt in consequence of the increased street traffic.

<sup>3</sup> Jordan's assumption of 900 hectares for the time of Constantine, according to him rather too high than too low (*Topographie*, i, 543), is an impossible one.

jusserat et canonem P.R. unius anni meretricibus, lenonibus, exoletis intramuranis dari, extramuranis alio promisso, quum eo tempore juxta provisionem Severi et Trajani (*v.l.* Bassiani, Hirschfeld, *Getreideverwaltung Roms in Philologus*, xxix, 24) septem annorum canon frumentarius Romae esset. ' *Provisio* in the administration of the corn supply is a technical expression for a rough calculation or provisional estimates ' (Rodbertus). By *extramurani* the biographer evidently means the inhabitants of the suburbs (outside the fourteen *regiones*), in accordance with the language of his day, when the Aurelian wall was already built. If, then, such a promise was made to the *meretrices lenones exoleti* of the suburbs, their numbers must have been considerable, and the suburbs, where they formed an important part of the population, must have been of considerable extent.

From the amount of the corn supply of Severus, Hirschfeld (p. 25) concluded that at that time a great decrease in the population of Rome had already taken place. He supposes that by far the largest part of the corn in Rome had been sold by the State, since the system of taxation in kind left little for private trade (Rodbertus), which, besides, could not hold out against State competition (pp. 23, 33). And since only 75,000 *modii* daily (27,375,000 yearly) were supplied by the *canon* of Severus, he estimates the total requirements of Rome at that time at about 30,000,000 *modii*, which would give a population of 625,000 or 714,285. On the other hand, according to Rodbertus the amount of the *canon frumentarius* had nothing to do with the population. ' It was not the general grain supply of Rome, but the regular budgetary figure of the State grain-quantum, which was kept in view and fixed at Rome for frumentarian requirements (market department, pauper department, institutions) '.

Lastly, attempts have repeatedly been made to ascertain the population of Rome at that time from the 1790 (1782) *domus* and 46,602 (44,171) *insulae* mentioned in the description of the city written between 312 and 315 (?). Wietersheim (pp. 251-265), who thinks that *insulae* must mean not only whole houses, but also parts of houses separated by walls up to the top, arrives at a population of 1,400,000 to 1,450,000. Marquardt (*StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 125) says: ' In 1872 in Paris one house was occupied by 28.84, in Berlin in 1871 by 57.14 persons; reckoning 29 to a house in Rome, this gives 1,332,637 inhabitants, with 57, 2,619,321; taking an average of 35, we should get 1,608,335 '. But it is evident that all conclusions drawn from the number of persons living in the houses of modern large cities as to the number living in those of Rome are more than problematical (Pöhlmann, p. 22). Besides, the meaning of *insulae* in the description of the city cannot be settled with certainty. Jordan (*Topographie*, i, 543) arrives at the result, that it is impossible to consider them as anything but houses. On the other hand, O. Richter (*Insula in Hermes*, 1885, pp. 91-100) defines them as ' the blocks of dwelling-houses (amongst which entire houses might be included), regarded administratively as a whole, which existed in the time of Constantine; that is to say, a conception which cannot be represented topographically '. Beloch (p. 408) considers them to be

' separated family apartments, somewhat corresponding to the fire-places (*fuochi*) of medieval Italian statistics '.

The statement of Olympiodorus in Photius (*Bibliotheca*, pp. 59, 30-33) on the corn requirements of Rome soon after 410 (Hirschfeld, pp. 26, 37) is too uncertain to be utilized. In 500 Rome appears to have been very deserted ; for at that time Theodoric gave populo Romano et pauperibus annonas singulis annis, centum viginti milia modios (Anon. Valesii ; Ammianus Marcellinus, ed. Wagner and Erfurdt, p. 622) : at the earlier rate of distribution 120,000 *modii* would only have been enough for 2,000 persons.

The most recent investigator of the subject (J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, pp. 392-413), who regards all previous attempts to settle the population of Rome as ' lamentable ' failures, arrives at the result that for the year 5 B.C. it may be estimated at 800,000 in round numbers (without Ostia), and that it remained practically stationary to the time of Diocletian (pp. 404, 394, 412). This result is based mainly on the assumption that the superficial area of 1,230 hectares surrounded by the Aurelian wall is not only almost equal in circumference to the fourteen *regiones* of Augustus, but was not essentially increased in all later enlargements of the city (p. 404) ; whereas as early as the time of Vespasian it was wider in circumference, and, consequently, its superficial area was considerably greater, and still further increased in later times. The number of the recipients of corn (320,000), for which a total population of 800,000 appears far too low, is explained by Beloch as including the inhabitants of the Campagna within a radius of perhaps 20 or 30 miles : ' We may assume that the proletariat, to a distance of about 40 kilometres, regularly poured into Rome for the distributions of corn, and were consequently included in the lists of those who had a claim to it. A circle described round Rome with a radius of 40 kilometres extends to Caere, Ostia, Ardea, Velitrae, Praeneste, Tibur, Cures, Soracte, and Lacus Sabatinus ' (p. 402). But for several reasons it is inconceivable that the mere influx of the inhabitants of these places entitled them to be put on the lists of the recipients. Not only would the feeding of the country population at the cost of the State have been as useless an expenditure as the feeding of the proletariat of the capital was an imperative necessity ; but only the latter could be called *plebs Romana* and *urbana* by Augustus (*RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, 59, 1 ; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 461, 2). These indications are alone sufficient to show the impossibility of Beloch's assumption, and therefore of his estimate as a whole. The statement of Aurelius Victor, that the supply of corn from Egypt under Augustus amounted to 20,000,000 *modii* is to all appearance derived from an official source ; but it is rejected by Beloch, who quite arbitrarily assumes that Victor has ' evidently ' confused it with the total supply of corn and has stated the amount in round numbers (p. 411, 2). Lastly, Beloch's view, that the population of Rome remained stationary for three centuries, is contrary to all analogies. Certainly, as he observes (p. 393), the situation of Rome was unfavourable, living dear, the climate unhealthy, and only factitious causes raised it to the rank of a great city. But this is the case to a greater degree in St. Petersburg, whose population,

notwithstanding, rose from 191,846 (including soldiers) in 1784 to 320,000 in 1826, and 532,241 in 1852.

## VI. ON THE USE OF VEHICLES IN ROME.

(Vol. I, p. 20, l. 4.)

THE republican regulations as to the use of vehicles in the city remained unaltered under the empire, except that as a rule women were no longer permitted to drive (Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>2</sup>, 378, 3). Caesar's municipal law of 709 forbade the use of vehicles in the streets of Rome, during the first ten hours of the day, starting from sunrise, *i.e.* at the time when pedestrian traffic was greatest. Exceptions were made in the case of conveyances used: (1) for public buildings, temples, and house-breaking; (2) by certain persons (the Vestals, the *rex sacrorum*, the *flamines* at public sacrifices, and generals at a triumph; the privilege of the Vestals was subsequently bestowed upon some of the empresses); (3) at public games, specially the circus procession; (4) in the case of conveyances which had arrived in the city during the night, but only if they were empty or were used for the removal of public rubbish (Pöhlmann, p. 131; cp. Marquardt, *Röm. Privatl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 729).

This regulation, which limited the conveyance of all heavy loads (especially material for private buildings) and (with few exceptions) personal carriage traffic to the time before sunrise or the two last hours of the day, appears to have continued in force during the first two centuries; at least, I am not aware of any authority against this. Caligula's order to those who brought the news of the supposed conquest of Britain—*ut vehiculo ad forum usque et curiam pertenderent*—is evidently reported by Suetonius as an act of madness (*Caligula*, 44). Where heavily loaded carts are spoken of as passing through the city by day, there is no doubt that they were employed on public buildings, for which there was such a mania at that time. Such are the following passages.

*festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor,  
torquet nunc lapidem nunc ingens machina tignum,  
tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris.*

(Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 2, 72).

Alfenus libro II Digestorum (*Digg.*, ix, 2, 52 [53] §2): In clivo Capitolino duo plaustra onusta mulae ducebant; prioris plaustri muliones conversum plaustrum humeris sublevabant, quo facile mulae ducerent, [inter] superius plaustrum cessim ire coepit, et quum muliones qui inter duo plaustra fuerunt e medio exiissent, posterius plaustrum a priore percussum retro redierat et puerum cujusdam obtriverat; dominus pueri consulebat cum quo se agere oporteret. (Here *humeris sublevabant* is a conj. of C. W. Müller: F<sup>2</sup> has *plostrumori subl.*: but see Mommsen's note). Plutarch, *Galba*, 8, 4: Ἀπόνιον δὲ τινα τῶν κατηγορικῶν ἀνατρέψαντες ἀμάξας λιθοφόρους ἐπήγαγον. Juvenal, 3, 254:

longa coruscat  
serraco veniente abies, atque altera pinum  
plaustra vehunt; nutant alte populoque minantur.



nam si procubuit, qui saxa Ligustica portat  
axis et eversum fudit super agmina montem,  
quid superest de corporibus ?

Accordingly, when Hadrian vehicula cum ingentibus sarcinis urbem ingredi prohibuit (*Vita*, 22), this absolute prohibition (later than the above passage, written under Trajan) has nothing to do with the law, as Dirksen observes (*Civilist. Abhandlungen*, p. 278). But the conveyance of enormous loads was not forbidden out of any consideration for pedestrians, who might have been injured just as much by smaller ones, but because of the dangerous effect of the shaking on houses, pavements, and *cloacae*. Cicero, *Pro Scauro*, 22, 45 : quum diceret—in privatam domum vectas esse tantas moles, ut satis dari damni infecti coegerit redemptor cloacarum, quum in Palatium plaustris extraherentur. This passage is quoted by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxv, 6 ; xxxvi, 106), where the indestructibility of the *cloacae* is extolled : trahuntur moles superne tantae, non succumbentibus cavis operis, etc. Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 51 : non ut ante immanium transvectione saxorum urbis tecta quatiuntur : stant securae domus, nec jam templa nutantia. These dangers were evidently the origin of Hadrian's prohibition, the details of which we do not know. In the general terms in which it is stated, it is meaningless : for there were some enormous loads which could not be divided, *e.g.* monoliths. Hadrian himself had the colossus of Nero transported by 24 elephants (*Vita*, 19).

As far as I know, there is no trace of vehicles being used by any one in Rome during the first two centuries (apart from the exceptions specified in the *lex Julia* and later). On the contrary, the lines of Juvenal (iii, 236) :

redarum transitus arto  
vicorum inflexu et stantis convicia mandrae  
eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis,

show that the use of the *redae* was limited to the night. They are travellers' vehicles, arriving, departing, or passing through the city. Juvenal (vii, 179 : anne serenum expectet spargatque luto jumenta recenti ?) refers to a drive in the open country, not in the streets of the city. The guests, whom Domitian terrified by a pretended funeral banquet, were sent away τοὺς μὲν ὀχήμασι, τοὺς δὲ φορείοις παραδούς (Dio, lxvii, 9) : Lucius Verus (*Vita*, 5) provided his guests with vehicula cum mulabus et mulionibus cum juncturis argenteis, ut ita de convivio redirent : in both cases after the tenth hour of the day. Apart from this, however, it may be supposed that the emperors did not always trouble themselves about the regulation. The statement in Philostratus (*Apoll. Tyan.*, viii, 7, p. 133, 53 ed. Kayser), referring to Domitian's informers, τὸ μὲν ἵπποτροφεῖν αὐτοὺς κατὰ ζευγῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκκυκλεῖσθαι λευκῶν is of no weight, except for Philostratus' own time. Galen expressly testifies that no one drove in Rome (ed. K. xi, p. 299, where he relates that a rich man drove from his house in the suburbs to the place ἐνθα τῶν ὀχημάτων ἀποβαίνειν εἰσὶν εἰθισμένοι). When Annia Faustina, daughter of Marcus Annianus Libo (consul 128 ; Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iii, 224) drove to visit the sick Commodus at the third hour of the day

(Galen, *De praenot. ad Epig.*, xii, ed. K. xiv, p. 661), she probably enjoyed this privilege as related to the imperial house.

Plautianus (A.D. 205) appears to be the first person mentioned as using a carriage in Rome. According to Dio (lxxvi, 4), when summoned by Severus (certainly at a very late hour of the day), οὕτως ἡπείχθη—ὥστε τὰς ἡμιόνας τὰς ἀγούσας αὐτὸν πεσεῖν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ. Possibly a carriage was at that time one of the distinctions of the *praefectus praetorio*, as later of the high imperial officials generally (Bethmann-Hollweg, *Hdb. d. Civilproc.*, p. 59, 20). But there is no doubt that at the beginning of the third century it was by no means unusual for private persons to drive in Rome. Soon afterwards, the use of a carriage decorated with silver (*Vita L. Veri*, 5, quoted above) appears to have been a regular privilege of the senatorial order: Alexander Severus, *Vita*, 43, carrucas Romae et redas senatoribus omnibus ut argentatas haberent permisit; interesse Romanae dignitatis putans ut his tantae urbis senatores vectarentur: Aurelian, *Vita*, 46, dedit praeterea potestatem ut argentatas privati carrucas haberent (*i.e.* allowed them to use them in Rome, for permission was not needed for outside), quum antea aerata et eborata vehicula fuissent. Perhaps the alteration is to be attributed to the influence of Orientalism. In Ammianus' description (xiv, 6) the enormous carriages (carrucae solito altiores) and the dangerous driving in the city are prominent features.

In the other imperial towns the regulation was no doubt frequently transgressed.<sup>1</sup> Claudius issued an edict to remind travellers to pass through the towns of Italy on foot or in a sedan-chair or litter (Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25). Yet Seneca, writing under Nero, mentions the rattling of carriages passing through (*Epp.*, 56, essedas transcurrentes) as one of the causes of the unceasing noise at Baiae. Riding in large towns was again forbidden by Hadrian (*Vita*, 22), riding and driving by Marcus Aurelius (*Vita*, 23), and Aurelian (*Vita*, 5) before his accession, although wounded, did not venture to enter Antioch in a carriage (quia invidiosum tunc erat vehiculis in civitate uti), but rode on horseback. Certainly, however, the imperial *legati* at that time used carriages in their provinces: ex quo factum ut in vehiculo etiam legati sederent qui antea pedibus ambulabant (*Severus*, 2). Artemidorus, who seems to have written under Commodus (ed. Reifferscheid, *praef.*, p. vii), speaks of riding in towns as a peculiar privilege of free men, but the reference is certainly to processions: according to the same passage, the use of carriages was confined to the priestesses: *Oneirocritica*, i, 50: φημι δὲ ἀγαθὸν ἐλευθέραις γυναιξιν ἅμα καὶ παρθένοις πλουσίαις τὸ διὰ πόλεως ἄρμα ἐλαύνειν. Ἀγαθὰς γὰρ ἱερωσύνας αὐταῖς περιποιεῖται. Πενιχαῖς δὲ πορνεῖαν τὸ διὰ πόλεως ἱππάζεσθαι προαγορεύει· δούλοις δὲ ἐλευθερίαν, ἴδιον γὰρ ἐλευθέροις τὸ διὰ πόλεων ἱππεύειν. According to Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.*, ii, 10, 2) the sophist Hadrianus, the successor of Herodes

<sup>1</sup> At Pompeii the remains of a stable have been found on the high road before the gate of Herculaneum. The *stationes* of the *cisiarii* (cab-drivers, who carried travellers) were certainly always before the gates. In an inscription from Cales (*CIL*, x, 4660) a *clivus* is mentioned as paved ab Janu (*sic*) ad cisiarios port[ae] Stellatinae; at Pompeii extra portam Stabianam, *CIL*, x, 1064, viam a milliario ad cisiarios, qua territorium est Pompeianorum (consequently outside the city).

Atticus in the chair of oratory at Athens drove to his lectures. The anecdote (*Philogelos*, 138) of a centurion of Sidon, who wanted to have a man punished for driving through the market, may belong to a later date; driving through the market places probably continued to be forbidden, when it was allowed in the streets.

## VII. ROMA AUREA, AETERNA, SACRA.

(Vol. I, p. 29, l. 6.)

OF course *aurea* was never an official epithet. Ovid, *A.A.*, iii, 113: *simplicitas rudis ante fuit: nunc aurea Roma est et domiti magnas possidet orbis opes*. Martial, ix, 59, 1: *in septis Mamurra diu multumque vagatus, hic ubi Roma suas aurea vexat opes*. *Vita Pescen. Nig.*, 12 (a translation of a Greek epigram): *hunc reges, hunc gentes amant, hunc aurea Roma*. Ausonius, *Cl. urb.*, 1: *Prima urbes inter, Divum domus, aurea Roma*. Juvenal, *Libri evang.* iv, praef. 2: *aurea Roma*. (Cp. Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 374, 425).

Of the other two epithets (Wilmanns, *Ex. Inscr. Ind.*, p. 454; *Tibull.*, ii, 5, 23, *Romulus aeternae nondum firmaverat urbus moenia aeterna* became official under Hadrian, who built the temple Venus and Roma (Preller, *R.M.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 356, dedicated on the foundation day of the city, April 21st), of which there are coins with the legend *VRBS ROMA AETERNA* (Roma sedens in templo d. globum s. hastam; Eckhel, *D.N.*, vi, 510 f.).

According to Jordan (*Forma Urbis*, p. 8) Rome was called *sacra* in the sense in which that word was applied to everything connected with the emperor and his household (Hirschfeld, *VG*, 96, 1) under Severus, who 'stamped it as the imperial city both in reality and name' (Hirschfeld, 174, 1). The oldest official inscription in which the epithet is found (*VRBI SACRAE REG. XIII*; *CIL*, vi, 1030, Jordan, *F.U.*, 1) belongs to his reign. The coin referred to by Preller (*R.M.*<sup>1</sup>, 709, 1) on which Severus is called *sacerdos urbis* (which would be hardly conceivable if this were the origin of the name) is a forgery (Jordan, *ib.*, and on Preller, *R.M.*, ii, 358, 2). In Africa (Cirta, Thamugadis) there are municipal *sacerdotes urbis* of high rank; also in Noricum and Pannonia (Jordan, *ib.*, ii, 355, 2). Certainly this cult may have been first introduced into the provinces under the Severi; perhaps the title *urbs sacra* first became official at that time. But it already occurs in the inscription of a corn-dealer at Praeneste of the year 136 (*CIL*, xiv, 2852, 12: *notus in urbe sacra*),<sup>1</sup> and thus may have come into existence as early as the building of the temple of Venus and Roma.

## VIII. THE OFFICIALS *A RATIONIBUS*, *A LIBELLIS*, *AB EPISTULIS*.

(Vol. I, p. 34, l. 17.)

THAT these three offices were considered of far greater importance in the second century than in the first is most clearly shown by the rank of those who held them and the offices which they previously

<sup>1</sup> Also in the epitaph of L. Nerusius Mithres (*CIL*, ix, 4796, l. 6). On the occasion of Circus games in December, 196: *καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ Βασιλίδαν καὶ Ἀθάναντον ὀνομάσαντες ἕως τότε τοιαῦτα πάσχομεν;* ἐκράξαν (Dio, lxxv, 4),

or subsequently filled. I shall accordingly give a list, as far as possible in chronological order, of the officials in question for this period, so far as they are known to me, together with a statement of other offices held by them as mentioned in inscriptions or elsewhere, so far as is necessary. A number of corrections and additions to this and the previous edition, for which I am indebted to my friend Otto Hirschfeld, are enclosed in square brackets and signed H. The nature of these offices (and also of the *a studiis*, *a cognitionibus*, *a memoria*) has been exhaustively investigated by Ed. Cuq, in his *Mémoire sur le Consilium Principis d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (in the *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'académie des inscriptions*, tom. ix, 1884, pp. 311-503; cp. especially pp. 356-401).

(a) **A Rationibus.**

There is no evidence of this title under Augustus; it first appears under Tiberius as the name of a subordinate official of the imperial household. It was borne by the directors of the central office for the administration of the imperial finance, which had certainly existed since the beginning of the empire (Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 1001, 1), but was first raised by Claudius' freedman Pallas to be one of the most important and influential court offices. Hadrian made it one of the equestrian procuratorships, and its holders (now called *procuratores a rationibus*), though now and again freedmen, regularly assumed the highest position amongst the equestrian procurators, both as regards rank and salary. They had an assistant of lower rank and a considerable number of officials, for the most part freedmen (cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 30-33, where also the known subordinate officials of the office *a rationibus* are given).

Inscriptions of the second half of the second century also mention the title *procurator summarum rationum*, who is certainly not identical with the *procurator a rationibus*, as assumed by Marquardt (*StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 308).<sup>1</sup> Hirschfeld thinks that it refers to the sub-director of the fiscal administration, upon whom Marcus Aurelius probably bestowed a higher rank and a more honourable title. The title *procurator a rationibus* must have been replaced not much later by that of *rationalis* (καθολικός), commonly used in the third century for the superintendent of the fisc (Hirschfeld, pp. 33-40).

In enumerating the officials *a rationibus* I ignore the subordinate officials (for these see Hirschfeld, *VG*, 32 f.; *CIL*, vi, 8417-8431). All those to whose names the simple *a rationibus* is added (without being particularized as *adjutor*, *tabularius*, and the like) must be regarded as supreme directors, in the absence of definite reasons to the contrary.

Antemus Ti. Caesaris Aug. l. a rationibus accensus delat. ab Aug. *CIL*, vi, 8409 (Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 336, 1).

Ti. Claudius Aug. l. Actiacus a rationi(b). Doni, vii, 139, p. 900 = *CIL*, vi, 8412.

Ti. Claudius Felix Aug. l. a rationibus. Orelli, 4377 = *CIL*, vi, 8413. Hardly identical with the well-known procurator of Judaea,

<sup>1</sup> [This is clear from the fact that the *proc. summ. rat.* is promoted to the *ab epist. lat.* (*CIL*, vi, 1564). No importance need be attached (Marquardt, 308, 5) to Greek names of the office in literature and inscriptions. H.]



who is called Claudius Felix by Suidas, s. Claudius and Zonaras, vi, 15, but by Tacitus, *Hist.*, v, 9, Antonius Felix [so Henzen, 5404; cp. Nipperdey on Tacitus, *Ann.*, xi, 29, vii, 54, and Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii, 6, 6; xx, 7, 1. H.].

Ti. Claudius Aug. l. Abascantus a rationibus. Grut., 588, 2 = *CIL*, vi, 8411.

M. Antonius Antoniae Augustae l. Pallas (Mommsen, *Index Plin.*) a rationibus under Claudius and Nero till 55 (died 62); see schol. Probi ad Juv., i, 108. The inscription (*CIL*, vi, 2, 11965): dis manibus Antonius Asclepiades Pallantis l. fecit sibi et Juliae Philumene conjugi carissimae, found on the Via Tiburtina, where the monument of Pallas stood (Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 29) is rightly referred to him by Matranga (*Bull. dell' inst. arch.*, 1853, p. 136). The names Antonius and Julia also point to the first century, to the end of which the letters and relief appear to belong. On the other hand, Borghesi identified him with M. Antonius Pallas, cos. suff. 167, perhaps because Pallas is called a freedman of Claudius by Suetonius and Zonaras.

Carpus Aug. l. Pallantianus (Orelli, 1797) was adjutor of Claudius Athenodorus praef. annonae (Orelli, 3200 = *CIL*, vi, 8470), probably under Nero; cp. Hirschfeld, *Getreideverwaltung* in *Philologus*, xxix, p. 28; *CIL*, xiv, 2833 [M. Antonius Pallantis l. Nobilis] with the note).

Claudius Etruscus' father, perhaps the successor of Pallas, apparently administered the office under Domitian and died about 91.

Atticus Aug. l. a rationibus, known from the inscription of his wife Claudia Attica (Orelli, 1494 = *CIL*, x, 6640), found at Nettuno and set up in Domitian's eleventh consulship (85). [The same Atticus is mentioned in an inscription of the Despuig museum (Bouer, *Museum D.*, n. 37 = *CIL*, vi, 8410): dis manibus Fortunati Attici Aug. lib. a rationib. lib. tabular. Fructus imp. Caesaris Domitiani Aug. Germanic. Atticianus tabular. a rationib. amico carissimo: where Fructus is a slave who has passed from the possession of Atticus into that of Domitian. H.] An Abascantus Aug. a rat. Attic(ianus) *CIL*, vi, 8408. Epaphra Aug. l. Atticianus *ib.* 8451.

Crescens Aug. l. a rationibus, Spon., *Misc.* p. 210 = *CIL*, vi, 8414 [probably a Flavius or Claudius (Crescens Neronis libertus, Tac., *Hist.*, i, 76), as his sister is Flavia Aug. l. Daphne. H.].

The fragment from Ameria in Muratori, 921, 1: . . . l. l. a rationibus, etc. (better in Doni, p. 310, p. 187) is not quite clear; Nero seems to be mentioned in it. [The inscription appears to me open to grave suspicion. H.]

Diadumenus Aug. lib. a rationibus Aniceto lib. Fabretti, 477, 150 = *CIL*, vi, 8415. No doubt identical with *CIL*, x, 3347 (Misenum) Diadumenus a rationib. [according to La Vega's copy D. A(ug. l.) a rationib. H.]; cp. Lanciani, *Acque e acqued.*, p. 216, and *Bull. com. d. R.* 1886, p. 104, 1158 (lead pipes in the Villa Casali): Diadumeni Aug. [l. a rationib.] Ti. Claud. Felix f. [On the other hand probably different from Orelli, 2946: Diadumeno Aug. l. praeposit. ordinato ultro a Divo Tito viii cos. (A.D. 80)—died A.D. 120; cp. Murat., 879, 1. H.].

Philotimus Aug. l. a ration. *CIL*, vi, 8416.

Later than the time of Hadrian, freedmen as well as knights still filled the office. The earliest of the former is

T. Aurelius Aug. lib. Aphrodisius proc. Aug. a rationibus (Grut., 371, 2 = *CIL*, xiv, 2104). As the praenomen shows, he was manumitted by Antoninus Pius before the latter's adoption by Hadrian, when Antoninus was still called Titus Aurelius Fulvus.

Ti. Claudius Secundinus L. Statius Macedonicus (Murat., 690, 6 = Kellermann, *Vigg.* 31 = *CIL*, v, 1, 867 [Aquileia]) was praef. leg. Tra[janae] and rose from the procuratorship of the provinces of Lugdunensis and Aquitania to be *proc. a rationibus*, and afterwards *proc. annonae*. [Cp. Murat., 915, 9. In his inscription *CIL*, v, 1, 867 Mommsen supplies *proc. provinc. Lugdunens. et Aquitan[icae] a rationib. Aug.* Rather Aquitan. [proc.] a rationib. Aug : cp. *Philologus*, xxix, 32, 18. A son of this Secundinus is perhaps referred to in *CIL*, vi, 1605. H.]. His date is defined by a lead-pipe found at Portus, *CIL*, xiv, 2008a : Imp. Antonini Aug. Pii sub cur. Cl. Secundini ra[tion] (rather a ration.) et Anni Phlegontis Aug. lib. ex off. Demetri liberti.

L. Valerius Proculus (according to the inscription on him in Malaca, *CIL*, ii, 1970 = Henzen, 6928 ; better *ib.*, p. 522) after holding various important procuratorships became *proc. provinciarum trium Galliarum*, *proc. a rationibus Aug. praef. annonae praef. Aegypti* (the *praef. Aegypti* is confirmed by Henzen, 7420 e, the *praef. annonae* (in the year 144) by Grut., 255, 1-3 ; consequently, according to the analogy of similar equestrian official careers the *procuratio a rationibus* may with certainty be assumed as having been held by him). Cp. Hirschfeld, *Getreideverwaltung*, *Philologus*, xxix, 30, 11.

Bassaeus Rufus, of humble origin, under Marcus Aurelius worked his way up by his military ability to the highest equestrian offices (Dio, lxx, 15 ; Orelli, 3574 ; cp. Henzen, iii, p. 372 = *CIL*, vi, 1599). After having been procurator in several provinces, lastly in Belgica and the two Germaniae, he became *proc. a rationibus*, then *praefectus annonae* or *vigilum*, *praefectus Aegypti* (between 161 and 166), lastly *praef. praetorio*. Cp. Hirschfeld as above, p. 31, 14 and *VG*, p. 226 foll. His immediate successor was perhaps

Ti. Cl. Vibianus Tertullus *CIL*, iii, 6574 (Ephesi ad aedem Dianae): ΤΙ. ΚΛ. Ούειβιανὸν Τέρτυλλον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τῶν καθ' ὅλου λόγων τῶν μεγίστων αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ ἐπαρχῶν οὐρίγλων—Spectatus Augg. nn. lib. adjutor tabul. ob merita ejus.

P. Licinius Papirianus proc. M. Aureli et d. Veri a rationibus, *CIL*, viii, 1641.

Cosmus Aug. lib., who administered the office, while Bassaeus Rufus was praef. praet. At Saepinum (Altilia), where the Bojano gate once stood, through which the path (il tratturo) goes, along which the sheep are driven back from Apulia into the Abruzzi, there is still to be seen the inscription (Mommsen, *IRN*, 4916 = *CIL*, ix, 2438 ; after 166 A.D., cp. the notes), which contains copies of three official letters. The third of these is addressed by Septimianus (lib. Aug. adjutor a ration.) to Cosmus : cum conductores gregum oviaricorum, qui sunt sub cura tua in re praesenti subinde quererentur per itinera callium frequenter injuriam se accipere a stationariis

et magistratibus Saepino et Boviano eo quod in transitu jumenta et pastores, quos conductos habent—dicentes fugitivos esse et jumenta abactia habere—retineant et sub hac specie oves quoque dominicae sibi pereant in illo tumultu: necesse habuimus etiam atque etiam scribere, quietius agerent, ne res dominica detrimentum pateretur; et cum in eadem contumacia perseverent, dicentes non curaturos se, neque si tu eis scripseris haut fieri rem, rogo, domine, si tibi videbitur, indices Bassaeo Rufo et Macrinio Vindici praefectis praetorio eminentissimis viris, ut epistulas emittant eosdem ad magistratus et stationarios etc. Cosmus accordingly approaches the *praeff. prael.* who in accordance with his desire give instructions to the officials of Saepinum. The same Cosmus and the same Septimanus (*sic*) in Murat., 896, 2 = *CIL*, vi, 455; cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 159. The inscription is dated . . . I Kal. Octobr. [L. Venuleio Apronia]no II et L. Ser[gio Paulo] II : 168 A.D.]. As in this fragment Cosmus is called *a rationibus Augg.*, the two Augusti Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus (died 169) are meant. [The same Cosmus on a lead pipe, *AdI*, 1857, p. 69 (Romae in Aventino = Lanciani, *Acque e acqued.*, p. 237, 173; according to the same, his house was in the 13th *regio*, *ib.* 303): Cosmi Aug. lib. a rat. H.] His immediate successor was perhaps

Euphrates, who filled the office after 168. Galen, xiv, 4 : ἦν δὲ [M. Antonin.]τηνικαῦτα διὰ τὸν Γερμανικὸν πόλεμον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰστρὸν χωρίοις ἐμοῦ παραιτησαμένου τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐκείνην. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ ἀρχιάτρου σκευαζομένην ἀντίδοτον ἐπήγει, μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ γράψας Εὐφρατεῖ τῷ καθολικῷ, παρ' οὗ τὰ πρὸς τὴν σύνθεσιν ἐλάβανεν ἀπλὰ φάρμακα, δηλώσαι τις αὐτῷ παρῆν τῶν λαμβανόντων σύνταξιν αὐτοκρατορικὴν, καὶ πυθόμενος ἐμὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ κατὰ πάσας τὰς συνθέσεις παραγεγονέναι, σκευάζεσθαι μὲν ἐκέλευσεν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν ἀντίδοτον. Marcus Aurelius was away on the Danube from 168 to 174, during which time Galen practised as a physician and was engaged in literary work at Rome. This passage seems to show that the *proc. a rationibus* also exercised supervision over the imperial *horrea*.<sup>1</sup>

Aelius Achilles was *rationalis* (*i.e.* procurator *a rationibus*) in 193, according to the edicts addressed by him and (his adjutor) Cl(audius) Perpetuus Flavianus Eutychus to the officials of the department of public buildings: Wilmanns, *Ex. Inscr.*, 2840 = *CIL*, vi, 1585 a and b: cp. Hirschfeld as above, p. 36.

Zosimus. Bronze stamp in the Kircher Museum (unpublished): Zosimi *a rationibus*. Hirschfeld as above, p. 32, 3.

Knights of uncertain date:—

C. Junius Flavianus (Grut., 426, 5 = Or., 3331 = Boissieu, *Inscr. d. Lyon*, p. 240) attained the same office by the same steps. He had been *tr. mil. leg. VII Gem.*, a name given to the legion under Vespasian: Hirschfeld, as above, 32, 17.

M. Petronius Honoratus (*CIL*, vi, 1625 a and b), after holding the military offices, was *proc. monet. proc. xx her. proc. prov. Belg. et duarum Germaniarum proc. a ration. Aug. praef. ann. praef.*

<sup>1</sup> Lurius Lucullus, to whom the answer of Commodus to the complaint of the imperial *coloni* of the *saltus Burunitanus* is addressed (Mommsen, *Hermes*, xv, 1880, p. 385; *CIL.*, viii, 10570, col. iv, 4) was not a procurator, but the leader of the complainants (Karlowa, *Röm. Rechtsgesch.*, i, 650).



Aegypti (according to Labus in the last years of Marcus Aurelius, cp. Franz, *CIG*, iii, p. 131) pontif. minor; Hirschfeld as above, 31, 15. [Cf. Roulez, *Mém. de l'ac. de Bruxelles*, xvii (1843), p. 40. H.]

L. Julius Julianus (according to Barnabei's reading L. Ve[hil]ius G[ratus] Julianus), according to his inscription found in the Tiber, after holding several posts as an officer in the Parthian and Germanic war (in both of which he distinguished himself) became proc. Aug[g.-et] pr[aep.] vexillationis per Achaïam et Macedoniam et in Hispanias, adversus Castabocas (*sic*, 178-9) et Mauros rebelles (176-7); he then held various procuratorships, including one with a military command (last in Britain, 183-4); became prefect of the fleets at Ravenna (185) and Misenum (186); received the office a rationib[us] 187, the prefecture of the corn supply 188 (between M. Petronius Honoratus and M. Aurelius Papirius Dionysius); lastly, succeeded Cleander as *praef. praet.* 189, and was put to death by Commodus (Hirschfeld, *VG*, 229, 49 and 52, which with Barnabei I regard as identical). See Barnabei, *Di un' epigrafe onoraria a L. Julio Juliano*, in *Notizie degli Scavi*, Dicembre 1887.

Cn. Pompeius Homullus Aelius Gracilis Cassianus Longinus (Mur., 735, 4 = Fabr., 128, 47 = Kellermann, *Vigg.*, 36 = *CIL*, vi, 1626), was proc. Aug. prov. Britanniae, proc. provv. Lugdun. et Aquitan. before he was proc. a rat. [The inscription is by his heirs, and was presumably set up after his death. H.]

M. Aurelius Julianus. *CIL*, vi, 1596: Aurelio Juliano a rationibus et a memoria, cp. Fabretti, 573, 395 (M. Aurelii Juliani a memoria) and *CIL*, xiv, 2463 with the notes; perhaps identical with the similarly named praefectus praetorio: *CIL*, v, 4323; Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 32, 3. He had a villa on the Via Ardeatina (Lanciani, *Acque*, p. 304).

The fragment in Muratori, 768, 5 (wanting in Kellermann) [runs according to De Minicis *Iscriz. Fermane*, p. 215, no. 628 = *CIL*, ix, 5440: Proc. Aug. a rationib.—praef. vig. p. c. d. d. p.; more correctly explained in *AdI* (1839, p. 44) patrono coloniae, etc. H.].

Forged and wrongly read inscriptions: L. Mummius Achaicus praef. coh. trib. mil. ab epist. T. Caes. divi Aug. item a rat. etc. Grut., 1073, 7 = Orelli, 3567; cp. Henzen, iii, 372. Further, Gruter, 414, 8, regarded by Henzen, *Jahrb. der Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl.*, xiii, 95 as badly copied [cp. Borghesi, *AdI*, 1846, p. 319 ff. Also Donati, 308, 7; 320, 4; Murat., 979, 3 = *CIL*, vi, 5, 3089; further, *CIL*, ii, 396\*. The Speratus M. Nonii a rationibus in Gruter, 588, 4 should be (as in *CIL*, v, 413) Speratus M. Nonii Agathonici. H.].

Third and fourth centuries:—

Aurelius Eubulus of Emesa, perhaps *libertus*, under Elagabalus τοὺς καθόλου λόγους ἐπιτετραμμένος (Dio, lxxix, 21): cum plerosque eunuchos rationibus et procurationibus praeposuisset Heliogabalus, hic illis et veteres sustulit dignitates (*Alex. Sev.*, 23).

Felicissimus. Fuit sub Aureliano etiam monetariorum bellum, Felicissimo rationali auctore . . . monetarii auctore Felicissimo ultimo servorum, cui procurationem fisci mandaveram, rebelles spiritus extulerunt (*Aurelian.*, 37). Cp. Mommsen, *De Caeli Saturn. tit.*, in *Nuove Mem. d. Inst.*, ii, p. 324.



Aemilius Victor v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a rat. in the time of Diocletian. Henzen, notes to 5887 = *CIL*, vi, 1120.

Basilus Donatianus v.p. rationalis, same period, *ib.*, 1121.

Julius Antoninus rationalis under Maximian, *CIL*, iii, 325.

Geminus Festus v.par. (vir perfectissimus a rationibus ?) under the same, *Eph. Epigr.*, iv, p. 278, 795.

(The inscription of a procurator a rat. fisc. Constantini Aug. n̄—, Murat., 83, 2 from Ligorio, is not genuine.)

### (b) A Libellis

Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 202, 2: the title of a freedman of Tiberius acceptor a subscr(ptionibus) (Wilmanns, 384 [= *CIL*, vi, 5181] with note) no doubt corresponds to the *a libellis* in use after the time of Claudius.

C. Julius Callistus. So he is called in Scribonius. Josephus, *Antiq.*, xix, 1, 10: Κάλλιστος ἀπελεύθερος δὲ ἦν Γαίου κτλ. [Neither in this lengthy passage nor in Dio, lix, 29 (murder of Caligula: ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ τε Κάλλιστος καὶ ὁ ἑπαρχος) is any office spoken of; both would probably have mentioned it, if he had held it at the time. H.] In Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvi, 10 he is described as Caesaris Claudii libertorum potentia notus. Under Claudius ἐπὶ ταῖς βίβλοις τῶν ἀξιῶσεων ἐτέτακτο, Zonar., 563 D. By a sempstress he had a daughter, who became the mother of Nymphidius Sabinus (Plutarch, *Galba*, 9, 1). [Since, according to Tacitus (*Ann.*, xi, 29), in the year 48 Callistus was as powerful as Narcissus and Pallas, who were respectively *ab epistulis* and *a rationibus* (cp. *Ann.*, xii, 1), he evidently still held the office of a *libellis* at that time. H.] The passage in Scribon. Largus, *praef.* 23: tradendo scripta mea latina medicinalia deo nostro Caesari—divinis manibus laudando consecrasti does not justify the conjecture of Bücheler (*Conjectanea* in *Rhein. Mus.*, xxxv, 327), that he was also a *studiis*. His predecessor was perhaps

Polybius, also a *studiis* (Sueton., *Claud.*, 28), a *libellis* according to Seneca (*Cons. ad Polyb.*, 6, 5; cp. 5, 2). Seneca's treatise was composed before 44: Jonas, *De ordine librorum L. Annaei Senecae philosophi*, p. 30. He was put to death at the instigation of Messalina, whose lover he had been, in 47 or 48 (Dio, lx, 31, Tillemont, *H.d.E.*, i, p. 374). A Ti. Claudius Polybianus occurs in *CIL*, vi, 2, 12402.

Doryphorus (τὸν τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς βιβλία διέποντα, Dio, lxi, 5), the successor of Callistus, one of the most powerful freedmen of Nero and his boon companion (Sueton., *Nero*, 29), was said to have been poisoned (in 62) for having opposed the marriage of Nero and Poppaea (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv, 65). His successor was probably

Epaphroditus (a *libellis*, Suetonius, *Nero*, 49), who assisted Nero to take his life, for which he was executed by Domitian (Sueton., *Domit.*, 14; Dio, lxxvii, 14—according to Dio's chronology this was a year before Domitian was murdered). He is sometimes mentioned by Epictetus (*Diss.*, i, 1, 20; i, 19, 16; i, 26, 11), who was his slave. The Epaphroditus, to whom Josephus dedicated his *Anti-*

*quities* and *Autobiography*, must be a different person, since in ch. 65 of the latter work the death of Agrippa II (101) is assumed; see S. Paret, *Des Joseph. Gesch. des jüdischen Krieges*, introd. p. 23. The identification of an Epaphroditus Aug. l. a cubiculo, whose *vilicus* Atticus had a certain Claudia Prima as *contubernalis* (Lanciani, *Miscell. epigr. in Bull. com. d. R.*, v, 1877, p. 172, 153), with the freedman of Nero is at least doubtful.

Entellus (ὁ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς βιβλία διέπων, Dio, lxvii, 15), under Domitian, is mentioned by Dio (not by Suetonius) as having taken part in the conspiracy against the emperor. Martial (viii, 68) sang the praises of his glasshouses. M. Ulpius Aug. lib. Cladus Entellianus occurs in Wilmanns, 286.

Dis manibus T. Fl. Capitolini Hermes Aug. lib. a libellis et Flavia Irene parentes filio dulcissimo v. a. viii. m. v., *CIL*, vi, 8614; also (8615-8617) the inscriptions of some subordinate officials.

Only three *equites* of the second century are known to me as having held this office. T. Haterius Nepos, according to his inscription (Borghesi, *AdI*, 1846, p. 313 [*Œuvres*, v, p. 3] = Henzen, 6947), after holding the military offices, was first censitor Brittonum Anavionens. (an unknown people; but cp. *BdI*, 1867, p. 40), then proc. Aug. Armeniae major. (between 114 and 117), ludi magni, hereditatium, a censibus, a libellis Aug., praef. vigilum, praef. Aegypti. He held the last office 126 A.D.; consequently, the *a libellis* probably at the beginning of Hadrian's reign.

Mommsen's earlier view (*StR*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 398) that *a libellis* may have been the first century term for the office later called *a censibus*, appears incompatible with this inscription (to say nothing of the difference of the two offices); the same may be said of Marquardt's view (*StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 217) that *a libellis et a censibus* denoted only *one* office. The combination of the two (so also in the fragment *CIL*, iii, 259 [Ancyra] . . . a libellis et c[ensibus]) is explained by Hirschfeld (*VG*, 18, 4) by the fact that the head of the census department would be best informed as to the circumstances of the petitioners and the justice of their claims, which certainly in part had reference to taxation. Mommsen, in his most recent explanation (*StR*, iii, 490), that the department *a censibus* was a subdivision of the office *a libellis*, dealing with requests for admission into the equestrian order and the senate (in which evidence of property was of especial importance), leaves it undecided, 'whether the title *a censibus et libellis* belongs to the whole department usually called *a libellis*, or how the titles *a libellis* and *a censibus* are related to each other'. [It is certainly very probable that, even if the two offices were different, a close connexion existed between them, and they were often managed by the same chief director. H.]

C. Julius Celsus (Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, vii, p. 246 = Henzen, 6929), having been procurator in several provinces, lastly in Lugdunensis and Aquitania, became *a libellis et censibus*; as an honour to him, his son was in amplissimum ordinem ab imp. Antonino Pio allectus.

M. Aurelius Dionysius Papirius. Marini, *Atti d. fr. Arv.*, p. 798 = Franz, *CIG*, iii, 5895: *Μ. Αὐρήλιον Παπίριον Διονύσιον τὸν κράτιστον καὶ ἐνδοξότατον ἑπαρχον Αἰγύπτ[ου] καὶ ἑπαρχον εὐθενίας, ἐπὶ βιβλει-*

διώ[ν] καὶ ἀναγνώσεων τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ<sup>1</sup> ἑπαρ[χον] ὀχημάτων καὶ δολιχὴν ἄριον τα[χθέντα] καὶ περὶ τὴν Φλαμινίαν ἐπι[τηδείων] σύμβουλόν τε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 1031, 2). Perhaps the inscription in Orelli, 2648 = *CIL*, x, 6662 : [a libellis imp. Commodi ?] Pii Felicis Aug. ducenarius praef. vehicul. a copis Aug. per viam Flaminiam centenarius consiliario Aug., etc. (cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 101, 1), refers to the same person. Franz considered him identical with the *praef. annonae* Dionysius Papirius, who was put to death in 189 (Dio, lxxii, 12–14) : on the other hand, Henzen (*AdI*, 1857, p. 97) has pointed out, that the *praefectura annonae* preceded the *praefectura Aegypti*. Sievers (*Philologus*, xxvi, p. 42), who maintains the identification, assumes a degradation of Dionysius from the *praefectura Aegypti* to the *praefectura annonae*, to which the passage in Suidas (s.v. ἐλοιδορήσε) might refer : Αἰλιανός. ὁ δὲ Κλέανδρος ἐλοιδορήσε τὸν ὑπατον τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀρχῆς κωμωδῶν, καὶ παραλύει αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα. That such a degradation, although certainly extremely rare, was by no means impossible, is proved by the case (quoted by Hirschfeld, p. 28) of Arrius Varus *praef. annonae* in 71 : Varus praetorianis praepositus vim atque arma retinebat. eum Mucianus pulsum loco, ne sine solacio ageret, annonae praefecit. Consequently, there is no doubt of the identity of the Dionysius Papirius of the inscription and of Dio ; cp. Hirschfeld, p. 32, and *VG*, p. 269, 5.

If none of the above appears to have risen higher than the *praefectura Aegypti*, this is either accidental or the inscriptions are previous to the end of their career. Papinianus, who was *magister libellorum* under Severus, as is well known, afterwards became *praefectus praetorio*. Similarly, under Alexander Severus, Ulpian, after holding the office *a libellis* (cp. Hirschfeld, p. 33) ; also C. Caelius Saturninus, whose inscription is discussed by Mommsen in the *Nuove mem. d. Inst.* [Other evidence of the office of *magister libellorum* : Henzen, 6518 = *CIL*, vi, 1628 : praef. vigil.—magistro a libellis) magistro a censibus. Orelli, 2352 = *CIL*, vi, 510 : magister libellorum et cognit. sacrar. Gruter, 151, 6 = *CIL*, xii, 1524 : ex magistro scrinii libellorum. *Digg.*, *prooem.* § 9 : magister sacrorum libellorum et imperialium cognitionum. Aurelius Arcadius Charisius magister libellorum (fourth cent.) *Digg.*, i, 11. A subdirector in the beginning of the third century, Fabretti, 689, 107 = *CIL*, vi, 180 : dedication to Caracalla, Geta Julia Aug. by Antonius (?) lib. proximus a libellis. Gruter, 587, 7 = *CIL*, vi, 8615 : M. Aurelio Aug. lib. Tertio a libellis adiutori. Other subordinate officials in Cuq, *Le consilium principis*, p. 370. Gruter, 587, 8 = *CIL*, vi, 5 n. 3245\* is not genuine. Similarly Orelli, 3215 = *CIL*, vi, 5 n. 3379\* : M. Caecilius Paullinus a libellis fisci f. H.]

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen (*StR*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 926, 1 but not in ed. 3) takes ἐπὶ βιβλ. καὶ ἀναγ. to be one office — a *libellis* : similarly, Cuq, *Le magister sacr. ccgn.* (*Bibliothèques des écoles françaises*, xxi [1881], p. 108). Bücheler, *Conjectanea in Rhein. Mus.*, xxxvii, 328 takes (certainly wrongly) ἐπ' ἀναγν. to mean a *studiis*. Hirschfeld understands by it a *recitationibus Augusti*, i.e. the official whose duty it was to draw up the addresses to be delivered by the emperor (cp. Dirksen, *Manuale*, s.v. recitare, e.g. oratio D. Marci quam in castris praetorii recitavit), perhaps an extension of the duties of the department a *libellis* introduced under Marcus Aurelius.

(c) **Ab Epistulis.**

The treatise of Egger, *Observations historiques sur la fonction de secrétaire des princes chez les anciens* (Paris, 1858), did not become known to me until after the first edition of this section had appeared. I am indebted to it for some supplementary remarks, which I have always acknowledged.

1. *Before Hadrian.*

Justin, xliii, 5, 11: Trogus . . . dicit . . . patrem quoque sub C. Caesare militasse epistularumque et legationum, simul et anuli curam habuisse.

This office is not the same as that of an imperial private secretary. As Hirschfeld observes (*VG*, 202, 3), it is the latter that is meant by Suetonius, when he says that Augustus 'officium epistularum detulit' to Horace. He wrote to Maecenas (Suetonius, *Vit. Horat.*): ante ipse scribendis (O. Jahn, *Philologus*, xxviii, 10: rescribendis, comparing Sueton., *Aug.*, 45, epistulis legendis ac rescribendis; rather rescribendo) epistulis amicorum sufficebam, nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum a te cupio abducere: veniet ergo ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam, et nos in scribendis epistulis juvabit. *Regiam* (which Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 764, 4 considers a clerical error) is in my opinion unobjectionable, if it be regarded as a humorous expression (like *parasiticam* derived from the *palliatia*): Hirschfeld's suggestion *rectam* does not seem to me even possible. Augustus' will was partly written by his freedmen Hilario and Polybius (Sueton., *Aug.*, 101); Polybius read it before the senate (Dio, lvi, 32). [Polybius Divi Aug. l., Gruter, 75, 9 = *CIL*, xiv, 3539. H.]

From the time of its institution, the office was held by freedmen till the second half of the first century. It is in itself very probable that from the beginning it was divided into Greek and Latin departments. In spite of this division, however, the supreme control (at least after the time of Claudius, when these three court offices first acquired their great importance) was evidently in the hands of a single director; this is proved by the high position which Narcissus held together with Callistus and Pallas and could only hold as exclusive head of his office, and from the fact that Abascantus under Domitian carried on the correspondence with both the Greek and Latin speaking provinces. On the other hand, in the second century each of the two departments appears to have been constituted an independent office, perhaps by Hadrian; the fact that in that century officials were called *ab epistulis* without any further addition is by no means a proof of the contrary; for it can hardly be doubted that not only the heads, but also the subordinate officials—*adjutores*, *proximi* (*CIL*, xiv, 2815), *tabularii*, *scriniarii* (*CIL*, x, 527), *ab epistulis* (cp. Cuq. p. 391)—were called simply *ab epistulis* for the sake of brevity. One Libanus Caesaris vern. *ab epistulis*, who died in his seventeenth year (Gruter, 586, 7 = *CIL*, vi, 8597), was no doubt only a subordinate.

Although in the second century also freedmen exceptionally held the office *ab epistulis* (i.e. apparently as heads), this may be explained from the fact that the division of the office into two independent



bureaus had diminished the importance of each of the latter. But probably Hadrian's rule of filling these offices only by members of the equestrian order was on occasion arbitrarily departed from. Perhaps we should also hear of freedmen *a libellis* in the second century, if we had more inscriptions relating to the holders of this office. The fragmentary inscription (*CIL*, vi, 3836) of a person unknown, of praetorian rank (at earliest belonging to the third century), who managed the Greek department, is unique. It concludes (in descending scale): [misso] ad juniores legendos per Aemiliam ab epistulis Graecis cur. Ocricularum praetori quaestori.

The *ab epistulis* in the first century, so far as they are known from inscriptions, have already for the most part been enumerated by Borghesi (*AdI*, 1846, p. 324). Those who were *undoubtedly* subordinate officials I shall not notice here. The inscriptions of the city of Rome are now to be found in *CIL*, vi, 8596-8613.

[C. Julius Styrax ab epist. lat. Murat., p. 926, 21 = *CIL*, vi, pt. 5, n. 864 \*. Titulus a Ligorio interpolatus. H.]

Januarius Caesaris Aug. ab epistulis. Gud., p. 199, 10 = Spon., *Miscell.*, p. 205 = *CIL*, vi, 8596.

[Gruter, 578, 6 = Orelli, 2437 = Mommsen, *IRN*, 6851 = *CIL*, vi, pt. 5, n. 963 \*, 964 \*: Agriae Triphosae vestificae Livius Theona ab epistulis graec. scriba a lib. pontificalibus conjugii sanctissimae b.d.s.m. On the same stone (Orelli, 41): Byrae Canacianae Liviae Aug. ser. a veste magn. Ti. Claudius Alcibiades mag. a bybliotheca latina Apollinis item scriba ab epistulis lat. is a forgery by Ligorio. Henzen, *Zu den Fälschungen des P. Ligorio in Comment. Mommsen*, p. 633.]

Ti. Claudius Aug. l. Philologus ab epistulis. Murat., 2043, 2; Jahn, *Spec. epigr.*, p. 93; *CIL*, vi, 8601 s. [Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, v, 297, with probability considers him to be the pupil of Pudens, the grammarian, procurator of Aemilia Lepida (Gruter, 653, 2; Borghesi, v, 296). H.]

Ti. Claudi Aug. lib. Eudaemonis ab epistulis, etc. *CIL*, vi, 8600.

Ti. Claudio Augusti liberto Primioni ab epistulis, etc. *CIL*, vi, 8603.

Narcissus. His death (*Tac., Ann.*, xiii, 1) took place before the burial of Claudius (Seneca, *Apocol.*, 13, 1). Narcissi Aug. lib. ab epistulis (on a copper pipe), Murat., 911, 1. Narcissi Aug. l. ab epistulis (on a lead pipe, in fundamentis S. Ignatii. Fabretti, *Inscr. ant.*, p. 543, 408). Narcissi Aug. l. ab epistul. (lead pipe, *Bull. comm. d. R.*, 1886, p. 104, 1160). His house was in the ninth regio (Lanciani, *Le acque*, p. 303).

Burrus. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx, 8, 9: καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ δύο πρῶτοι Σύρων Βούρρον (παιδαγωγὸς δὲ οὗτος ἦν τοῦ Νέρωνος τάξιν τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος) πείθουσι πολλοῖς χρήμασιν αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιστολὴν ἀκυροῦσαν τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτοῦς ἰσοπολιτείαν· καὶ Βούρρος τὸν αὐτοκράτορα παρακαλέσας ἐπέτυχε γραφῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. He is not to be confounded with Africanus Burrus (ὁ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπαρχος, *ib.*, 8, 2)<sup>1</sup>, and was no doubt a freed-

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen (*Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. tr., ii, p. 206 n.) considers him to be the same, since in his idea παιδαγωγὸς in Josephus corresponds to rector imperatoriae juventutis, the title given to Afranius Burrus in Tacitus (*Ann.*, xiii, 2).

man. The son of Parthenius, Domitian's *cubicularius*, was also called Burrus (Martial, iv, 45).

Secundus. Σεκοῦνδος ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γενόμενος τοῦ Ὄθωνος, Plutarch, *Otho*, 9, who quotes him as his authority on the emperor's final resolutions. [As the epithet ὁ ῥήτωρ seems to indicate that he was an orator of reputation, we may identify him with Julius Secundus, one of the speakers in the *Dialogus* of Tacitus; he was one of the 'celeberrima ingenia fori' (*Dial.*, 2), and a friend of Quintilian (x. 3, 12), who praises his elegance of style (xii, 10, 11). He died at an early age (x, 1, 120). H.] He was probably an *eques*; 'the fact that Tacitus expressly mentions (*Hist.*, i, 58) that Vitellius appointed *equites* to posts in the imperial household usually given to freedmen, does not exclude the probability that Otho did the same', Mommsen, *Cornelius Tacitus und Cluvius Rufus* in *Hermes*, iv, 322, 1.

Dionysius Suidas : Διονύσιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ὁ Γλαύκου υἱός, γραμματικός, ὅστις ἀπὸ Νέρωνος συνῆν καὶ τοῖς μέχρι Τραϊανοῦ <sup>1</sup> καὶ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν προὔστη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ πρεσβειῶν ἐγένετο καὶ ἀποκριμάτων.<sup>2</sup> ἦν δὲ καὶ διδάσκαλος Παρθενίου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ· μαθητὴς δὲ Χαιρήμονος τοῦ φιλοσόφου, ὃν καὶ διεδέξατο ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. C. W. Müller's identification of him (*Geogr. min.*, p. xvi) with the author of the *Περὶ ἡγήσεως* is impossible. The latter wrote under Hadrian, as he himself states in the acrostic (109-134, 513-522 of the poem—ἐμὴ Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐντὸς Φάρου—Θεὸς Ἑρμῆς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ discovered by G. Laue (*Zeit und Heimath des Periegeten Dionysios* in *Philologus*, xlii, [1882], p. 175). If Dionysius, when twenty-five years old, succeeded Chaeremon, who was summoned to Rome about the year 50 to undertake the education of Nero, he would have been ninety-two in 117; according to Suidas, he did not live till that year. The grammarian might be the father and teacher of the poet.

Fortunatus Aug. lib. verna paternus ab epistulis accensus patron. divo Aug. Vespasiano lictor curiat. viat. honor. et dec. cos. et pr., Orelli, 3197 = *CIL*, vi, 1887; and his brother

Epaphroditus Aug. l. ab epistulis in the same inscription. [Perhaps the person to whom Josephus addressed his works. H.] His *Antiquities* appeared in 94 (xx, 11); *Autobiography* about 103; *Against Apio* probably later (cp. Paret, *Gesch. des jüdischen Krieges*, 21-24).

T. Flavius Aug. l. Protogenes ab epistulis, Gruter, 586, 5 = Muratori, 901, 2.

T. Flavius Aug. l. Epictetus ab epistulis a copis mil. lictor curiat. Orelli, 2922; cp. Henzen, iii, p. 246 (Mommsen, *Rhein. Mus.*, vi, 23) = *CIL*, xiv, 2840.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. who lived in the period from Nero to Trajan. Suidas evidently borrowed from a list of the learned men of that age.

<sup>2</sup> The latter office, also held by Claudius' physician in ordinary, C. Stertinius Xenophon (τὸν ἀρχιατρὸν τῶν θεῶν σεβαστῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀποκριμάτων, *Bull. d. Corr. hellén.*, 1881, p. 473), cannot be identical with the Greek secretariat, as Mommsen (*Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. tr., i, p. 361 n.) assumes; its duties consisted in receiving the Greek deputies and replying to their requests (cp. Cuq, *Consil. principis*, p. 398 and authorities there given: *CIG*, 1625; Keil, *Syll. inscr. boeot.*, p. 118; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiv, 10, 6; Dio, iv, 27). According to Hirschfeld, *VG*, 205, 2, it was a branch of the *ab epistulis*.

T. Flavius Aug. l. Euschemon qui fuit ab epistulis, item procurator ad capitularia Judaeorum. Orelli, 3345 = *CIL*, vi, 8604.

[T. Flavius Aug. l. Hermes ab epistulis Graecis vix. ann. xviii, m.v. d. xiii. Orelli, 1727; cp. Henzen, iii, p. 154, a forgery. *CIL*, vi, 5, 3247 \*.]

T. Flavius Aug. l. Ilias ab epistulis Latinis. Murat., 901, 3.

Flavius Alexander Aug. lib. ab epistulis Latinis. Murat., 905, 10 = *CIL*, vi, 8610.

T. Flavius Aug. l. Thallus ab epistulis Latinis, *CIL*, vi, 8911.

Flavius Abascantus. *CIL*, vi, 8598: D.m.L. Amyro Abascanti Aug. lib. ab epistulis l. Domitia Nereis conjugii optimo; 8599: Thallo Abascanti Aug. lib. ab epistulis lib. Hirschfeld (*VG*, p. 209, 1) distinguishes the contemporary Abascantus of Henzen, 6524, since the office *a cognitionibus* was certainly at that time included under the *ab epistulis*, and therefore could not have been held subsequently to the latter, as we should have to assume if the two Abascanti are regarded as identical. The inscription in question (*CIL*, vi, 8628) runs: Diis manibus T. Flavi Aug. lib. Abascanti a cognitionibus Flavia Hesperis conjugii suo, etc. On the tombstone is a representation of Scorpis, the famous charioteer in the reign of Domitian (Martial, x, 50, 53; xi, 1, 15), whose patron Abascantus probably was. Cuq (*Le magister Sacrar. cognit.* in *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises*, xxi, p. 163) considers the identification probable, and the *a cognitionibus* to be the office last held by him, consequently higher than the *ab epistulis*. Perhaps the *balneum Abascanti* in the second *regio* (Preller, *Regionen der Stadt Rom*, p. 115) was built by one of them. The name T. Flavius Abascantus is of frequent occurrence: *CIL*, vi, 3, 17975 (D.m.T.Fl. Abasc.), 18073, 18140, xiv, 2191. Tiles with the inscription C. Flavi Abascanti Restitutus fec. (*Bull. comm. d. R.*, 1886, 286, 1291-3). A Ti. Claudius Abascantian., son of T. Flavius Abascantus and Claudia Stratia (*CIL*, vi, 2, 14895). The inscription in Fabretti (249, 29): Antistia L. f. Priscilla Abascanti Aug. lib. ab epistulis l.l. d.d. is not genuine (*CIL*, vi, 5, 3060 \*).

Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito praef. cohortis trib. milit. donat. hasta pura corona vallari proc. ab epistulis et a patrimonio, iterum ab epistulis divi Nervae eodem auctore ex S. C. praetoriiis ornamentis ab epistul. tertio imp. Nervae Caesar. (Trajani Aug. Ger. praef. vigilum Volcano d.d., Orelli, 801 = *CIL*, vi, 798.) Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, 179: intellegitur Domitiano cujus nomen more solito suppressum est et ab epistulis fuisse et procuratorem a patrimonio (cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 41, 1): then *ab epp.* to Nerva, then to Trajan. See Mommsen, in *Hermes*, iii, 37, 5: Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 17; viii, 12.

M. Ulpius Aug. l. . . . ab epistulis. Orelli, 1641.

M. Ulpius Aug. l. verna (? Verna) ab epistulis latinis. Orelli, 2997.

M. Ulpius Aug. l. Eros ab epistulis Graecis. Gruter, 587, 2 = *CIL*, vi, 8607.

[Ionii Aug. l. ab epistulis. On a lead pipe. Fabretti, 539, 60. H.]

Acindynus Aug. lib. ab epist. lat. *CIL*, vi, 8609.

Ulpia Athenais Glypti Aug. lib. ab epistulis uxor. Orelli, 1641 = *CIL*, xiv, 3909.

The above survey shows that before the time of Hadrian the office was for the most part held by freedmen; it also follows from the inscriptions which mention other offices held by them that at that time it was not very highly thought of. It should also be mentioned, that a certain Bassus was Aug. lib. prox. ab epistul. Graecis proc. tractus Carthaginensis (Gruter, 586, 9 = Henzen, 6935 = *CIL*, vi, 8608); he was no doubt a freedman of Claudius, his son's name being Claudius Comon (cp. Eichhorst, *Quaest. epigr. de procuratoribus*, p. 28). As under Claudius preference was not usually given to freedmen, this case may be regarded as a deviation from the rule. On the other hand, the career of Titinius Capito is very similar to those of the equestrian presidents of the *officium ab epistulis* after Hadrian.

## 2. After Hadrian.

C. Suetonius Tranquillus, son of Suetonius Laetus, tribunus angusticlavii of the thirteenth legion Gemina P.F., probably obtained the office through his patron C. Septicius Clarus (*praef. praet.* 119), together with whom he appears to have been dismissed in 121; cp. Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.*, ii, p. 389; Suetonius, ed. Roth, *praef.* p. viii), on the ground of having shown too little respect for the empress Sabina (*Vita Hadriani*, 11). Reifferscheid (*Sueton. Reliquiae*, p. 465) conjectures that he wrote the treatise *De Institutione Off.* (1) because he was himself *magister epistularum* to Hadrian, and (2) in consequence of the organization of the court offices by the emperor (Egger, as above, p. 27). Because Spartianus calls Suetonius *magister epistularum*, we must not assume that this expression was in use at that time; it does not occur in inscriptions of the second century.

C. Avidius Heliodorus, rhetorician, father of the pretender Avidius Cassius. *Vit. Avid. Cass.*, 1: homine (Casaubon, tamen) novo genitus Avidio Severo [read Syro: ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάσσιος Σύρος μὲν ἐκ τῆς Κύρρου ἦν, Dio, lxxi, 22. H.] qui ordines duxerat et post ad summas dignitates pervenerat (Dio, *ib.*, τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ [Hadriani] διαγαγόντα, *ib.*, lxxix, 3, where we should obviously read with Hirschfeld πρὸς τὸν Ἀουίδιον Ἡλιοδωρον for πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ ἴδιον Ἡλ., probably the Heliodorus mentioned in *Vita Hadriani*, 15, 16). He rose to be prefect of Egypt in the year 140 according to the inscription in a temple in Assuan (Syene). Aristides, *Or.*, xxvi, p. 339 J: ἡκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ παρὰ Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπάρχου (ῥ ἐπάρχου) γενομένου γράμματα ἅμα τοῖς βασιλικοῖς. Cp. Letronne, *Recherches sur l'Égypte*, p. 246 ff. [and *Archäol. Zeitung* 1869, p. 123 = *CIL*, iii, 2, 6025; per C. Avidium Heliodorum *praef. Aeg.* H.] *Avid. Cass.*, 1: Quadratus. . . illum. . . adserit. . . apud ipsum Marcum praevalidum. nam jam eo imperante perisse fatali morte perhibetur.

L. Julius Vestinus, probably a son of Claudius' friend of the same name (cp. appendix xi). *CIG*, iii, 5900: Ἀρχιερεῖ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Αἰγύπτου πάσης (cp. Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii, Eng. tr., p. 248, n. 1) Λευκίῳ Οὐρησίνῳ καὶ ἐπιστάτῃ τοῦ μουσείου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ βιβλιοθηκῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς παιδείας Ἀδριανοῦ



ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ αὐτοκράτορος [Suidas : Οὐρηστίνος Ἰούλιος χρηματίσας σοφιστῆς ἐπιτομὴν τῶν Παμφίλου γλωσσῶν : cp. Borghesi, *AdI*, 1846, p. 325. H.] Cp. Letronne as above, p. 251 f. That ἐπιστολεὺς simply = *ab epistulis* (doubted by Letronne, p. 471) is shown by Phrynichus, p. 379, ed. Lobeck. Ἐπὶ τῆς παιδείας, wrongly translated 'tutor' by Letronne and Franz, = *a studiis*. *CIL*, vi, 9520 : Dis manibus Niconi L. Juli Vestini ser. librar.—mater fec. f. carissimo.

An inscription found at Ephesus (Muratori, 453, 3 = 706, 3 = 2026, 4 = Waddington, *Voy. arch.*, 176 = *CIL*, iii, 431) enumerates the offices and dignities of a fourth secretary of Hadrian. The name is lost : Borghesi's opinion (*AdI*, 1846, p. 325) that the reference is to Vestinus cannot possibly be correct (as Hirschfeld observes), since in a Greek inscription on the same person (found in Syria ; *Bullet. de corresp. hellén.*, iii, [1879,] p. 257) . . . ἰμονι is found as part of the cognomen. The Ephesian inscription runs . . . proc. | imp. Caes. Trajani Hadrian | . . . as dioecessin Alexandr. | . . . oc. bibliothecar. Graec. et | Latin. ab epist. Graec. | proc. Lyc. | Pamp. Galat. Paphl. Pisid. Pont. | proc. heredita | . . . proc. provin | cie Asiae | proc. Syriae | Hermes Aug. lib. adjutor ejus. [Perhaps his name was [Εὐδα]ῖμων and he was a native of Egypt, where the name appears to have been particularly common ; cp. Benseler, p. v ; the beginning of his career would agree with this. I am inclined to identify him with the person named in *Vita Hadriani*, 15 : Eudae-monem prius conscius imperii (perhaps in reference to his office as secretary) ad egestatem perduxit, especially as Heliodorus is mentioned in the same passage. H.]

Celer (Philostratus, *Vitt. Soph.*, i, 22, τεχνογράφος, i.e. author of a manual of rhetoric, βασιλικῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀγαθὸς προστάτης, *ib.*). A speech of Dionysius of Miletus was attributed to him ; since he was his contemporary (Philostratus speaks of him as Διονυσίῳ τὸν ἐκ μειρακίου χρόνον διάφορον), he may have held the office (of course *ab epist. graec.*) under Hadrian. It is not quite clear from Aristides, *Or.*, xxvi, p. 335 J, whether he was still in office at that time. Aristides says that Plato had appeared to him in a dream and asked him, ποῦός τις, ἔφη, σοὶ φαίνομαι εἰς ἐπιστολάς ; μὴ φανλότερος τοῦ Κέλερος ; τὸν γραμματέα δὴ λέγων τὸν βασιλικόν. κἀγώ, εὐφήμει, ἔφην, τὸ καὶ μεμνήσθαι σε τοιοῦτον (read τοιοῦτου) ὄντα ὅστις εἶ. Perhaps he is identical with the Greek rhetorician Caninius Celer, tutor of Lucius Verus (*Vita Veri*, 2) ; cp. Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.*, vi, 126.

L. Domitio L. f. Quir. Rogato pontif. minor. proc. Aug. provinc. Dalmat. proc. monetar. Aug. ab epistulis L. Aelii Caesaris praef. equ. alae I Arauacorum trib. mil. leg. VI victric. praef. coh. I Fl. equitatae praef. coh. I Dalmatar. accenso velato Domitia Venusta marito optimo et sibi. *CIL*, vi, 1607 = Orelli, 2153.

Two freedmen of the succeeding period are known, perhaps under L. Verus, with whom freedmen had great influence :

L. Aurelius Aug. l. Secundinus ab epistulis latinis. Donati, p. 309, 4.

M. Aurelius Alexander Aug. lib. ab epistulis graecis. Gruter, p. 586, 8 = *CIL*, vi, 8606. [The order of his offices was perhaps : (1) p.p. tabell. stat. xx her., Henzen, 6568. (2) prox. ab epist. lat.

Visconti, *Mon. Gab.*, p. 126 = *CIL*, xiv, 2815 (lead pipe). (3) ab epp. graec, *CIL*, vi, 8606. H.] Cp. *VG*, p. 255, 1.<sup>1</sup>

Amongst the *equites*, the Romans were of course ab *epp. lat.*, the Greeks ab *epp. gr.*, even where not expressly stated.

[Ab. epp. lat. Quint?]ilio C.f. . . . [adlecto in amplissimum] ordinem inter praetorios judici[o imp. Antonini Aug. ab epistu]lis latinis procuratori summarum ratio[num procuratori A]isiae juridico Alexandreae ab epistulis [M. Aureli Caesaris ? procuratori] Macedoniae, ab commentariis Cornelii Re[pentini pr. pr.]. Henzen, *Nuove memor. d.I.*, 1865, p. 286 = *CIL*, vi, 1563. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 43, 1.

Sex. Caecilio Q. F. Quir. Crescenti Volusiano praefect. fab. sacerd. Curioni sacris faciendis advocato fisci Romae proc. [x]x her. ab epistu[l.] [di]vi Antonini ab [ep]istul. Augustorum patrono municipii d.d.p.p. (Thuburbo minus, between 161 and 169). *CIL*, viii, 1174.

T. Varius Clemens (in the inscription on him in his birthplace Celeia, also between 161 and 169, *CIL*, iii, 5215 = Gruter, 482, 5 = Seidl, *Monum. Celeiana*, p. 58) is called ab epistulis Augustor. proc. provinciae Belgicae et utriusque Germ. Raetiae Maur. Caesar[iensis] Lusitaniae Ciliciae praef. auxiliorum in Mauret. Tingitan. ex Hispania missorum, etc. (the expedition against the Mauri under Antoninus Pius; *Vita*, 3, Pausanias, viii, 43). A letter from him, when procurator of Mauretania, to M. Valerius Etruscus, *legatus* of Numidia (152) in the inscription on the tunnel at Saldæ: Mommsen, *Arch. Zeitung*, n.f. iii, 1870 = *CIL*, viii, 2728. He is perhaps the same as the Clemens mentioned by Dio (lxxi, 12, in the year 170) as prefect of Dacia (Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.*, ii, 610).

Tarrutenus (Tarrutenius) Paternus. Dio (lxxi, 12) expressly states that he was ab *epp. lat.* to Marcus Antoninus, and before 170, in which year he was appointed commander of the Cotini against the Marcomanni (Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.*, ii, 611): see Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 227 f. He had already been *praef. praet.* under M. Antoninus; Commodus removed him from office (183) by raising him to senatorial or consular rank (*Vit. Comm.*, 4; Dio, lxxii, 5) and then had him put to death. His successor was perhaps

Vitruvius Secundus, qui epistulas imperatorias curabat (*Vit. Comm.*, 4) who was his intimate friend and was put to death at the same time.

Manilius, ab *epp. lat.* to Avidius Cassius, with whom he had great influence (Dio, lxxii, 7); his name was Manilius Pudens (*ib.*, lxxi, 29); Hirschfeld, *VG*, 206, 2.

Ab epp. gr. Ti. Claudius Vibianus Tertullus ab epistulis graecis et a rationibus Augg. *CIL*, iii, 6574: see above, p. 34.

Alexander, surnamed Πηλοπλάτων. Philostratus, *Vitt. sophist.*, ii, p. 571: ἐβάδιζε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παιωνικὰ ἔθνη κατακληθεὶς ὑπὸ Μάρκου βασιλέως ἐκεῖ στρατεύοντος καὶ δεδωκότος αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπιστέλλειν Ἑλλήσιν. *Ib.* p. 575: τελευτῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἱ μὲν ἐν Κέλτοις φασὶν ἔτι ἐπιστέλλοντα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πεπανμένον τοῦ ἐπιστέλλειν.

Cornelianus, rhetorician, probably the father of the rhetorician

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps also, as Cuq, p. 385, 6 observes, the *ensor* mentioned in the *Digest*, xxiii, 2, 57, § 1 was ab *epistulis*: Divus Marcus et Lucius imperatores Flaviae Tertullae per Mensorem libertum ita rescripserunt.

Metrophanes (Suidas : Μητροφάνης, Κορνηλιανού ῥήτορος, Λεβαδεύς κ.τ.λ. Amongst other works he wrote a treatise Περὶ τῶν χαρακτήρων Φιλοστράτου). Phrynichus, who dedicated his Ἐκλογὴ to Cornelianus, lived, according to Photius, under M. Antoninus and Commodus, who are therefore the βασιλεῖς meant in Epit. 418 ed. Lobeck : πρῶτιστον μὲν ἐν παιδείᾳ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα ἀπάντων ἔχοντα σὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ προκρίτων ἀποφανθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιστολέα αὐτῶν. Cp. p. 225 : σὺ δὲ βασιλικὸς ἐπιστολεὺς ἐπιφανείς and p. 379 : ἐξελληνίζων καὶ ἀττικίζων τὸ βασιλικὸν δικαστήριον καὶ διδάσκαλος καθιστάμενος οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν τῶν λόγων (ἀλλὰ καὶ ?) οἷον χρὴ λέγειν, σχήματος καὶ βλέμματος καὶ φωνῆς καὶ στάσεως. It is uncertain whether, as would appear from this passage, he also held the office *a cognitionibus* ; Hirschfeld (VG, 209, 1) doubts it. See p. 43 above. Mai identified him with Sulpicius Cornelianus, the friend of Fronto, whose home and studies he shared (*Epp. ad amicos*, i, 4 ; cp. *Epp. Gr.*, ed. Niebuhr).

Adrianus, sophist. Philostratus, *Vitt. sophist.*, ii, 11, p. 256 ed. Kayser : νοσοῦντι—κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, ὅπου δὴ καὶ ἐτελεύτα, ἐψηφίσατο μὲν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὁ Κόμμοδος ξὺν ἀπολογίᾳ τοῦ μὴ καὶ θάττον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιθείσας μὲν ταῖς Μούσαις, ὥσπερ εἴωθει, προσκυνήσας δὲ τὰς βασιλείας δέλτους, τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς αὐταῖς ἀφήκεν ἐπιταφίῳ τῇ τιμῇ χρησάμενος. Yet Suidas says : μαθητὴς Ἡρώδου—ἀντιγραφεὺς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὑπὸ Κομμύδου ἐγένετο (i.e. dictator epistularum, Salmasius on *Script. Hist. Aug.*, ii, 785), an expression employed by Suidas in accordance with later usage. [He is no doubt the Ἀδριανὸς ὁ ῥήτωρ, οὗτω σοφιστεύων, ἀλλ' ἔτι συνὼν τῷ Βοηθῷ, mentioned by Galen in *De Progn. ad Epiq.*, ed. K. xiv, 627. H.]

A Sempronius Aquila ab epp. gr. Aug. is mentioned in an Ancyra fragment of uncertain date published by Ramsay in *Bull. d. corr. hellén.*, vii (1883), p. 20 = *Oesterreich. Mittheil.*, ix (1885), p. 123, 83 : [δῆμ]οῦ Ῥωμαίων, πρα[ί]τορα [ἀ]ποδεδειγμένον Σεμπρωνία Ῥωμανὰ θυγάτηρ Σεμπρωνίου Ἀκύλου γενομέ[ν]ου ἐπὶ ἐπιστολῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Σεβ[αστοῦ] τὸν γλυκύτατον ἄνδρα.

In the inscription (IRN, 4618 = *CIL*, x, 4860) . . . [Gabini Te]r. Aspri pon[tificis] augur[is] [a patrimonio]o ? Augg. nn. et graph. [imp. Antoni]ni, etc., Borghesi's suggestion that *graph.* = *graphēi*, i.e. *ab epp. gr.* is impossible, as already observed by Mommsen.

In the third century the following are known :—

Antipater of Hierapolis, sophist, *ab epp. gr.* to Severus (Philostratus, *Vitt. sophist.*, ii, 24, p. 265 ed. K.), tutor of Caracalla and Geta (*ib.*). Galen, *De Theriaca ad Pisonem*, p. 458, ed. K. xiv, p. 218 : ὁπότε γοῦν Ἀντίπατρος, ὁ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτῶν πράττειν [read τάττειν, cp. Josephus, *Vita*, 65, *Ant. Ju.*, xx, 8, 9. H.] πεπιστευμένος, καὶ διὰ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ ἡθους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς λόγοις ἐντελὴ παιδείαν μεγάλως ὑπ' αὐτῶν (Severus and Caracalla) τιμώμενος, τῇ νεφρτικῇ διαθέσει περιπεσὼν, δεινὰ καὶ ἀνῆκεστα ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἔπασχεν, ἀξίειπαινον αὐτῶν εἶδον τὴν περὶ τοὺς φίλους εἰς τὸ σῶζεσθαι σπουδὴν, καὶ θαυμαστὴν τὴν περὶ ἱατρικὴν φιλοτιμίαν.

Marcus Agrippa, τὰς τε διαγνώσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς διοικήσας (Dio, lxxviii, 13) for Caracalla, although the latter handed over to his mother Julia τὴν τῶν βιβλίων τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἑκατέρων πλὴν τῶν πάνυ ἀναγκαίων διοικήσιν (lxxvi, 18 ; cp. lxxviii, 4). Mommsen (*StR*, ii<sup>a</sup>



926, 1; the note is omitted in the 3rd ed.) and Hirschfeld (VG, 209, 1) assume that Marcius Agrippa was first a *cognitionibus*, then *ab epistulis*: but cp. Cuq as quoted on p. 43 above. [In reference to Caracalla's assassination, it is stated (*Vit. Carac.*, 6): non ignorantibus Marcio Agrippa, qui classi praeerat, et praeterea plerisque officialium. H.]

Aspasius of Ravenna (Philostratus, *Vitt. sophist.*, ii, 33; cp. Egger as above, p. 17). He also held the professorship of rhetoric at Rome, νεάζων μὲν εὐδοκιμώτατος, γηράσκων δὲ ξὺν αἰτίᾳ τοῦ μὴ ἐτέρῳ ἀποστῆναι βούλεσθαι. Philostratus addressed a letter to him on the art of composing the imperial letters (see vol. i, p. 56 and n.).

Maximus of Aegae, author of a life of Apollonius of Tyana (Philostratus, *Ap. Tyana.*, i, 3, 5, ed. K., p. 3, 3): ἡξιώθη δὲ καὶ βασιλείων ἐπιστολῶν οὗτος εὐδοκιμῶν τὴν φωνήν (*ib.*, i, 12, 14 ed. K., p. 7, 7).

Calvisius Statianus—*ab epistulis latinis Augustor.* Veronensis patronus. Maffei, *Museum Veronense*, 116, 1 = Orelli, 3907 = *CIL*, v, 1, 3336 ['literis bonis', consequently belonging probably to the second century. H.].

Numisius Quintianus v.p. *ab epistulis latinis Gordiani* (239), Grut. 272, 2 = *CIL*, vi, 1088. Claudius Eusthenius, qui Diocletiano *ab epistolis* fuit. Hist. Aug. *Vit. Carini*, 18. [Eutropius *ab epp.* Constantini; cp. Tzschucke, praef. ad Eutrop., p. 9. After Constantine: Orelli, 2352; Codinus, *De Orig. Constant.*, p. 51; Libanius, ed. Reiske, iii, p. 438. Julian's secretaries Nymphidianus (Eunapius, *Vitt. Soph.*, p. 177 Boiss.) and Himerius (Tzetzes, *Chil.*, vi, 28). A magister epistular[um], *Bull. trimestr. des antiq. afric.*, 1885, p. 24, n. 694. Fragment by the *vir praetorius*, p. 41 above. Forgeries: Orelli, 3567 (cp. Henzen, iii, p. 372); Gudius, 202, 4; Doni, vii, 52, 156, viii, 37. H.]

The *officium a memoria* cannot be definitely shown to have been in existence until the time of Caracalla; it did not originate, as Mommsen thought, in the *a studiis*. Certainly Lipsius's emendation (*Elect.*, i, 12, adopted by Roth) in Suetonius, *Aug.*, 79 is very probable: Julius Marathus, libertus et a memoria ejus (MSS., etiam memoriam). In any case, as Cuq (p. 401) conjectures, the formal institution of the office was probably due to Hadrian; the oldest inscription in which it is mentioned, is Muratori, 892, 11 = *CIL*, vi, 8618: D.m. Ctesiae Aelii Cladei a memoria et cubiculo Aug. ser. M. Aurelius Julianus a rationibus et a memoria, *CIL*, vi, 1596 = xiv, 2463. Herodian, iv, 8, 4: ἦν αὐτῷ (Caracalla) τις τῶν ἀπελευθέρων φίλτατος, Φῆστος μὲν ὄνομα, τῆς δὲ βασιλείου μνήμης προεστῶς. The same person appears to be meant in the corrupt passage of Dio (lxxviii, 32: τὸν κατὰ τοῦ Ταράντου πρόκοιτον) [and is no doubt identical with the Festus mentioned in *Vita Macrini*, 4: Macrinum . . . donatum . . . anulīs aureis patrocinate sibi conliberto suo Festo, obviously an imperial freedman. H.]. On the base of a statue of his wife or daughter at Tibur, *CIL*, xiv, 3638: Marci Festi [a cubic. ?] et a memor . . . Antonini Pii [felicitis]. The combination of the two offices (see Karlowa, *Rechtsgesch.*, i, 545) is also shown by Dio (lxxvi, 14), according to Hirschfeld's emendation: ἐπιπίστευτο τὴν τε μνήμην (for γνώμην) αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν κοιτῶνα. Hist. Aug., *Vit. Pescen. Nig.*, 7: Pauli et Ulpiani praefecturae, qui



Papiniano in consilio fuerunt : ac postea quum unus ad memoriam, alter ad libellos paruisset, statim praefecti facti sunt ; *Alex. Sev.*, 31 : post meridianas horas subscriptioni et lectioni epistolarum semper dedit operam, ita ut ab epistolis et libellis et a memoria semper assisterent . . . nonnunquam . . . sederent, relegendibus cuncta librariis et iis qui scrinium gerebant ; *Carinus*, 8 : Junius Calphurnius, qui ad memoriam dictabat, talem ad praefectum urbis super morte Cari epistolam dedit. Cp. Boissieu, *Inscriptions de Lyon*, p. 252 (Eichhorst as above, p. 29). Orelli, 3195 and 3196 (= *CIL*, vi, 8619, imperial rescript to a certain Januarius lib.), 2352 (of the year 376), 3192 (same date), 6328 = *CIL*, x, 1727. Gruter, 151, 6 = *CIL*, xii, 1524. *Notitia dignit.*, ed. Böcking, ii, p. 414 \*-416.\* *CIL*, vi, 8619-8622. Gothofred., *Ad cod. Theod.*, ed. Ritter, ii, p. 93. *CIL*, xiv, 4062 = *Bull. comm. d. R.*, 1883, p. 237, 671 (sarcophagus) : D. m. Artemidori Aug. lib. adlect. a memoria q.v.a. xvii d. xvii Valeria Philoc . . . filio dulcissimo. [In the second half of the fourth century the author of the *Breviarium rerum gestarum*, Rufius Festus ; cp. Bernhardt, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, p. 715, n. 516 (Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, Eng. tr., 416, 1) : 'the heading in the Bamberg MS. (eleventh cent.) is breviarium Festi v.c. magistri memoriae'. With this should be combined the notice in Bähr (*RLG*, ii<sup>4</sup>, p. 307, n. 12) that he is spoken of as *dictator* in MSS. H.] In the inscription Henzen-Orelli, 6328 = *CIL*, x, 1727, an Aurelius Symphorus Aug. lib. officialis vetus a memoria et a diplomatibus is mentioned ; the latter, probably a branch of the *a memoria*, also occurs by itself in Orelli, 2795 = Doni, xvii, 22 = Murat., 785, 4 (T. Aelius Aug. lib. Saturninus a diplomatibus) ; cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 105 and 279 note. In the office a *codicillis* letters of appointments were drafted (cp. Marquardt, *PrL.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 805, 1). In the inscr. *CIG*, 4033, 4034 : *πρεσβεύσαντα ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς καὶ κωδικίλλων θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, ἐπιστολὴ* is the imperial letter despatched from the secretariat, containing the notification of appointment perhaps accompanied by instructions, *κωδικίλλοι* the letters patent (cp. Waddington, *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 1867, p. 220 ; Karlowa, *Rechtsgesch.*, i, 541). A *codicillis* alone : Orelli, 2902 = *CIL*, xiv, 4011 ; Orelli, 2903, 5009 = *CIL*, vi, 8440 ; cp. Fronto, ed. Niebuhr, p. 102 (6311). M. Ulp. Aug. lib. Stratus adjutor a *codicillis*. *BdI*, 1862 (*CIL*, vi, 8441s.), p. 8. M. Ulpio Aug. lib. Laeto a *codicillis*, *Bull. comm. d. R.*, iii (1875), p. 162. Hirschfeld, as above (p. 60, 2 ; 205 n.) takes *codicilli* to mean testamentary provisions, and believes that the officials a *codicillis* were concerned with the administration of inheritances. The fact that T. Aurelius Egatheus a *codicillis* (*CIL*, vi, 8440) was once so employed is not sufficient to confirm this view, which is not very probable<sup>1</sup> (A Euphemus Lucillae Aug. a legatis, *CIL*, vi, 8434a).

The office *a memoria*, to which a considerable portion of the duties formerly performed by the *ab epistulis* and *a libellis* was transferred (apparently after the beginning of the third century), the time after Constantine constituted the imperial bureau, while the

<sup>1</sup> Hirschfeld, who adheres to his opinion, in order to show to what an extent the *ratio hereditatum* was subdivided, calls attention to the officials *ab auctorita[tibus] ration. heredit.* *CIL*, vi, 8439.

other heads of departments only retained preliminary functions, chiefly as examiners. The result was that they were driven more and more into the background, and were held to be inferior in rank to the *a memoria* (Hirschfeld, pp. 210-215 ; Cùq, p. 473).

# IX. THE ORDER OF THE OFFICES HELD BY IMPERIAL FREEDMEN.

(Vol. I, p. 37, l. 6 from bottom.) <sup>1</sup>

THE gradual promotion of freedmen on the imperial initiative to more important duties and positions at court (cp. Hirschfeld as above, p. 266) is best illustrated by certain inscriptions in which undoubtedly the offices held by various persons are specified in their proper (ascending or descending) order.

I cite first the fragments of two imperial rescripts to a freedman named Januarius. In the first, he is rewarded for the satisfactory performance of his duties as *proximus a memoria* by a yearly salary of 40,000 sesterces ; in the second, he is promoted to the *statio voluptatum*. The fragments, with the insertions of Mommsen and Hirschfeld (*CIL*, vi, 8619), read as follows : Januario [lib.] salutem. [Functus es per annos . . . ministerio officii me]moriae. in quo mihi probe et laboriose et ex dis[ciplina mea operam prae]buisti u[t indulgentiae meae praerogativam tanto magis cu[ra tua probaverit, quanto plus amoris tuo [?] min]isterio sit mihi conciliatum ; ideoque justum arbitratus sum [adaequare te] ceteris proximis, qui in aliis stationibus quadragena millia n. [accipiunt ; neque haec indulgentia c]uiquam mira videri potest cum iudicium meum fidei labori sed[ulitati tuae optimo jure tri]bui a me intellegatur. Bene vale.

[Januar]io lib. salutem. [Quoniam functus studio pecul]iare ministerio officii memoriae es et fides ac modestia qua semper et egisti et commendatio . . . magistri tui hortantur, ut te ad splendendam voluptatum statio[nem promoveam, defero tibi officium . . .] colliberti tui, nec dubito operam insumpturum, ut talem te [in eo praebeas, qualis esse debet, qui a]d latus principum tam diu egerit. Bene vale.

I next give the inscriptions, in which the careers of imperial freedmen are indicated.

1. Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Bucolas praegustator tricliniarum (*sic*) proc. a munerib. proc. aquar. proc. castrensium cum. Q. Claudio Flaviano filio et Sulpicia Cantabra matre d.d. Found at Caere (*Bull. d. Inst. arch.*, 1840, p. 95 ; Henzen, 6337).

Bucolas began his career as a ' taster ', an office filled during the reign of Claudius by the eunuch Halotas, who is said to have assisted in poisoning him (Suetonius, *Claud.*, 44). Other imperial tasters are mentioned in the inscriptions. Orelli, 2993 and *CIL*, vi, 602, 9003-9005 (9004 : collegium praegustatorum), x, 6324 (praegustator et a cubiculo Neronis) ; cp. Nipperdey on Tacitus, *Ann.*, xii, 66 and Marquardt, *Priv.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 147, 8. Then he became superintendent of the table, a post mentioned elsewhere ; both in the imperial household (Orelli, 794,

<sup>1</sup> A great part of this article has already appeared in the *Programm* of the University of Königsberg (May 12th, 1861 ; Acad. Alb. Regim., 1861, iii).

cp. Henzen, iii, p. 78 = *CIL*, vi, 1884 : M. Ulpio Aug. lib. Phaedimo<sup>1</sup> Divi Trajani Aug. a potione item a laguna et tricliniarch. lictori proximo et a comment. beneficiorum [died 117, at the age of twenty-eight] and in private houses (Becker-Göll, *Charicles*, iii, 373). The Euphemus, no doubt an imperial freedman, whom Martial (iv, 8) asks to hand a copy of his poems to the emperor at table :

hora libellorum decima est, Eupheme, meorum,  
temperat ambrosias cum tua cura dapes . . .  
tunc admitte iocos

was probably Domitian's superintendent of table. Bucolas was next promoted to be business manager of the imperial gladiatorial games. The explanation of procurator a muneribus or munerum (Henzen, 6344) given by Borghesi (*BdI*, 1830, p. 123)—'che amministrava i regali fatti all' imperatore'—can hardly be correct, since it is highly improbable that there was a special department connected with such presents. Mommsen formerly held the view (now abandoned by him) that the reference is to the waterworks called *munera* (*StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 951, 4; Hirschfeld, as above, p. 167, 1). On the permanent officials who administered the imperial *munera* cp. Hirschfeld, p. 177 f. A tabularius a muneribus in *Bull. comm. d. R.*, 1881, p. 43.

The office of *proc. aquarum*, next held by Bucolas, is one of the higher procuratorships: according to the inscription Orelli, 946 = *CIL*, x, 6569 (first half of the third century) it carried with it a salary of 100,000 sesterces. It has been discussed at length by Hirschfeld (*VG*, p. 161) and Lanciani (*Le acque*, p. 319). Both assume that it was instituted by Claudius, and give lists of officials, Bucolas being the first named (Lanciani puts him in the reign of Domitian). Finally, he became *proc. castrensis*, an office incidentally mentioned by Marini (*Atti d. fr. Arv.*, p. 956); Eichhorst's conjecture (*Neue Jahrbücher*, 1865, p. 207), that this was the manager of the *ludi castrenses*, is untenable. Hirschfeld has abandoned his earlier view (*Das aerarium militare in der Kaiserzeit*, in *Philol. Jahrb.*, 1868, p. 690), that the *procuratores castrenses* were the subordinate officials of the chief director of the administration of all the military funds, the *procurator rationis castrensis*. He considers (*VG*, 196–200) the titles *procurator castrensis*, *procurator rationis castrensis*, *procurator fisci castrensis* to be terms for one and the same official, the director of the imperial residence, who according to the inscription (Henzen, 6529: M. Aurelius Basileus vir ducenarius *proc. rationis castrensis*) received a salary of 200,000 sesterces. On the other hand, Mommsen (*StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 807, 2) observes that the city palace was never called *castra*, and, owing to the tendency of the Augustan principate to disguise the military government, could never have been so called. He considers the *proc. castrensis* to be the official appointed to look after the imperial *vestis castrensis* and camp and travelling equipments generally—a position hardly sufficient to explain the importance which must have been attached to it. [The tendency of the Augustan principate is not absolutely decisive as to the nature of an office which cannot

<sup>1</sup> A. M. Ulpius Phaedimus Aug. lib. a cubiculo (*CIL*, x, 6773).



be shown to have existed before the time of Claudius. And although at first it may only have been connected with the imperial quarters outside Rome, the instances quoted (*VG*, p. 198) show that in the third (and most probably in the second) century the functions of the *proc. castr.* extended also to the imperial palace inside—especially the activity of the *tabularius rat. castrensis* for the May festival of the Arval brethren to be held in the imperial palace in 219. H.] The *procuratores castrenses* are all imperial freedmen: Henzen, 6337, Muratori, 901, 1 (Ulpus Crater Aug. lib. proc. castrens.); Henzen, 6344 (to be discussed under no. 4), 7419 d; ([Aur]elius Aug. [lib.] Saturninus procur. cast.); he appears to be identical with the Saturninus in Maffei, *Mus. Ver.*, p. 85, 2 (Saturninus Aug. lib. proc. castrensis); Orelli, 4008, cp. Henzen, iii, p. 436 (Aurelius Hermas Aug. lib. proc. k.); cp. *CIL*, vi, 8511 sqq.; *CIG*, 3888 (M. Αὐρ. Σεβαστῶν ἀπελεύθερον Κρήσκεντα ἐπίτροπον Λουγδοῦνου Γαλλίας καὶ ἐπίτροπον Φρυγίας καὶ ἐπίτροπον καστρήσιν. According to the last inscription the *procuratio castrorum* appears to have been the preliminary step to the procuratorship of a province; since the latter was rarely attained by freedmen, the *proc. castr.* must be regarded as one of the highest positions accessible to them. The inscription Orelli, 2972, *CIL*, xiv, 2932: Paeon Aug. lib. proc. castrens. proc. hereditat. proc. voluptat. proc. Alexandr. sibi posterisque suis is genuine, though doubted by Henzen (iii, 246, cp. 508). Hirschfeld adds: Fabretti, 689, 108: M. Aurel. Stertinius Carpus una cum Carpo proc. k. patre and Fabretti, 196: xlv d.m. Primi-genio Epagatho Aug. l. proc. f(isci) c(astrensis) delicio. Forgery, by Ligorio: Gud., 37, 1; 60, 10; 191, 5.

2. P. Aelio Aug. lib. Liberali<sup>1</sup> procuratori annonae Ostiensis. procuratori pugillationis et ad naves vagas. tribunicio collegi magni. decuriali decuriae viatoriae consul. decuriali gerulorum. praeposito mensae nummul. f. f. Ost. ornato ornamentis decurionatus col. Ost. patrono Laurentium vici Augustanor. Henzen, *BdI*, 1875, p. 5 (Illustrazione di una lapide latina ritrovata a Castel Porziano); now *CIL*, xiv, 2045.

This inscription, which decides the position of the vicus Augustanus Laurentium, has been admirably explained by Henzen, from whom I take the following. The offices are enumerated in descending order. P. Aelius Liberalis, a freedman of Hadrian, began his career as director of a bank, established by the Roman central administration of the corn supply at Ostia (mensa nummularia fisci frumentarii Ostiensis), in which position he received from its senate the insignia of the decurionate. He then entered the corporation of the *geruli* (bearers of letters and official documents, Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 366, 3 and 4), who belonged to the public *apparitores*; next, the chief (consular) *decuria* of the *viatores* (*ib.*, p. 344); and then held the office of a tribune of the 'great college' devoted to the cult of the imperial house (collegium magnum larum et imaginum, etc.). By 'procurator pugillationis' and 'ad naves vagas' Henzen understands the procurator of the official delivery of letters (*pugillatio* in Sidon. Apol., *Ep.*, ix, 4 *pugillator* = letter carrier) by the mail-

<sup>1</sup> *CIL*, xiv, 2178 (Arícia): Aeliae Saeniae Nigrinae Aelius Liberalis conjug. b.m.f.



boats stationed at Ostia. On the other hand, Mommsen (*StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 1030, 3) observes: 'it seems more probable to understand an official charged with the registration (*pugillatio*) of ships arriving in Latin harbours'. Hirschfeld, who agrees with Mommsen, adds (*VG*, p. 140): 'Since from about the time of Hadrian to Caracalla the *proc. portus* is replaced by the *proc. annonae*, this *proc. pugillationis et ad naves vagas* may have exercised some of the duties of the *proc. portus*, which were not included in the *procuratio annonae*, especially the control of in- and out-going ships'. Lastly, P. Aelius Liberalis became *procurator annonae* at Ostia. As *patronus* of the *Laurentes vici Augustani* (perhaps the *vicus* mentioned by Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17 as near his Laurentinum) he was honoured by them with this inscription.

3. On the inscription *CIL*, iii, 348 (offices in ascending order): M. Aur. Aug. liber. Marcioni proximo rationum *proc. marmorum* *proc. prov. Britanniae* *proc. summi chorag. proc. prov. Frygiae*, see Hirschfeld, *VG*, 183, 2.

The following inscription (end of second or beginning of third century) shows some resemblance to the career of Bucolas:

4. M. Aurelio Augg. lib. Proseneti a cubiculo Aug. *proc. thesaurorum* *proc. patrimonii* *proc. munerum* *proc. vinorum ordinato a divo Commodo*. in Kastrense patrono piissimo liberti benemerenti sarcophagum de suo adornaverunt (on a large sarcophagus found near the Via Labicana; Henzen, 6344).

As the *procuratio patrimonii* was certainly a higher office than the *procuratio vinorum*, the order must be a descending one. [This is especially clear from *ordinatus a Divo Commodo in kastrense: i.e.* (first) appointed by Commodus to a post in the imperial palace, by which the lower, non-procuratorial positions are indicated, which, being merely preliminary steps to the procuratorships, are enumerated. H.] The office of chamberlain (*a cubiculo*) was consequently the highest of these held by Prosenes, to which he was appointed immediately after the administration of the imperial treasures, where no doubt valuables of all kinds were kept, especially clothing (*Vita Alex. Sev.*, 40: in thesauris vestem nunquam nisi annum esse passus est; cp. the passage quoted by Salmasius, *Cod.*, xi, 14: *privatae vel linteariae vestis magistri, thesaurorum praepositi vel baphiorum ac tetrinorum procuratores*, etc.; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 193, 1). 'Praepositus thesaurorum' in the latter passage = *procurator thes.* In the latest period the *praep. thes.* was one of the officials sub dispositione comitis sacrarum largitionum (*Notitia dign. Or.*, ed. Böcking, i, 82). Böcking prefers the plural, since in *Notit. Occ.*, x, i, c. 12 praepositi thesaurorum are mentioned. But these are provincial *thesauri*, each of which had its special superintendent, while in the case of the imperial treasure-houses there is no reason to assume that there was more than one administrator. [The *praepositus thesauris dominicis* (Henzen, 6871 = *CIL*, viii, 1322) is an officer, and these *thesauri*, instituted for military purposes (cp. *Hist. Aug.*, Gallieni, 3) are to be distinguished from the others. H.]

On the *procuratio patrimonii*, i.e. the administration of the imperial private property cp. Hirschfeld, pp. 23; 41, 3. The *pro-*

*curatio munerum* has been discussed above. There remains the *procuratio vinorum*. Different wine-producing countries of Italy were obliged to furnish wine for the capital; a special department and funds were appointed in this connexion. The chief official was called later *rationalis vinorum* (on the titles *procurator* and *rationalis* cp. Hirschfeld, pp. 36–38). *Not. Occ.*, ed. Böcking, ii, 1, p. 16,\* cp. p. 194 \* sqq.; Gothofred. on *Cod. Theodos.*, xiv, 6, 3 (ed. Ritter, v, 210): hinc titulus vinarius Symmacho lib. 7. epist. 95 et arca vinaria, id est, ratiocinium hujus praestationis vini. cujus quidem arcae vinariae rationes tractabat peculiaris Rationalis qui sub p.u. fuit, Rationalis vinorum ut docet notitia imperii. Several passages are there quoted, in which the *arca vinaria* is mentioned. In this department Erasinus Caes. n. ser. and Aelius Aug. lib. Eutychnus were appointed *adjutores a vinis* (Henzen, 6377, 6378 = *CIL*, vi, 9092, 9091). [The latter is perhaps the same as Eutychnus Caes. n.s. verna ped(isequus) a vinis, Muratori, 899, 6 (where it is wrongly explained) = *CIL*, vi, 8527, according to which as a slave he had held a lower post in the same department. H.] See also Jahn, *Spec. epigr.*, c. 31.

Prosenes died in 117, having embraced Christianity (according to the very probable assumption of De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.*, i, 5, p. 9). On the right side of the sarcophagus, above a griffin, there is the following inscription: Prosenes receptus ad deum v non. . . . is sa . . . nia Praesente et Extricato II regrediens in urbe ab expeditionibus. scripsit Ampelius lib. The gaps are thus conjecturally filled by Mommsen: Prosenes receptus ad deum v non. [Ma]i [as] (vel [Jul]i[as]) Sa[me in Cephalle]nia Praesente et Extricato II regrediens in urbe[m] ab expeditionibus, who rightly assumes (against De Rossi), that the words scripsit Ampelius lib. are not to be connected with what precedes.

Several years older is the inscription of Casa Calda, found on a magnificent sepulchral memorial on the Via Appia, now *CIL*, vi, 1598. From Henzen's exhaustive commentary (*AdI*, 1857, p. 86) I quote the necessary explanations.

5. [L. Aurelius Nicomedes qui et] Ceionius et Aelius vocitatus est L. Caesaris fuit a cubiculo et divi Veri imp. nutr[itor].

[a divo Antonino Pio equo publico et sac]erdotio Caeniniensi item pontif. min. exornatus ab eodem proc. ad silic. et praef. vehicul. factus et ab imp. Antonino.

[Aug. et divo Vero cura copiarum exercit]us<sup>1</sup> ei iniunct. hasta pura et vexillo et corona murali donatus proc. summarum rat. cum. Ceionia Laena uxore sua hic situs.

The offices and distinctions of Nicomedes are all equestrian, and, although the insertion of *equo publico* is doubtful, they are certainly subsequent to his elevation to the equestrian order; consequently, his career cannot be compared with those of the other imperial freedmen. But while in other cases freedmen, upon whom *ingenuitas* was bestowed, in enumerating the positions filled by them, ignore those which involve *libertinitas*, these latter (L. Caesaris a cubiculo et divi Veri imp. nutritor) are in this instance quite exceptionally

<sup>1</sup> This line is supplied by Mommsen.

mentioned. Otherwise, all the priesthoods, offices, and decorations of Nicomedes are equestrian (Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 518, 4). The *sacerdotes Caeninenses* (Orelli, 96, 2180, 2533, 3349), like the *pontifices minores*, are always of equestrian rank. Similarly, the managers of the postal system (*praefecti vehiculorum*) known from other sources are all *equites* (Hirschfeld, p. 100, 3; Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 1031), who after they had risen to the *praefectura alae*, were appointed imperial procurators—as *sexagenarii*, *centenarii*, and (in combination with the office *a copiis. Aug. per viam Flaminiam*; cp. Hirschfeld, p. 101, 1) *ducenarii*. On the *proc. summarum rationum* see p. 32; on the *cura copiarum*, Hirschfeld, 101, 1.

6. The latest inscription to be quoted (time of Alexander Severus), found near Corinth and copied by Cyriacus of Ancona (now *CIL*, iii, 536), is as follows:—

Theoprepen Aug. lib. proc. domini n. m. Aur. Severi Alexandri Pii Fel. Aug. provinciae Achaiae et Epiri et Thessaliae rat. purpurarum proc. ab ephemeride proc. a mandatis proc. at praedia Galliana proc. saltus Domitiani tricliniarcham praepositum a fiblis praepositum a crystallinis hominem incomparabilem Lysander Aug. lib. officialis.

Ψ[ηφίσματι] Β[ουλῆς]

The offices are mentioned in descending order. Theoprepes was, accordingly, at first superintendent of the imperial crystal vessels (*i.e.* the valuable glass-ware), then of the buckles or clasps on clothes. As early as the last days of the republic military tribunes wore golden clasps: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii, 39: *sed in militia quoque in tantum adolevit haec luxuria, ut M. Bruti e Philippicis campis epistulae reperiantur frementis fibulas tribunicias ex auro geri*. In the second century there was great extravagance in this respect. Hadrian, who wore clasps without jewels, was admired for his economy (*Vita*, 10; cp. the notes of Casaubon and Salmasius); on the other hand Gallienus wore golden clasps set with precious stones (*Gallienus*, 16). Aurelian (*Vita*, 16) even allowed common soldiers to wear golden clasps, whereas they had previously only worn silver ones. 'Fibula aurea cum gemmis' is mentioned as a present to a newly appointed military tribune in 238 (*Inscr. v. Thorigny*, ii, 10, in Mommsen, *Ber. d. sächs. Ges.*, 1852, p. 241. The *fibula* in Martial (v, 41, 5, *trabeasque et Idus, fibulasque censusque*) is also to be understood as a distinction of the tribunes. Numerous statues and busts of the period show that cameos were frequently used for the adornment of belts and clasps. Probably the *praepositus a crystallinis* and the *pr. a fibulis* were both subordinates of the *praepositus thesaurorum*. The office of *tricliniarcha* has been already spoken of (p. 50f.); after this Theoprepes was appointed administrator of two imperial domains, the *saltus Domitianus* (cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 25, 3) and the *praedia Galliana* (*saltus Galliani qui cognominantur Aquinates* in the 1st *regio*, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii, 116). He next became *procurator a mandatis*, *i.e.* he superintended the drawing up of the imperial instructions issued to proconsuls, propraeors, and procurators for the administration of the provinces (Dio, liii, 15; Pliny, *Ad Trajanum*, 56; often in the Digests, cp. Puchta, *Instit.*, p. 528, Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 206 n.). Lucian, *Pro Lapsu in Salutando*: τί δ'; οὐχὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐντολῶν βιβλίῳ, ὃ ἀεὶ παρὰ βασιλέως λαμ-



βάνετε, τοῦτο πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐστὶ παράγγελμα, τῆς ὑγιείας τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι;

As far as I know, this office, like that of the *procurator ab ephemeride*, is only mentioned here. [The latter in all probability was created by Alexander Severus in imitation of Alexander the Great (*Vita*, 30, quem praecipue imitatus est; 64, se Magnum Alexandrum videri volebat; cp. 31 f.), whose *ephemerides* or day-books were kept by Eumenes of Cardia; cp. *VG*, 206, 1. H.] According to Casaubon's conjecture (on Suetonius, *Augustus*, 64), the custom (dating from the time of Augustus) of keeping a diary of the events of the imperial household (*commentarii diurni*) was imitated from the Macedonian court, which had borrowed it from the Persian. There is the more reason to believe this, since the latter appears directly or indirectly to have been the model of other Roman court institutions (see p. 59). The diary of Trimalchio (Petronius, 30) is perhaps a caricature of the imperial diary. Augustus forbade his daughter and granddaughter to say anything, which could not be inserted in it (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 64). Aurelian's biographer made use of his day-books (*ephemerides*) written on linen, in which he had had the events of the day set down (*Vita*, 1). On the basis of these day-books biographies of the emperors were written in diary form, such as the *ephemerides vitae Gallieni* by Palfurius Sura (*Gallieni duo*, 18) and the *ephemeris* of Turdulus Gallicanus, used by Vopiscus in the biography of Probus (*Vita*, 2). Their official *commentarii*, also frequently mentioned (Sueton., *Domit.*, 20; Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv, 40; Trajan *ad Plinium*, 95; Diggs, iv, 6, 32), which were kept by slaves and freedmen, were different from these (cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 206, 1; *CIL*, vi, 8623; Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 907 f.).

The last office held by Theoprepes was the administration of the imperial purple factories (Marquardt, *PrL.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 514) in Achaia, Epirus, and Thessaly: proc[uratore]m domini n[ostri] M. Aur[elii] Severi Alexandri Pii Fel[cis] Aug[usti] provinciae Achaiae et Epiri et Thessaliae rat[ionis] purpurarum. Perhaps the *ratio purpuraria* owes its origin to Alexander Severus, who seems to have been the first to sell purple from the imperial factories (Hirschfeld, *VG*, 193, 1).

#### X. ROMAN NAMES ASSUMED BY PEREGRINI AND FREEDMEN. (Vol. I, p. 47, l. 6.)

GALBA's freedman Icelus, Marciani cognomine ornatus (Suetonius, *Galba*, 14) after his elevation to the equestrian order, took this *equestre nomen* (Tacitus, *Hist.*, i, 13) as a second *cognomen* (Tacitus, *Hist.*, i, 46). (R. Macke, *Die römischen Eigennamen bei Tacitus*, ii [*Progr. d. Gymn. zu Hadersleben*, 1888], p. 18; cp. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 426, 3.) A similar case (mentioned in Dio, lxxix, 16) is that of Aurelius Zoticus of Smyrna, the favourite of Elagabalus, who received the cognomen of his imperial master's grandfather Avitus. But freedmen also appear to have been sometimes permitted to make use of a more becoming cognomen in addition to their Greek or foreign one. If the examples of such double names (Phileros Aequitas, Eros Merula) chiefly belong to the last days of the republic and the early empire, the reason is that later the freed-



man-name was as a rule discarded ; many freedmen (e.g. M. Verrius Flaccus, Sueton., *De grammaticis*, 17) in this manner appear to have acquired the pure equestrian name. Suetonius, *ib.*, 18 : L. Crassicius generis libertini, cognomine Pasicles, mox Pansam se transnominavit Martial, vi, 17 :—

Cinnam, Cinname, te jubes vocari.  
non est hic, rogo, Cinna, barbarismus ?  
tu si Furius ante dictus esses,  
fur ista ratione dicereris.

Such arbitrary alterations of name were a violation of legal provisions, which (as is shown in thousands of cases) must have forbidden a freedman to assume family *cognomina* usually borne by the nobility and *equites*.

On the other hand, while freedmen were especially fond of changing the Greek *cognomen* for a Roman, provincials of free descent, who possessed or received the rights of citizenship, and had no reason for concealing their origin, frequently seem to have borne a Greek as well as a Roman *cognomen*, sometimes before, sometimes after the latter. Thus, e.g. Α. Φοντέιος Φόρτις Ἀσκληπιάδης, Πόπλιος Αἴλιος Φλαβιανὸς Ζωῆλος, Γ. Κλαύδιον Σειλιανὸν Πολύκριτον, Τιβ. Κλ. Μοντανὸν τὸν καὶ Ἡσύχιον, Αὐρ. Ἀγρησιλάου Σεκούνδου, Τ. Στατίλιον Τιμοκράτη Μεμμιανόν, Πο. Αἴλιον Ἀρποκρατίωνα τὸν καὶ Πρόκλον (Borghesi, *Ceuvres*, iii, 499). *Corp. Inscr. Att.*, iii, 698 : τὸν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχοντα Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Καλλιφρονα τὸν καὶ Φροντεῖνον. To this class belongs Νικαεύς, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων Ῥωμαίοις, Σηδάτος ὄνομα, τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον Θεόφιλος (Aristides, *Or.*, xxvi, p. 324, Jebb ; cp. p. 301) ; for the inscription on a Θεόφιλος Σηδάτιος (*sic*) found at Laodicea (*CIG*, 3937) no doubt refers to him or one of his relatives (Waddington, *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 1867, p. 256). Borghesi identified him with M. Sedatius C. f. Severianus cos. 150 (*CIL*, iii, 1575).

In the early empire *peregrini* also assumed Roman gentile names, for Claudius found it necessary to prohibit this (Suetonius, *Claud.*, 25 : peregrinae condicionis homines vetuit usurpare Romana nomina duntaxat gentilicia). Not only the assumption of non-Roman names, which may have frequently taken place when a man's position was changed (e.g. in Lucian, *Gall.*, 14, a certain Simon who had become wealthy calls himself Simonides), but also of Roman *cognomina* continued to be allowed. This was fairly common in the case of Greeks, Egyptians and Jews : e.g. Σιμωνίδης ὁ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἐπικληθεὶς (Josephus, *Vita*, 76). For other examples see Letronne, *Rech. pour servir à l'hist. de l'Égypte*, p. 247 ff. (Διόσκορος Μακρεῖνος, Ἡράκλειτος Οὐτερανός, Σαβινιανὸς Σαραπίων and so forth). Sometimes Greek names were translated into Latin. Suidas, *s.v.* Εἰρηναῖος and Ἰάκατος : Εἰρηναῖος (ὁ καὶ Ἰάκατος κληθεὶς Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ) μαθητὴς Ἠλιοδώρου τοῦ μετρικοῦ, γραμματικὸς Ἀλεξανδρέως. On the other hand, Roman names, except in poetry (Ianthis for Violantilla, wife of Arruntius Stella, Martial, vi, 21 ; vii, 15, 50), were only Grecized in familiar conversation. On both sides of the sarcophagus of Tertinia Victorina at Lyons (Orelli, 3030) χαῖρε Νικασί—ὑγίανε Νικασί occurs, rightly regarded by Boissieu (*Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 310) as a Greek translation. Cp. *CIG*, 6739 (D. m. et memoriae aeternae Aur. Callistes—εὐθύμει Καλλίστη) ; also 4346, 6759, 6792 ff.

# XI. THE FRIENDS AND COMPANIONS OF THE EMPEROR. (Vol. I, p. 70.)

It will be seen that, in deference to Mommsen's essay (*Die comites Augusti der frühern Kaiserzeit* in *Hermes*, iv, 120-131) I have essentially altered my former views. He proves beyond doubt that the imperial *comites* were developed from the proconsular,<sup>1</sup> that they were specially appointed by the emperor for each journey or expedition, and that consequently there were no permanent *comites* of the emperors in earlier times. This also shows that my assumption of the identity of *comes* and *amicus* was wrong. As the emperors chose their travelling companions from the circle of their friends, every *comes* was an *amicus*, but every *amicus* was not a *comes*.

But Mommsen's statement (p. 124, 1) that I sought the origin of the *comites* and *amici* in the ceremonial of eastern royal courts is not correct. In fact, I derived the institution of the *amici* from the party-spirit of republican statesmen, and only assumed that, in the development of the different forms under which the *amici* appeared, the ceremonial of oriental courts had even more influence than the custom of the republican period. If, in my remark that this was already the case in the earliest courts, I included that of Augustus, I think I may hold this view without disputing the assertion that 'in the Augustan state-organization no single feature reminds us of an oriental court, and it is especially characteristic of it that it avoids all such parallels'. But, considering the varied relations between the court and the East and the frequent visits of oriental princes (Mommsen, *RGDA*,<sup>2</sup> p. 41 f.; Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitschrift*, 216 ff.), it seems to me by no means improbable that oriental forms and customs, which not only left the state-organization unaffected, but were also compatible with Roman manners, made their way into the court in the time of Augustus. Augustus, who passionately refused the address '*domine*' as an insult (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 53), would have still less tolerated the 'barbarous custom' of adoration, which Caligula attempted to introduce. On the other hand, he could introduce from the East the custom of greeting his most intimate friends with a kiss,<sup>3</sup> without any violation of custom.

As far as I know, the greeting of men with a kiss cannot be shown to have existed amongst the Romans in republican times,<sup>3</sup> but occurs under Augustus. Lipsius also says (*Elect.*, ii, 6): *qui mos invaluit maxime, ut opinor, sub Augusto*. The first mention of the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. also Mommsen (*Die Garde-truppen der römischen Republik und der Kaiserzeit* in *Hermes*, xiv, p. 26) on the *φίλων ἰλη* (cohors amicorum praetoria), 500 strong, formed by Scipio Africanus in 133 B.C. according to Appian (*Hisp.*, 84) from his clients and friends.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen himself also has essentially altered his view. In his *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Eng. tr., ii, p. 5), he says that the regulations of the Parthian and Persian empires referring to the position of the dynasty 'recur with few abatements among the Roman Caesars, and are perhaps borrowed in part from those of the older great monarchy'.

<sup>3</sup> Of course, members of the same family and on special occasions (such as thanksgiving festivals, Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 52, 111) those more distantly connected, were in the habit of kissing each other (Becker-Göll, *Gallus*, i, 89); in Greece, on the other hand, it was unknown even at the time when it was usual in Rome. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 7, p. 110: ἐγὼ δὲ ἀναμνησθεῖς, χαίρει, ἔφην, Σωτάδην· καὶ προσελθὼν ἐφίλουν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐγέλα σφόδρα, ὅτι ἐφίλουν αὐτούς· τότε ἔγνων ὅτι ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐ φιλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους.

custom known to me is in the year 6 B.C.; Suetonius says that Tiberius on his departure for Rhodes behaved with great formality, ne verbo quidem cuiquam prosequentium reddito paucosque admodum in digressu exosculatus (Suetonius, *Tib.*, c. 10). That the custom, even in the time of Tiberius, was almost exclusively limited to persons of distinction, is shown by Pliny's remark (*Nat. Hist.*, xxvi, 3) on the prevalent face eruption: nec sensere id malum feminae aut servitia plebesque humilis aut media, sed proceres veloci transitu osculi maxime. Since, therefore, from republican times the *amici* were separated into two classes at their reception (Mommsen, as above, p. 128), the imperial practice, well attested later, of distinguishing his more intimate friends by a kiss, may well have originated under Augustus. The abolition by edict of the 'daily kiss' by Tiberius, the apparent unpopularity of this regulation, which drew forth a justification from Valerius Maximus, make it probable that at that time there were a number of persons at court, who claimed a daily kiss from the emperor by right of custom.

It was usual for Persians of equal rank to kiss each other on the lips; at the court it was the privilege of the 'kinsmen' to kiss the king (Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, iv<sup>4</sup>, 526, 4), a privilege which Alexander the Great reserved for his most intimate friends. Chares of Mitylene relates that at a banquet he offered the goblet from which he had drunk to one of his friends, who stood up and, having drunk to the king, did him reverence, kissed him, and then lay down again. Callisthenes, who had omitted to do him reverence, was not allowed to kiss him (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 54, 2; cp. Droysen, *Gesch. Alexanders*, p. 352). The institution of 'friends', which was common to the Persian, the Parthian,<sup>1</sup> the Nabataean (Strabo, xvi, 4, 21, p. 779), and probably to other oriental courts,<sup>2</sup> passed on (to all appearance from the Macedonian court)<sup>3</sup> to the courts of the Diadochi (especially the Ptolemies and Seleucidae): cp. Letronne, *Rech. pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, pp. 58, 314. On the titles *συγγενής* and *φίλος* and the forms in which they were conferred under the Ptolemies, cp. Lombroso, *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Égypte*, pp. 189-195; also *L'architetto Sostrato in Comm. in honorem Mommseni*, p. 32, and *L'Egitto*, pp. 150, 168-175. (Sostratus was *φίλος τῶν βασιλέων*, Strabo, xvii, p. 791; cp. Franz, *CIG*, iii, p. 290; so also *Ἀρχιμήδης, Ἰέρωνι τῷ βασιλεῖ συγγενής ὢν καὶ φίλος*, Plutarch, *Marcell.*, 14, 7). Cp. also the inscription from Arsinoë in Cyprus of the time of Ptolemy Euergetes II (Lebas-Waddington, 2781; *συγγενής*, *ib.*, 2787, 2796, 2821 A. As an order of precedence amongst the friends undoubtedly also existed at the court of the Ptolemies (*τῶν πρώτων φίλων* in an inscription in Le-

<sup>1</sup> The *μεγιστᾶνες*: Athenaeus, iv, p. 152, cp. Cless in *StRE*, v, p. 1209; also the title *τῶν πρώτων φίλων* is found amongst the Arsacidae; S. Reinach, *Fouilles de Délos* in *Bull. d. corr. hell.*, vii, 349).

<sup>2</sup> Fragments of an inscription from Soada (in Syria) probably of the time of the Idumaeen kings: *βασιλέων φίλω* (Lebas-Waddington, 2303).

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. xvii, 31: after Alexander had been restored to health by the physician Philippos, *τὸν ἱατρὸν τιμήσας μεγαλοπρεπῶς, κατέταξεν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς εὐνουστάτους τῶν φίλων*.



tronne, p. 58, cp. Plutarch, *De Exilio*, 7, p. 601), they were graduated as at the Persian court, the first place being held by οἱ ἐντὸς τοῦ φιλήματος, as Lucian, using an apparently technical expression, calls those whom the prophet Alexander of Abonuteichos deemed worthy of his kiss (Lucian, *Alexander*, 41).

The fact that the custom of greeting the friends with a kiss (which certainly existed at the Persian and probably at other Oriental courts) was not known at Rome in republican times, while there is evidence of it during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, justifies the conjecture that it was transferred from the East to Rome. The use of the Roman expressions for the Persian king's friends (Curtius, vi, 5, 11: fratremque Darei recepit in cohortem amicorum; *ib.*, 26, 17: aliquem amicorum ex prima cohorte; cp. Mützell on the first passage) shows that during the early empire the Romans themselves were reminded by the latter of the friends of the Roman emperors.

Although this conjecture cannot be proved, it is to a certain extent supported by the fact that there is another institution of the Augustan court, also common to those of Persia and Macedonia: the keeping of a diary of all the events of the imperial household (see above). As far as I know, there is not the slightest trace of anything of the kind in the distinguished families of the republic, while other distinctions preserved in their family archives are frequently mentioned. Hence Casaubon (on Suetonius, *Aug.*, 64) says: mos iste a Graecis (*i.e.* the Macedonians) ortus.

Further, if a number of children of noble houses were brought up at court together with the emperor's children, as appears to have been common, we may perhaps conjecture, bearing in mind the facts mentioned, that in this case also the Persian and Egyptian custom set the example: πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται (Xenophon, *Anab.*, i, 9, 3; Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, iv<sup>4</sup>, 526–528). Diodorus's description (i, 53) of the bringing up together of the children born on the same day as Sesostris, gives an idea of the corresponding institution at the court of the Ptolemies; cp. Lumbroso, *Recherches*, p. 208 (παῖδες σύντροφοι), p. 209 (παῖδες τῶν τιμωμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως).

Lastly, the 'fire' carried in front (*i.e.* the fire-pan or torch, M. Antoninus, *Comment.*, i, 17), which under the Antonines and still later appears as a privilege of the emperor and empress, has already been derived from the Persians by Lipsius (Excursus to Tacitus, *Ann.*, i, 7): Xenophon, *Cyropaed.*, viii, 3: καὶ πῦρ ὀπισθεν τοῦ ἄρματος ἐπ' ἐσχάρας μεγάλης ἄνδρες εἶποντο φέροντες (Cyrus followed behind the chariot). On the other hand, Mommsen (*StR*, i<sup>2</sup>, 423) refers this custom to the 'torch-right' possessed by officials (the right of having lights carried before them by night), which was extended to the emperors, and later became their exclusive honorary right (cp. ii<sup>3</sup>, 806, 823).<sup>1</sup>

I shall now give a list of the imperial friends and companions

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>4</sup>, 424, 4: "It is possible that the Persian custom (Curtius, iii, 3, 9: ignis—argenteis altarihus praeferebatur; Ammian. Marc., xxiii, 6, 34) may have influenced the imperial custom, but not probable, in so far as it depends upon the national religion." In my opinion, this connexion might easily have been ignored in Rome.



known to me in the first and second centuries (cp. the *Programm*, 'Recensio amicorum et comitum. Caesarum usque ad Severi tempora', in *Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1873, iv, which is here reprinted with numerous additions).

*Friends of Augustus. Senators.* L. Cocceius Nerva. Seneca, *De Clem.*, i, 10, 1 : Sallustium et Cocceios et Dellios et totam cohortem primae admissionis ex adversariorum castris conscripsit. In 37 B.C. Nerva accompanied Maecenas as Octavian's ambassador to Antony : cp. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 5, 28 and Haakh, *StRE*, ii, p. 473.

Q. Salvidienus Rufus, quem ad consulatum usque provexerat (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 66), was condemned to death before entering on office (he was *consul designatus* for the year 39 B.C.) Haakh, *StRE*, vi, p. 720.

M. Vipsanius Agrippa, consul 37, 28, 27 B.C., cp. e.g. Dio. liv, 29.

Q. Fabius Maximus Paullus, consul 11 B.C., died A.D. 14. Nipperdey on Tacitus, *Ann.*, i, 5 ; Plutarch, *De garrul.*, p. 508A ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii, 150 ; Quintilian, vi, 3, 52 ; Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, pp. 185, 240.

C. Asinius Gallus, consul 8. B.C. In 5 B.C., according to a letter of Augustus to the inhabitants of Cnidus, he was sent there to conduct a criminal investigation : Γάλλω Ἀσινίω τῷ ἐμῷ φίλῳ. L. Ross, *Inscr. ined.*, 312, l. 11 (cp. A. Nauck in *Philologus*, ix, 169) ; better M. Dubois, *Lettre de l'empereur Auguste aux Cnidiens* in *Bull. d. corr. hellénique*, 1883, p. 64 (Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 959, 1).

Cn. Calpurnius Piso, consul 7 B.C. Patris sui legatum atque amicum he is called by Tiberius (Tacitus, *Ann.*, iii, 12).

Nonius Asprenas. Suetonius, *Aug.*, 56 : cum Asprenas Nonius artius ei junctus causam veneficii, accusante Cassio Severo, diceret, consuluit senatum, quid officii sui putaret, cunctari enim se, ne si superesset, eripere legibus reum, sin deesset, destituere ac praedamnare amicum existimaretur. Dio, iv, 4 (9 B.C.) : φίλῳ τε τινὶ δίκῃ φεύγοντι συνεξητάσθη, προεπικονώσας τοῦτο τῇ γερονσίᾳ, καὶ ἐκεινὸν γε ἔσωσε κ.τ.λ. Perhaps L. Nonius Asprenas cos. suff. Kal. Jul. (A.D. 6) ; cp. Teuffel, *RLG* <sup>4</sup>, 267, 2 (Eng. tr.).

Poppaeus Sabinus. Tacitus, *Ann.*, vi, 39 : Fine anni (A.D. 35) Poppaeus Sabinus concessit vita, modicus originis, principum amicitia consulatum (A.D. 9) ac triumphale decus (A.D. 26 ; *Ann.*, iv, 47) adeptus maximisque provinciis per xxiv annos impositus, nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis neque supra erat ; cp. Nipperdey on *Ann.*, i, 80 ; iv, 46 ; vi, 39 ; xiii, 45.

D. Junius Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter, quamquam non ultra foret saevitum, quam ut amicitia Caesaris prohiberetur, exilium sibi demonstrari intellexit (he did not return from exile until A.D. 20 ; Tac., *Ann.*, iii, 24).

*Knights.* Q. Dellius : cp. Seneca, *De Clem.*, i, 10, 1 quoted above, and Drumann, *RG*, i, 391, 64.

Cornelius Gallus, quem ad praefecturam Aegypti (30 B.C.) ex infima fortuna provexerat (Suet., *Aug.*, 66). In 27 B.C. xliii aetatis suae anno propria se manu interfecit (Jerome) ; cp. Teuffel, *RLG* <sup>4</sup>, 232 (Eng. tr.).

C. Cilnius Maecenas (died 8 B.C.) ; cp. Marquardt, *Hist. eqq.*, p. 79 ; Teuffel, *RLG* <sup>4</sup>, 220, 6 (Eng. tr.).

C. Proculeius, brother of Maecenas' wife Terentia; Dio, liv, 3; Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 40; Haakh, *StRE*, vi, 86.

Sallustius Crispus (died A.D. 20), incolumi Maecenata proximus, mox praecipuus cui secreta imperatorum inniterentur—aetate propecta speciem magis in amicitia principis quam vim tenuit (Tac., *Ann.*, iii, 30).

C. Matius ex equestri ordine d. Augusti amicus (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xii, 13).

Vedius Pollio eques R. ex amicis d. Augusti (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ix, 77, Tac., *Ann.*, xii, 63). Son of freedmen parents, died 16 B.C. (Dio, liv, 23). Borghesi also refers the inscription *CIL*, ix, 1556 (Beneventum) to him: P. Veidius P. f. Pollio Caesareum Imp. Caesari Augusto et Coloniae Beneventanae.

*Friends of Tiberius. Senators.* Lucilius Longus (cos. suff. A.D. 7, died 23) omnium illi tristium laetorumque socius, unusque e senatoribus Rhodii secessus comes (Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 15).

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus (Tac., *Ann.*, i, 27, cp. iv, 29). Consul 18 B.C., died A.D. 25. Cp. Nipperdey on Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 44.

Sentius Saturninus, husband of the Jewish proselyte Fulvia. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii, 3, 5: καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος (ἀποσημαίνει γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλος ὢν Σατουρνίνος τῆς Φουλουίας ἀνὴρ ἐπισκῆψει τῆς γυναικός) κελεύει πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπελαθῆναι (A.D. 19). H.

S. Vistilius praetorius, quem Druso fratri percarum in cohortem suam transtulerat convictu principis prohibitus, commits suicide at an advanced age (A.D. 32; Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 9).

Cn. Calpurnius Piso (see above) writes before his death to Tiberius: et parenti tuo probatus et tibi amicus (Tac., *Ann.*, iii, 16).

Poppaeus Sabinus (see above).

L. Seius Tubero, brother of Sejanus, consul A.D. 18 (Cn. Lentulus et S.T.—primores civitatis, intimi ipsius amici, Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 29; cp. Nipperdey, and ii, 20; v, 6).

M. Cocceius Nerva (son of the friend of Augustus, Haakh, *StRE*, ii, 473) Caesari familiarissimus (Pompon., *Dig.*, i, 2, 2, 49); unus senator consulatu (A.D. 22) functus accompanied Tiberius to Capreae (Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 58); proximus amicorum (died A.D. 33; Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 26).

L. Salvius Otho tam carus tamque non absimilis facie Tiberio principi fuit, ut plerique procreatum ex eo crederent (Sueton., *Otho*, 1). He succeeded Galba in the consulship (A.D. 33; Suet., *Galba*, 6).

M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messalinus. Nothing appears to be known of his official career (cp. Nipperdey on Tac., *Ann.*, ii, 32). He was accused in 32, but Tiberius sent a written defence of him to the senate, repetito inter se atque Cottam amicitiae principio crebrisque ejus officiis commemoratis. *StRE*, vi, 2, 2356, 101. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 179.

L. Pomponius Flaccus, consul 17, died 33, when *legatus propraetore* of Syria. Henzen, *ib.* 195.

L. Calpurnius Piso pontifex, consul 15 B.C., city prefect, 17–32, died in 32 at the age of eighty. Henzen, *ib.*, p. 180. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 42: cum Pomponio Flacco et L. Pisone noctem continuumque biduum epulando potandoque consumpsit, quorum alteri

Syriam provinciam, alteri praefecturam urbis detulit, codicillis quoque jucundissimos et omnium horarum amicos professus. H.

**R a n k u n c e r t a i n.** Sex. Marius Hispaniarum ditissimus (Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 39); ὁ φίλος αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλουτήσας καὶ δυνηθεὶς τοσοῦτον (Dio, lviii, 22); defertur incestasse filiam et saxo Tarpeio deicitur (A.D. 33; Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 36).

Julius Montanus tolerabilis poeta, notus et amicitia Tiberii et frigore (Seneca, *Epp.*, 122, 11): perhaps the father of the senator Julius Montanus (died 56; Tac., *Ann.*, xiii, 25). Teuffel, *RLG* 4, 252, 13 (Eng. tr.); *StRE*, iv, 489, 18.

**K n i g h t s.** L. Aelius Sejanus, praefectus praetorio A.D. 14-31; cp. Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 1 sq. and 59; Sueton., *Tiber.*, 55; *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 345, 77.

Avilius Flaccus, prefect of Egypt 32-37. *CIG*, iii, p. 360: ἐν τοῖς ἐταίροις κριθεὶς παρὰ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι. Philo, *Leg. in Gai.*, p. 517 M: κριθεὶς τῶν πρώτων φίλων παρὰ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, *ib.*, c. 19.

Curtius Atticus unus eques Romanus ex illustribus who accompanied Tiberius to Capreae (Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 58); Marino participi Sejanus Curtium Atticum oppresserat (*ib.*, vi, 10).

Vesularius Flaccus eques Romanus cui propior cum Tiberio usus erat (Tac., *Ann.*, ii, 28).

Vesularius Flaccus ac Julius Marinus ad mortem aguntur, e vetustissimis familiarium, Rhodum secuti et apud Capreas individui (A.D. 32; Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 10).

Pompeius Macer. Strabo, xiii, 2, 3: (Theophanes of Mytilene) νῦν—ἀπέλιπε Μάκρον Πομπήιον, ὃν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπίτροπον κατέστησέ ποτε Καῖσαρ ὁ σεβαστὸς καὶ νῦν (c. A.D. 18) ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐξετάζεται τῶν Τιβερίου φίλων. His son of the same name, eques Romanus illustris, died A.D. 33; cp. Nipperdey on Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 19.

C. Caesius Niger. *CIL*, vi, 2169: Dis manibus sacrum C. Caesio Q.f. Nigr. ex prima admissione ex quatuor decuris Curio Minor Caesia C. I. Theoris patrono et sibi. Mommsen says: Titulus cum positus sit aetate Augusti vel Tiberii (nam C. Caesar quintam decuriam addidit), hunc Nigrum significat alteri utri fuisse amicum primae admissionis (cp. *StRE*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 834, 2).

(P. Plautius Pulcher—comes Drusi filii Germanici, *CIL*, xiv, 3607.)

*Friends of Gaius Caesar. S e n a t o r s.* Valerius Asiaticus cos. suff. under Tiberius, died A.D. 47 (Tac., *Ann.*, xi, 3); Asiaticum Valerium in primis amicis habebat—consularem (Seneca, *De Constantia sapientis*, 18, 2).

L. Vitellius ex consulatu (34) Syriae praepositus (Sueton., *Vitell.*, 2). Recalled, οὕτως αὐτὸν . . . ἠλεώσατο, ὥστε ἐν τοῖς πάνι φίλοις αὐτοῦ νομισθῆναι (Dio, lix, 27); cos. ii 34, iii 47, censor 48, died 51.

A. Vitellius L. f., afterwards emperor, born 15, Gaio per auri-gandi, Claudio per aleae studium familiaris, sed aliquanto Neroni acceptior (Sueton., *Vitell.*, 4; cos. 48).

C. Passienus Crispus (cos. II 44). Schol. Juv., iv, 81: Omnium principum gratiam appetivit, sed praecipue [C.] Caesaris, quem iter facientem secutus est pedibus (Valla: Thyberium [read Cajum] Caesarem per Alpes iter facientem secutus est: Matthias, *De schol. Juv.*, p. 26).

**K n i g h t.** Naevius Sertorius Macro (cp. Nipperdey on Tac.,

*Ann.*, vi, 15) is reckoned among Caligula's friends by Suetonius (*Calig.*, 26); Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 219.

*Friends of Claudius. Senators.* Ser. Sulpicius Galba, afterwards emperor, cos. 33, gratissimus Claudio receptusque in cohortem amicorum (Sueton., *Galba*, 7). Accompanied Claudius on his expedition to Britain in 43.

Three others who accompanied him on this expedition (see Hübner, *Das römische Heer in Britannien* in *Hermes*, xvi, [1881,] p. 525):

Valerius Asiaticus (cp. the friends of Gaius Caesar above). Tac., *Ann.*, xi, 3: Asiatici—recenti adversus Britanniam militia.

L. Junius Silanus, great-grandson of Augustus, betrothed to Octavia, Arval brother 42, praetor 48, died 49 (Tac., *Ann.*, xii, 3, 4, 8 with Nipperdey's notes).

Cn. Pompeius Magnus, betrothed to Antonia, elder daughter of Claudius. He and Silanus carried the news of the conquest of Britain to Rome (Dio, ix, 21). Both were put to death by Claudius (Suetonius, *Claud.*, 27–29; Seneca, *Apocol.*, 11).

T. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (probably a nephew of Aulus Plautius) cos. suff. I 45 (B.)<sup>1</sup>, II in a year unknown, legat. et comes Claudi Caesaris in Britannia. Orelli, 750 = *CIL*, xiv, 3608. On the position of the *legati pro praetore* as *comites* cp. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 2, 853, 5.

Cn. Sentius Saturninus cos. 41 according to Eutropius, vii, 13: (Britannia) devicta per Cn. Sentium et A. Plautium, illustres ac nobiles viros.

*IRN*, 5245 (= *CIL*, ix, 2847) also refers to a *comes* in this expedition: . . . civ. . . . id. . . . regi sac. flam. . . . patric. leg. Caesaris pro . . . Claudi in Britannia ad . . . ro pr. in Hiberia ad sel. . . . ornamenta triumph. . . .

Paullus Fabius Persicus cos. 34. He is called nobilissimum virum, amicum meum by Claudius in his speech on the *jus honorum* of the Gauls, col ii, l. 24 ed. Nipp. Henzen, *Acta fr. arv.*, p. 186.

Seneca, *Apocol.*, 13 names as friends of consular rank put to death by Claudius:

(Q. Eutetius) Lusius Saturninus, cos. suff. between 15 and 17 (B.).

Pompeius Pedit cos. in a year unknown.

Cornelius Lupus cos. suff. 42 kal. Jul. (B.).

Ser. Asinius Celer cos. suff. 44 kal. Jul. (B.); cp. *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 1867, 9d. Lusium Saturninum, Cornelium Lupum circumventos—Suillio (Rufo) objectabant (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii, 43; cp. Nipperdey on the passage.

P. Suillius Rufus cos. suff. 46 kal. Jul. (B.). Claudi amicitia diu prospere, nunquam bene usus (*Ann.*, iv, 31), in insulas Baleares pellitur (58; *Ann.*, xiii, 43).

L. Vitellius (see above) formidine C. Caesaris, familiaritate Claudi turpe in servitium mutatus (Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 32).

L. Vitellius and Caecina Largus (cos. A.D. 42). Accompanied Claudius on the journey to Ostia (A.D. 48; Tac., *Ann.*, xi, 33).

A. Vitellius (see above).

Petronius vetus convictor ejus (consequently before his acces-

<sup>1</sup> B = Borghesi, *Fasti consulares*.



sion; Seneca, *Apocol.*, 14), no doubt identical with P. Petronius (vir consularis, Sueton., *Vitell.*, 6; cp. Haakh, *StRE*, v, 1402, 11).

Julius Planta. Edict of Claudius on the citizenship of the Anauni (Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, 102, l. 16): in rem praesentem misi Plantam Julium amicum et comitem meum, qui cum adhibitis procuratoribus meis quique in alia regione quique in vicinia erant, summa cura inquisierit et cognoverit, cetera quidem, ut mihi demonstrata commentario facto ab ipso sunt statuatur pronuntietque ipsi permitto (Mommsen, as above, p. 110).

K n i g h t s. Lusius Geta (praef. praet. with Rufrius Crispinus before Afranius Burrus *Ann.*, xii, 42) and

C. Turranius praef. annonae (cp. Nipperdey on *Ann.*, i, 7; Hirschfeld, *Über die Getreideverwaltung in Philologus*, xxix, 27) are called potissimi amicorum (*Ann.*, xi, 31).

L. Julius Vestinus. *Claudii oratio*, col. ii, 11: ex qua colonia (Vienna) inter paucos equestris ordinis ornamentum L. Vestinum familiarissime diligo et hodieque in rebus meis detineo. According to the inscription on a weight at Alexandria prefect of Egypt in the sixth year of Nero's reign: ἐπὶ Λευκίου Ἰουλίου Οὐρησίου ἡγεμόνος (Allmer and Terrebasse, *Inscr. ant. de Vienne*, ii, addit., p. 1; cp. Hirschfeld, *Zeitschr. f. öster. Gymn.*, 1877, p. 905, 2). He was perhaps the father of M. Julius Vestinus Atticus the consul and of Hadrian's secretary (see above). In 71 Vespasian entrusted him with the restoration of the Capitol (Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 53; cp. Nipperdey as above; Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 950, 3). Desjardins (*Un ami de Claude in Rev. de Philol.*, 1880, iv, p. 59; cp. *Géographie de la Gaule*, iii, p. 287) refers to L. Julius Vestinus the Viviers fragment, as restored by him: [L. Anto]n. L. f. Vol. Ve[stino Malloni Anni]o Romano, etc. The different gentile names make this identification improbable. Hirschfeld's restoration (*CIL*, xii, p. 310, 2452-4) is: M. Jun[i]o (sic) M. f. Vol[tinia] Vestino Malloni . . . oncanio Romano omnib. honorib. Vienn[ae] functo adlecto in amplissimum ordinem senat[orium] inter quaestorios, aedili curuli, praetori, legato provinc. Asiae. He observes: ad Vestinum Claudii imperatoris amicum civem Viennensem, qui in equestri ordine permansisse videtur, male Desjardins rettulit, quamquam ejusdem familiae eum fuisse, id quod jam Allmerus i, p. 223 suspicatus est, haut improbable est.

*Friends of Nero.* S e n a t o r s. C. Petronius consul (*Ann.*, xvi, 18, year unknown)—dein—inter paucos familiarium Neroni adsumptus est (died in 66).

A. Vitellius cos. 48, afterwards emperor (see above).

T. Flavius Vespasianus, afterwards emperor, cos. 51 k. Nov. (B.); peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis (Sueton., *Vesp.*, 4).

L. Annaeus Seneca, cos. suff. 57 (De Rossi, *Bull. Cr.*, 1886, p. 62; Henzen, *Arvali*, 34); writes to Nero: sed uterque mensuram implevimus, et tu, quantum princeps tribuere amico posset, et ego quantum amicus a principe accipere (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv, 54).

M. Julius Vestinus Atticus, perhaps son of L. Julius Vestinus (Nipperdey), cos. 65 (killed during his consulship soon after the 13th of April) ex intima sodalitate (Tac., *Ann.*, xv, 68).

M. Salvius Otho, afterwards emperor (born 32), flagrantissimus in amicitia Neronis (*Ann.*, xiii, 46, cp. 12; Plutarch, *Galba*, 19); summum inter amicos locum tenuit (Sueton., *Otho*, 2). Deicitur familiaritate sueta, post congressu et comitatu Otho, et—provinciae Lusitaniae praeficitur (in 58, Tac., *l.l.*); provinciam administravit quaestorius per decem annos (Suet., *Otho*, 3).

M. Annaeus Lucanus (born 39) revocatus Athenis a Nerone cohortique amicorum additus atque etiam quaestura honoratus non tamen permansit in gratia (died 55; Suetonius, *Vita Lucani*).

Montanus (probably Curtius Montanus, father of the poet mentioned in Tac., *Ann.*, xvi, 28 and 33; cp. Nipperdey on the latter passage and p. 68 below). Juvenal, iv, 136: noverat ille luxuriam imperii veteris noctesque Neronis.

**K n i g h t s.** Afranius Burrus praef. praet. from 51 (Tac., *Ann.*, xii, 42, cp. 69); died 62 (*Ann.*, xiv, 51). The passage in Tacitus (*Ann.*, xiii, 6), giving the substance of the city gossip at the time when the Parthian war was imminent, shows that he was one of the friends of Nero: Burrum tamen et Senecam multarum rerum experientia cognitos—datum plane documentum, honestis an secus amicis uteretur, si ducem amota invidia egregium, quam si pecuniosum et gratia subnixum per ambitum deligeret.

Sofonius Tigellinus alendis equis amicitiam Neronis nactus (Schol. Juv., i, 155); intimis libidinibus adsumptus (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv, 51); up to 62 praef. vigilum then praetorii, died 69; cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 221, 14.

Claudius Senecio adolescentulus decorus, liberto Caesaris patre genitus, in 55 privy with Otho to Nero's amour with Acte (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii, 12). In 65 he took part in the Pisonian conspiracy: e praecipua familiaritate Neronis speciem amicitiae etiam tum retinens (*Ann.*, xv, 50).

Cossinus, eg. R. amicitia Neronis principis notus (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xix, 93).

*Friends of Galba.* **S e n a t o r s.** T. Vinus Rufinus cos. with Galba II (69) and put to death with him. Galbae amicitia in abruptum tractus (Tac., *Hist.*, i, 48; Henzen, *Acta. fr. Arv.*, p. 200).

The three following were also friends of Galba.

M. Salvius Otho. Mane Galbam salutavit atque ut consueverat, osculo exceptus (Sueton., *Otho*, 6).

In addition to Vinus and Laco, Galba consulted, as to the choice of a successor,

Marius Celsus (cp. Nipperdey on Tac., *Ann.*, xv, 25; *Hist.*, i, 71), cos. kal. Jul. 69, and

Ducennius Geminus, cos. under Nero, praefectus urbi under Galba.

**K n i g h t s.** Cornelius Laco praef. praet. (Tac., *Hist.*, i, 14; Sueton., *Galba*, 14; Plutarch, *Galba*, 29), although he is nowhere expressly spoken of as a friend: Hirschfeld, p. 221, 7.

Pompeius Longinus. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 31: pergit etiam in castra praetorianorum tribuni Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, Pompeius Longinus—milites—Longinum manibus coercent exarmantque, quia non ordine militiae [proventus], sed e Galbae amicis fidus principi suo et desciscitentibus suspectus erat. H.

*Friends of Otho. Senators.* L. Vitellius, cos. suff. 48. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 48 : multos e magistratibus, magnam consularium partem Otho non participes aut ministros bello (Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 853, 5), sed comitum specie secum expedire jubet ; in quibus et Lucium Vitellium, eodem quo ceteros cultu, nec ut imperatoris fratrem nec ut hostis.

Marium Celsum cos. des. (see above)—statim inter intimos amicos habuit (Tac., *Hist.*, i, 71).

Suetonius Paullinus cos. suff. k. Mart. 42, II 66. Plutarch, *Otho*, 6 : οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κέλσον καὶ Πανλλῖνον ἄλλως ἐφείλκοντο συμβούλων ὄνομα καὶ φίλων.

*K n i g h t s.* Licinius Proculus—intima familiaritate Othonis, chosen by the soldiers to succeed Laco as praef. praetorio (Tac., *Hist.*, i, 46 ; Hirschfeld, p. 221).

*Friends of Vitellius. Senators.* M. Cluvius Rufus (cos. under Tiberius or Caligula, certainly later than 41. B.) omitta Hispania (in 70) comitatus principis adiectus est (Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 65).

T. Catus C. Silius Italicus cos. 68 in amicitia Vitellii (Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 7), who in his conversations with Flavius Sabinus consulted him and Cluvius Rufus (Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 65).

C. Fabius Valens and

A. Caecina Alienus coss. kal. Sept. 69 (B.). It is clear from Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 92 that both are to be considered as friends of Vitellius in the special sense : munia imperii Caecina ac Valens obibant—variis in hunc aut illum Vitellii inclinationibus. nec unquam satis fida potentia, ubi nimia est. simul ipsum Vitellium subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem contemnebant metuebantque, nec eo segnius invaserant domos hortos opesque imperii.

Vibius Crispus (see under Vespasian and Domitian) was a regular table-companion of Vitellius according to Dio, lxx, 2.

*Friends of Vespasian. Senators.* M. Antonius Primus in 61 condemned for forgery (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv, 40), in 70 senatorium ordinem recuperaverat, attached himself to Vespasian (*Hist.*, ii, 86), and received the consular insignia (*Hist.*, iv, 4) ; sed paulatim levior viliorque haberi, manente tamen in speciem amicitia (*Hist.*, iv, 80). Cp. Martial, x, 23 and Giese, *De personis a Martiale commemoratis*, p. 5 ff.

T. Clodius M. Eprius Marcellus et

Vibius Crispus, nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia—ab ipso principe cum quadam reverentia diliguntur (Tac., *Dial.*, 8) ; both were coss. suff. in 61 (Borghesi, *Oeuvr.*, iv, 536).

C. Licinius Mucianus ter consul (Borghesi, *ib.*, iv, 345), I before 67, II 70, III 72. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 190.

T. Rutilius Varus—q. divi Vespasiani, aed. cur. com. imperato[r.] Orelli, 3440 = *CIL*, x, 1258.

*K n i g h t s.* C. Plinius Secundus in 79 prefect of the fleet at Misenum. Distentus impeditusque—amicitia principum (Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 5).

Otacilius Sagitta. Murat., 2004, 2 = *CIL*, x, 2, 8038 (Epistula Vespasiani ad Vanacinarum [gentis Corsicanae] magistratus et senatores a. p. C. 72 IIII id. Octobr. scripta) : Otacilium Sagittam amicum et procuratorem meum ita vobis praefuisse, ut testimonium

vestrum mereatur, delector. On the document cp. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 1127, 1.

Ti. Julius Alexander (Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, Eng. tr., ii, 246 n.) accompanied Titus as adviser in the expedition against Jerusalem: φίλων δὲ δοκιμώτατος εὐνοϊάν τε καὶ σύνεσιν Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος, πρότερον μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν Αἰγύπτου διέπων, τότε δὲ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἄρχων, κριθεὶς ἄξιος ἐξ ὧν ἐδεξιώσατο πρῶτος ἐγειρομένην ἄρτι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ μετὰ πίστεως λαμπρᾶς ἐξ ἀδήλου τῇ τύχῃ προσέθετο (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v, 1, 6. H.).

*Friends of Titus.* None known except the elder Pliny (cp. Suetonius, *Titus*, 7).

*Friends of Domitian.* Senators. Borghesi, *Annot. a Giovenale: Œuvr.*, v, 513 concludes from Juvenal, iv, 72 that all the advisers summoned by Domitian (except the two prefects) were consulars: vocantur ergo in concilium *proceres* quos oderat ille; in quorum facie miserae magnaeque sedebat pallor amicitiae; cp. 83, maria ac terras populosque regenti quis comes utilior? According to Bücheler's interesting conjecture (*Rhein. Mus.*, xxxix, 283), Juvenal's description of this cabinet council was a reminiscence of Statius' *De bello Germanico* (147, tanquam de Chattis aliquid torvisque Sygambri dicturus), of which Valla's scholia to Juvenal, iv, 94 have preserved four lines (Jahn, *Rhein. Mus.*, ix, 627 and Bücheler as above. The following took part in the conversation (the order is as given by Juvenal):

Pegasus (attonitae positus modo vilicus urbi) qui temporis Vespasiani praefectus urbi fuit. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 316, 1, Eng. tr. Consequently, he was city prefect for the second time under Domitian. [Borghesi, *Œuvres*, ix, p. 269, assumes only a prefecture. H.]

Vibius Crispus (see above and Borghesi, p. 520). Statius, *l.l.*: Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi. Cp. Veiento.

M'. Acilius Glabrio cos. perhaps under Claudius or Nero, p. 521: Statius, *l.l.*: et prope Caesareae confinis Acilius aulae. His son of the same name cos. 91. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 175.

Rubrius Gallus cos. under Nero, p. 521 ff.

Montanus, perhaps T. Junius Montanus cos. suff. 81, p. 523. [Rather (according to Nipperdey on Tac., *Ann.*, xvi, 33) the father of the Curtius Montanus mentioned there and in chap. 28. H.]

Pompeius, perhaps Cn. Pompeius Ferox Licinianus cos.; year unknown, p. 524 f.

L. Valerius Messalinus, cos. 73 and

A. Fabricius Veiento, cos. under Domitian; for both see Mommsen, *Index Plinianus*. Statius *l.l.*: prudentia Crispi et Fabius Veiento—potentem signat utrumque purpura, ter memores implerunt nomine fastos, according to whom therefore Crispus (in his second consulship) and Veiento were colleagues. Bücheler takes Fabius as an appellative (the prudent).

The following are also known:—

Velius Paullus, under Domitian proconsul of Bithynia. See Mommsen as above; Martial, ix, 31, cum comes Arctoïs haereret Caesaris armis Velius, etc. The war here referred to is the Sarmatian, not the Dacian; perhaps, however, *comes* is not to be understood in the technical sense.



M. Arrecinus Clemens (consularem, unum e familiaribus et emissariis suis, Sueton., *Domit.*, 11) ; consul I 73, under Domitian II (B.). Hirschfeld, pp. 222, 3. Asbach, *Consularfasten der J.* 68-96, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxix (1885), p. 149.

Palfurius Sura, consularis filius a Vespasiano senatu motus—abusus familiaritate Domitiani acerbissime partes delationis exercuit (Marius Maximus in Schol. Juv., iv, 53).

Festus. Martial, i, 78, 10 : hujus Caesar amicus erat. Perhaps C. Calpetanus Rantius Quirinalis Valerius Festus cos. suff. 71. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v, 62. Cp. *CIL*, v, 531 leg. Aug. pr. pr. of Pannonia (73). *Wiener Studien*, 1882, p. 216. Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv, 49. leg. Aug. Tarrac. 79/80, *CIL*, ii, 2477, 4799, etc. Asbach as above, p. 110.

K n i g h t s. Cornelius Fuscus praef. praet. (Hirschfeld, 223, 25) and

Crispinus, according to Borghesi (p. 573-6) perhaps his colleague. Cp. Hirschfeld, p. 223, 26.

*Friends of Nerva.* L. Verginius Rufus, born 15, cos. 63, 69, 97, died towards end of 97. Caesares, quibus suspectus fuerat, evasit; reliquit incolumem optimum atque amicissimum (Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 3; cp. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*).

According to Pliny (*Epp.*, iv, 22), both Fabricius Veiento and Junius Mauricus were friends of Nerva (cp. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*).

*Friends of Trajan. Senators.* L. Neratius Priscus cos. 83 (cp. Teuffel, *RLG* <sup>4</sup>, 342, 1, Eng. tr.). Frequens sane opinio fuit Trajano id animi fuisse ut N.P. non Hadrianum successorem relinqueret, multis amicis in hoc consentientibus (*Vita Hadr.*, 4; Mommsen on *CIL*, ix, 2454-5).

L. Licinius Sura, cos. before 98 (Asbach, p. 158), 102, 107. Dio, lxxiii, 15. *Vita Hadr.*, 3. Victor, *Caes.*, 13, 8.

Q. Sosius Senecio cos. 99, 102, 107. Dio, lxxiii, 16.

A. Cornelius Palma, cos. 99 and 109. Asbach, *Consularfasten d. J.* 96-119, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxii (1882), p. 13. Inscription on his statue in the Forum, *CIL*, vi, 1386. His statue (as governor of Asia about 115) set up by the Carians. *Anthol. Pal.*, xvi, 35. Fröhner, *Krit. Analekten (Philologus, Supptband, v, 70)*.

L. Publilius Celsus cos. II 113. Dio, lxxviii, 16: ἐσθησε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σοσίου τοῦ τε Πάλμου καὶ τοῦ Κέλσου εἰκόνας. οὕτω πού αὐτοὺς τῶν ἄλλων προετίμησε. That the two last were friends of Trajan is shown by *Vita Hadr.*, 3 : ut a Sura comperit adoptandum se a Trajano esse, ab amicis Trajani contemni desiit ac neglegi; cp. 4 : in adoptionis sponsionem venit Palma et Celso inimicis semper suis. Further,

C. Avidius Nigrinus cos. under Trajan and

Lusius Quietus cos. 115, who were executed together with Celsus and Palma (*Vit. Hadr.*, 7; Dio, lxxix, 2) were no doubt also friends of Trajan.

T. Junius Omullus, consularis according to an inscription of Nemausus, is no doubt the Homullus mentioned in *Vita Alex. Ser.*, 65, as a friend of Trajan (in Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 9, 15 wrongly Titius Homullus; cp. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*, s.v. Homullus). Borghesi

*Œuvres*, viii, 416. (M. Valerius Homullus cos. ord. 151; cp. *CIL*, ii, 3415. H.)

L. Dasumius cos. about 100 (Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques*, 119, 120), may have been one of the friends of Trajan, as according to his will he perhaps received from him an estate of the value of 6,000,000 sesterces and certainly left him a legacy (*Test. Dasum.*, l. 85–87 and 125, ed. Rudorff, *Zeitschr. f. geschichtl. Rechtswiss.*, xii, 370 ff., 389 ff.; *CIL*, vi, 10229).

Hadrianus (Dio, lxix, 1; *Vit. Hadr.*, 3) ad bellum Dacicum Trajanum familiaris prosecutus. Henzen, *Inscr. Onor. di Adr.*, AdI, 1863, 150 (*Philologus*, xix, 358): quaestori imperatoris Trajani et comiti expeditionis Daciae, donis militaribus ab eo donato bis.

D. Terentius Gentianus Scaurianus (*CIL*, iii, 1463: leg. Aug. consuli pontif.) according to the inscription on the great Pyramid (*CIL*, iii, 21), where the probable reading is:—

Scit nomen Decimi Gentiani pyramis alta  
pontificis comitisque tuis, Trajane, triumphis  
lustra sex intra censoris consulis esse.

Otherwise Mommsen, *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 28, but as above in *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 577, 2. Cp. also *CIL*, iii, p. 688 DXXV (Feb. 17th, 110): sunt in Dacia sub D. Terentio Scauriano, and *Digg.*, xlvii, 21, 1 (Hadrian's rescript to him in 119). Asbach, *Consularfasten* 96–119, p. 47 takes him to be a son of the Terentius Scaurus in Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 12. [He subsequently incurred the suspicions of Hadrian, one of whose friends he probably was. *Vit. Hadr.*, 23. H.]

K n i g h t s. Pompeius Planta. Trajan, *Ad Plinium*, 7. Pompeium Plantam, praefectum Aegypti, amicum meum (*ib.*, 10). Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.* Hirschfeld, *VG*, 270, 3. H.

*Friends of Hadrian*; for the most part mentioned in *Vit. Hadr.*, 15.

S e n a t o r s. *Vit. Hadr.*, 8: optimos quosque senatores in contubernium majestatis adscivit. Cp. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 991, 2.

L. Julius Ursus Servianus, Hadrian's brother-in-law, cos. II 102, III 134, killed in 136 at the age of 90; cp. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*

L. Catilius Severus cos. II 120, Syriae praepositus (*Vit. Hadr.*, 5) praef. u. qui sibi praeparabat imperium, qua re prodita dignitate privatus est; *ib.*, 24; cp. Mommsen as above.

L. (Neratius) Marcellus, brother of L. Neratius Priscus, cos. 129, forced by Hadrian to commit suicide (*Vit. Hadr.*, 15); Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*

C. Ummidius Quadratus, cos. suff. 118. Mommsen, *ib.* Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 202.

A. Platorius Nepos, cos. suff. 119, later suspected by Hadrian (*Vit. Hadr.*, 15 and 23; cp. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 194) and

Sosius Pappus. Both had already been intimate with Hadrian during Trajan's reign.

T. Atilius Rufus Titianus cos. 127. Titianum ut conscium tyrannidis et argui passus est et proscribi (*Vit. Hadr.*, 15). According to *Vit. Anton. Pii*, 7, he was not condemned till this emperor's reign. Lebas-Waddington, 1619. He had a villa at Antium (Villa Aldobrandini): Lanciani, *Le acque*, p. 304.

T. Caesernius Statius Quintius Statianus Macrinus cos. (under Antoninus Pius before 150 [B.]) divi Hadriani comes in oriente ante quaesturam. Henzen, 7420a = *CIL*, viii, 7036.

Voconius. Apuleius, *Apol.*, 11: divus Hadrianus cum Voconi amici sui poetae tumulum versibus muneraretur, etc. Perhaps C. Licinius Voconius Romanus, raised to senatorial rank by Trajan; cp. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.* and Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 346, 5 (Eng. tr., 341, 2).

K n i g h t s. Attianus, once Hadrian's guardian and already his friend in Trajan's reign (*Vit. Hadr.*, 4, 5 and 9), with Plotina and Matidia conveyed Trajan's remains to Rome. Cum Attianum ex praefecto praetorii ornamentis consularibus praeditum faceret senatorem, nihil se amplius habere quod in eum conferri posset ostenderit (*ib.*, 8); consularium quattuor occisorum—necem in Attiani consilia refundebat (*ib.*, 9); amicissimos—postea hostium loco habuit ut Attianum (*ib.*, 15). In 119 he compelled him to resign when *praef. praet.* (cp. Hirschfeld, 225, 32).

Ti. Claudius Livianus, prefect under Trajan in the first Dacian war 101½ and

Q. Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius, appointed *praef. praet.* 119, and apparently still in office in 135. In *Vit. Hadr.*, 4 we should probably read (with Hirschfeld, p. 224): expeditionis Parthicae tempore—utebatur Hadrianus amicitia—ex equestri (ordine) Attiani, tutoris quondam sui, et Liviani [et] Turbonis.

C. Septicius Clarus, in 119 appointed to succeed Turbo's colleague Similis as *praef. praet.*, deprived of office 121. Cp. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*

*Friends of Antoninus Pius. Senators.* M. Valerius Homullus cos. 151; cujus Homulli multa joca semper patienter accepit (*Vit. Anton. P.*, 11). He opposed the adoption of Marcus Aurelius (*Vit. M. Anton.*, 6). Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 199. See also above.

*Friends of the two Augusti.*<sup>1</sup> *Senators.* M. Cornelius Fronto, cos. 143, perhaps already a friend of Antoninus Pius, in any case his successor, although there is no express testimony: cp. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 355 (Eng. tr.).

P. Salvius Julianus bis consul (ord. 148, suff. in the last years of Antoninus or later), praef. u. et Ictus (*Vit. Did. Jul.*, 1). Salvii Juliani amici nostri (rescript of the Divi Fratres in *Dig.*, xxxvii, 14, 17 pr.). Cp. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 350, 1–4 (Eng. tr.).

Q. Junius Rusticus cos. I in Hadrian's last years, II 162. Rescriptum divorum fratrum—ad Junium Rusticum amicum nostrum, praef. urbi (*Digg.*, xlix, 1, 1, 3). Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 358, 3 (Eng. tr.).

[M. Pontius Laelianus Larcus Sabinus (cos. 163)—sodalis Antoninianus Verianus—comes divi Veri Aug. donatus donis militarib. bello Armeniaco et Parthico ab imp. Antonino Aug. et a divo Vero Aug.] Orelli, 3186. The fragment—[comes] Antonini Aug. et L. Veri bello Germanic. item comes Imp. Antonini Aug. Germanici Sarmatici—has been wrongly combined with the above inscription. Cp. Borghesi, *AdI*, 1855, p. 25.

M. Jallius M. f. Bassus Fabius Valerianus cos. praef. [aer . . . leg. Aug. pr.] provinc. Pannoniae inferioris curator oper. publ.

<sup>1</sup> Et Verum quidem Marcus Capuam usque prosecutus amicis comitantibus a senatu ornavit additis officiorum omnium principibus (*Vit. M. Anton.*, 8).

(161; *CIL*, vi, 1119b) [leg. Augg. pr. pr. prov.] Mysiae inferior. (between 161 and 169; *CIL*, iii, 6169) comes Augustorum Par[thi]c[a]e x[peditio]nis ?]. *CIL*, xii, 2718 sq. (Alba Helvorum).

T. Vitrasius Pollio [cos. II 176—adfinis ? Aug]ustorum (Marci et Commodi) comes [M. Antonini et L. Ver]i Augg. expedi[tio]nis . . . Germ[anicae] item comes [M. Antonini et Com]modi Augg. expedit. Germ[anicae] Sar[maticae] bis donis m[ilit.] donatus etc.].—s[odalis Antoninianus] maritus A[nniae] Flaviae Faustinae (filiae Annii Libonis cos. 128 patrum imp. Marci), etc. Henzen, 5477; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 227.

Julius Verus leg. pr. pr. of Syria. A street restored under the two emperors 163/165 per Jul. Verum leg. pr. pr. provinc. Syr. et amicum suum impendiis Abilenorum (*CIL*, iii, 199).

K n i g h t s. L. Volusius Maecianus I C t u s. Amicus noster in a rescript of the Divi Fratres (*Dig.*, xxxvii, 14, 17 pr.). Put to death by the army 175 when *praef. Aegypti* or *iuridicus Alexandreae* (*Vit. Avid. Cass.* 7). Mommsen, *Abhandl. der sächs. Ges.*, iii, 282. Teufel, *RLG* 4, 360 7 (Eng. tr., 360, 8). Hirschfeld, p. 227.

*Friends of Lucius Verus. S e n a t o r s.* M. Pontius Laelianus Larcus Sabinus cos. (163) sodalis Antoninianus Verianus—comes divi Veri Aug. donatus donis militarib. bello Armeniaco et Parthico ab imp. Antonino Aug. et a divo Vero Aug. (Orelli, 3186; see above). E. Napp, *De rebus imperatore M. Aur. Antonino in Oriente gestis* (Bonn, 1879), p. 69.

M. Claudius Fronto cos. (c. 170 [B.]) comes divi Veri Aug. donatus donis militarib. bello Armeniaco et Parthico ab imperatore Antonino Aug. et a Divo Vero Aug. corona murali item vallari item aurea item hastis puris IIII item vexillis IIII . . . Henzen, 5478 = *CIL*, vi, 1377; Napp, p. 69, 5.

T. Caesernius Statius Quinctius Macedo Quinctianus (son of Hadrian's friend of the same name) cos. co[m]mes divi Veri] per Orientem; according to Borghesi's restoration of the inscription, Henzen, 6502 = *CIL*, v, 1, 865; Napp, p. 75 ff.

L. Dasumius Tullus Tuscus, adopted son of Trajan's friend L. Dasumius, holder of important positions under Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius. Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, vi, 429; Henzen, 6051 (cp. 6922 and *CIL*, iii, 1, 4117): L. Dasumio P. f. Stel. Tullio Tusco cos. comiti August. auguri, etc. Wilmanns, 1188: Verba "comiti Aug." postea addita sunt; fuit fortasse Veri comes, cum in Orientem proficisceretur.

*Friends of Marcus Aurelius. S e n a t o r s.* C. Fulvius Bruttius Praeseus C. f. M'. Valerius Maximus Pompeius L. Valens Cornelius Proculus Aquilius Veiento cos. (153, II 180)—socer imp. [Caes. Commodi Aug. sodalis] Hadrianalis sodalis Antonin[ianus] Verianus] Marcianus comes imp. Anto[nini et Commodi Augg.] expeditionis Sarmaticae *praef. u.*? Henzen, 5488; *ib.*, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 187.

C. Aufidius Victorinus, son-in-law of Fronto, fellow-pupil of Marcus Aurelius (*Vit. M. Anton.*, 3), cos. II 183, ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκου ἐν τοῖς πάνυ τιμηθεῖς (Dio, lxxii, 11), *praef. u.*, died 186. Henzen, *Acta*, p. 178.

Seius Fuscianus, also a fellow-pupil of Marcus Aurelius, cos. II 188 (*Vit. Commod.*, 12), a strict *praef. urb.* (*Vit. Pertinac.*, 4).



**K n i g h t s.** Baebius Longus and Calenus, both fellow-pupils of Marcus Aurelius (*Vit. M. Antonin.*, 3).

**F r i e n d s o f C o m m o d u s.** S e n a t o r s. T. Vitrasius Pollio (see above).

C. Fulvius Bruttius Praesens (see above).

Junius Severus. Statimque (Commodus Albino) successorem misit Junium Severum unum e contubernalibus suis (*Vit. Clod. Alb.*, 14). De Vit (*Onomast.*) identifies him with the *cos. suff.* 154 (*CIL*, iii, p. 881); it is more probable that he was his son.

C. Pescennius Niger *cos. II* in Oriente 194. (B.) Hunc in Commodianis hortis in porticu pictum de musio inter Commodi amicissimos videmus sacra Isidis ferentem (*Vit. Pesc. Nig.*, 6).

The chief *Friends of Septimus Severus* are enumerated in the *Epit. de Caesaribus*, 20: (T. Sextius) Lateranus (*cos.* 197), (L. Fabius) Cilo (*cos. II* 204. Gruter, 407, 1 = *CIL*, vi, 1, 1408: *comiti imp. L. Septimi Severi*; *Dig.*, i, 15, 4, *amicum nostrum*),<sup>1</sup> (Cornelius) Anulinus (*cos.* 216; Dio, lxxiv, 3; *CIL*, ii, 2053), (Pomponius) Bassus (*cos.* 221, died 221; Dio, lxxix, 5). Also known are: C. Fulvius Plautianus *cos. II* (Orelli, 934: *necessarius Augg. et comes per omnes expeditiones eorum*, died 205); cp. *CIA*, iii, 633, and Hirschfeld, *VG*, 230; Q. Hedi Rufus Lollianus Gentianus *cos.* 211, *comes Severi et Antonini Augg. ter.* (Orelli, 3657 = *CIL*, ii, 4121; cp. Lebas-Waddington, p. 739); Aemilius Papinianus, successor of Plautianus as *praef. praet.*, put to death 212; cp. Teuffel, *RLG* 4, 371 (Eng. tr.). [C. Julius Pacatianus *adlectus inter comit[es A]ugg. nnn.* (only temporarily admitted into the imperial retinue in the expedition to Britain, since he was *procurator Alp. Cott.*; cp. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 836, 2), *CIL*, xii, 1856 = Allmer, *Inscr. de Vienne*, 1963. H.]

*Friend of Antoninus* (Caracalla). Maternianus. Herodian, iv, 12, 4: ἐπιστέλλει Ματερνιαῶ τινί, τότε πάσας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πράξεις ἐγκεχειρισμένῳ, πιστοτάτῳ εἶναι δοκοῦντι φίλων καὶ μόνῳ κοινωνῶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων: cp. Dio, lxxviii, 4, 7, 15. H.

On the *Friends of Alexander Severus* cp. *Vit. Alex. Sev.*, 68. *CIL*, xiv, 3900 (ager Tiburt.): C. Caesonio C. f. Quir. Macro Rufiniano consulari sodali Augustali comiti imp. Severi Aug. (otherwise unknown). *CIG*, 3499 (cp. 3500), Thyatira: M. Γναῖον Λικίνιον Ῥουφῖνον τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικόν, φίλον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, κτίστην καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πατρίδος οἱ βυρσεῖς. Borghesi puts his consulship in the reign of Alexander Severus, but he is not mentioned amongst that emperor's friends in the passage referred to above. *Cod. Justin.*, viii, 37, 4 (A.D. 222): Ulpiani praefecti annonae ICTi amici mei. [Cassius Dio also was no doubt one of the friends of Severus (Dio, lxxx, 5). H.]

*Elagabalus.* The fragment *CIL*, vi, 3839: *Cos. comiti amico* — — *praef. ann.* refers to the time of Elagabalus.

Time unknown: Gruter, 1100, 3 = *CIL*, v, 2, 5811: C. Sentio Severo Quadrato c. v. *cos. amico et comiti Aug. n. Julii fratres Maximus et Victor* (dug up at Milan in 1594).

<sup>1</sup> His house was in the 12th *regio* (Lanciani, *Le acque*, p. 303); he also had a villa on the Via Ostiensis (*ib.*, p. 305).

Kaibel, *epigr. Gr.*, 441 (second or third cent., in vico Trachonitidis):—

4 . πιστοτάτου βασιλεῦσιν, ἀμωμήτοῦ τ' ἐπάρχου

8 . καὺτὸς ἐὼν βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος ἐσθλὸς ὁπάων.

*CIL*, viii, 597 (prov. Byzacena): iunio Faustino a d o Postumiano c. v cos. adlecto inter *comites* Augg. nn. sacerdoti *flaviali* titiali, etc. "The person referred to, who seems to be entirely unknown, lived between the age of M. Aurelius and Aurelian, probably at the end of the third century."

## XII. THE USE OF *VIR CLARISSIMUS* AS A SENATORIAL TITLE. (Vol. I, p. 133, l. 11.)

IN the course of the first century *vir clarissimus* gradually became an established official title of persons of senatorial rank. It is doubtful whether *clarissimi* in Seneca (*Brev. Vit.*, 8, 2: *annua congiaria homines clarissimi accipiunt*) is to be taken in this sense. As J. Naudet (*De la noblesse chez les Romains*, 1863, p. 72, 1) has observed, it first occurs as an unquestionable title in two *senatus consulta* of the year 56, which, it is true, are only preserved in a single copy (Orelli, 3115; Mommsen, *Ber. der sächs. Ges.*, 1852, p. 272 = *CIL*, x, 1401: Hosidio Geta et L. Vagellio cos. *clarissimis viris*); since the document was found at Herculaneum, it must have been prepared at latest under Vespasian, who perhaps ordered the two *senatus consulta* to be set up in all the Italian cities (Mommsen, p. 276). Similarly in a document of the year 69 (*CIL*, x, 7852, 13; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 471, 2). But even under Domitian it does not seem to have been a *standing* title of senators. Statius (praef. *Silvae*, iii, about 94) calls Maecius Celer (of senatorial rank) 'splendidissimum juvenem,' and (praef. *Silvae*, iv, 95) Julius Menecrates of Naples (son-in-law of Pollius Felix), who could not have been of higher than equestrian rank, 'splendidum juvenem'; on the other hand, Plotius Grypus (who was a senator) is only 'majoris gradus juvenem.' Certainly he speaks in the following terms of Vettius Crispinus (also a senator): sic te, clare puer, genitum sibi curia sensit; but it is clear from Suetonius (*Galba*, 14: quosdam claros ex utroque ordine viros) that *clarus* may be taken merely as a complimentary epithet. In Martial, praef. ix (A.D. 94) epigramma—ad Stertinium (cos. 92) *clarissimum virum*, there is no doubt that the words denote a title. (In Quintilian, i, 7, 29, where Bonnell reads: et *clarissimos* et consules geminata eadem littera legimus, the reading is extremely doubtful.) The first writer, who unquestionably so uses it, is the younger Pliny, not in a confidential communication with an equal in rank, but in writing to an inferior (Suetonius): *tribunatum, quem a Neratio Marcello, clarissimo viro, impetravi tibi* (*Epp.*, iii, 8); *clarissimi consules* (*Epp.*, vii, 33), in an official address in the senate; similarly, et statim Murena tribunus: *permitto tibi, vir clarissime Veiento, dicere* (*Epp.*, ix, 13) and *pro collega meo Cornuto Tertullo, clarissimo viro* (*Panegy.*, 90); also, *providentissime, domine, fecisti quod praecepisti Calpurnio Macro, clarissimo viro* (correspondence with Trajan, *epp.* 56 and 67, ed. Keil; 61 and 77 ed. Mommsen). Similarly, in an inscription of the early years of Tra-

jan's reign, Orelli, 784 and Henzen, 5404 = *CIL*, v, 1, 34, where a pronepos Antoni Felicis is called *c.p.* (= clarissimus puer); in documents of the year 101 (*CIL*, vi, 1492) under Hadrian (*CIL*, viii, 2532) and Antoninus Pius (*CIL*, v, 532; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 471, 2); the jurist L. Fulvius Aburnius Valens in the year 118 is called *c.i.* (= clarissimus juvenis), Orelli, 3153 = *CIL*, vi, 1421; in the *senatus consultum de nundinis saltus Beguensis* of the year 138 (*Eph. Epigr.*, ii, 273 = *CIL*, viii, 270), the petitioner Lucilius Africanus is called *c.v.* (= clarissimus vir). An inscription (of Hadrian's time) on the poetess Julia Balbilla (Tauromenium) calls her τὴν λαμπροτάτην (*CIG*, 5404); also a decree of senate and people gives the same title to a certain Jallia Bassa (belonging to the family of Jallius Bassus, cos. before 161; Bruzza, *Bull. munic. di R.*, 1883, p. 138; cp. Letronne, *Rec. des inscr.*, ii, pp. 350-367). By the side of λαμπρότατος, which correctly (at least till the end of the second century)<sup>1</sup> was only used for senators (cp. e.g. *CIG*, 3499, 3979), κράτιστος was at first in use for both senators and knights.<sup>2</sup>

Knights: *CIG*, 2790: Γ. 'Ιούλιον Φίλιππον (ἐπίτροπον τῶν Σεβαστῶν, *CIG*, 9233) τὸν κράτιστον πατέρα συγκλητικοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπων. *ib.*, 3497: τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ. Lebas-Waddington, 1385: τὴν κρατίστην γυναῖκα τοῦ κρατιστοῦ δοικηναρίου, ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπων. Senators: σὺν τῷ κρατίστῳ Φλ. Δρυαντιανῷ συγκλητικῷ (Neubauer, *Comment. epigr.* [69], p. 32). In a letter of Hadrian to the γερουσία of Ephesus in the year 120 (C. Curtius, *Ephes. Inschr. in Hermes*, iv, 178: Κορνελίῳ Πρέισκῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ; and in another letter of his to Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis in the year 127 (*Bull. de corr. hellén.*, xi, 1887): τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ Στερτινίῳ Κουαρεῖνῳ καὶ τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ μου Πομπηίῳ Σεονήρῳ. Cp. the inscriptions (date unknown) in *Hermes*, iv, p. 194: Κλαυδίαν Σ[ωσιπάτραν]? θυγατέρα Τιβ. Κλ. Ἑρμείου λαμπροτάτου ὑπατικοῦ καὶ Αἰλίας Πειθιάδος τῆς κρατίστης ὑπατικῆς ἀδελφῆν Τιβ. Κλ. Δράκοντος Σωσιπάτρας Θεωνίδος τῶν κρατίστων ἀνεψιῶν καὶ ἀπόγονον πολλῶν ὑπατικῶν Φλ[άβιος] Ζωτικός τὴν ἰδίαν πατρῶνισσαν. But after the third century κράτιστος, corresponding to the Latin *egregius*, is only found used of knights (Hirschfeld, *VG*, 273 note). See Boucherie, *Ἑρμηνεύματα*, p. 81: διασημώτατος perfectissimus, κράτιστος egregius. In the age of the Antonines the title *vir clarissimus* was evidently in general use (cp. Gellius, i, 2, 1; i, 22, 6; xviii, 10, 1; in other passages *c.v.* may have fallen out). Cp. also Apuleius, *Apol.*, 443: cum Lolliano Avito *c.v.* praesente publice dissererem. Orelli, 3767 = *IRN*, 2505 = *CIL*, x, 1814 (year 161). Orelli, 4040 (decr. mun. Tergest., later than 161). Orelli, 1632 (year 173). Lucian, *Macrobii*, 1: λαμπρότατε (29, ἱερώτατε) Κύντιλλε. For other evidence of later or unknown date, inscriptions and legal sources, see Naudet as above.

<sup>1</sup> From this time λαμπρότατος, like *clarissimus*, seems to have been occasionally used in reference to the chief prefectures. Ulpianus Primianus *praef. Aegypti* in the third year of the reign of Severus is called ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡγεμῶν (*CIG*, 4863); Septimius Heraclitus *praef. Aegypti* in 215 ὁ λαμπρότατος in a document of Arsinoe (as Opellius Macrinus *praef. praet.*, Hirschfeld, *VG*, 232 and 275. Wilcken, *Arsinoitische Tempelrechnungen in Hermes*, xx, 469).

<sup>2</sup> This was already noticed by Marini, *Arvali*, p. 748, 59. Dessau, *Steuertarif von Palmyra in Hermes*, xix (1884), p. 514, 1.

XIII. *MANDRAGORA*.  
(Vol. I, p. 174, l. 4.)

At my request, Professor Ferdinand Cohn investigated the ancient traditions relating to the mandragora, or mandrake. He communicated the results of his inquiries to the *Jahresbericht der schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterl. Cultur* (1887, pp. 285–293), from which the following remarks are taken.

From the time of Hippocrates to the first century A.D. the mandragora was only known as an officinal plant. The juice of the rind of its root, extracted by squeezing or boiling, was used as a narcotic or anaesthetic in surgical operations. 'The description of the effects of mandragora juice in Dioscorides and Pliny in almost the same words, the exact dose being given, leaves no doubt that the reference is to cases of intoxication by atropine, which, although its existence in the mandragora cannot be chemically demonstrated, shows its presence by the effects indicated. Theophrastus had already declared that mandragora in too large doses was fatal.' He and Dioscorides hint that it was one of the ingredients of love potions, whence it was called Circe-plant (Κίρκια, Diosc., *Materia Medica*, iv, 76; Circaeon, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxv, 147). This use of it seems to be of great antiquity, 'if the *dudaim* of *Genesis* and the *Song of Solomon* is rightly interpreted as love-apples (mandragora berries) by the Septuagint'.

The root was usually dug up with strange ceremonies (drawing a circle round it thrice with a sword and looking towards the west). Theophrastus (*Hist. anim.*, ix, 8) makes merry over this; but neither he nor Pliny knows the later story, that the only safe method of procuring it involved the sacrifice of the life of a dog. Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, vii, 6, 3)<sup>1</sup> tells the story of the root Baaras or Battaritis, Aelian (*Nat. anim.*, xiv, 24–27) of the root ἀγλαοφῶτις or κυνόσπαστος (by which the peony is probably meant). The MS. of Dioscorides written in Constantinople in the fifth century for the emperor's daughter Julia Anicia is the earliest evidence of the transference of the story to the mandragora. A miniature drawing in it represents personified Invention (Heuresis), with one hand handing a root of the mandragora to Dioscorides, with the other holding on a rope the strangled dog, which has drawn the root from the ground. In a second picture Heuresis is describing the root to a painter sitting in front of an easel, who is sketching it on a white, gold-rimmed tablet (Schreiber, *Culturhistor. Bilderatlas*, Taf. viii, 3).<sup>2</sup> The still older Naples Dioscorides MS. shows at the same passage by the side of the text two illustrations called the male and female mandragora, unmistakably corresponding to the *Mandragora autumnalis* Spreng. (*M. officinarum* Bert.) and *M. vernalis* (the sex names did not indicate differences of sex in antiquity, but the more or less robust

<sup>1</sup> 'They dig a trench round about it, till the hidden part of the root be very small; they then tie a dog to it and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up, but the dog dies immediately, as if it were instead of the man that would take the plant away; nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into their hands' (Whiston's translation).

<sup>2</sup> English edition, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, by W. C. F. Anderson and P. Gardner (1895)



varieties). That the root was supposed to resemble the human form is shown by Columella (x, 19, semihominis—mandragorae) and by a pseudo-Pythagorean treatise on the effects of plants quoted by Pliny, in which, according to a gloss in the Dioscorides MS. (*M.m.*, iv, 76) it was called *ἀνθρωπομορφος*. In the illustrations mentioned, the *M. autumnalis* resembles a man, the *M. vernalis* a woman.

As is shown by the translation of *Dudaïm* by mandragore = *al-rûna* in a Munich gloss of the tenth century, the mandragora was early identified on German soil with the *alrûna*, a devilish spirit and a magic root in human form (Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr. iii, 1202-4, iv, 1673). From the thirteenth century mandragora and *alraun* are always synonymous. The real mandragora, which is never found beyond the Alps, had scarcely ever been seen by the peoples of Central Europe at that time.

#### XIV. THE *SPORTULA* OF THE *CLIENTES*.

(Vol. I, p. 196, l. 8.)

THIS difficult subject, on which there exists great diversity of opinion, deserves further investigation, but our information is so scanty and obscure that much must remain uncertain or unexplained. The authorities whom I have consulted are: P. Buttmann, *Über die Sportula der Römer* (in J. D. Seebode, *Krit. Bibliothek*, iii, 1821, pp. 391-409); F. Schneider,<sup>1</sup> *De Sportula* (*Progr. des Gymn. zu Brieg*, 1836); W. A. Becker, *Gallus*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 164, in the main reproduced by Rein in *StRE*, vi, 3185, and Becker-Göll, ii, 204; G. Heuermann, *Über die Clienten unter den ersten röm. Kaisern* (*Progr. des Gymn. zu Burgsteinfurt*, 1856), pp. 14-30, and *Untersuchungen über die Sportula der Clienten* (*progr. of same gym.*, 1875)<sup>2</sup>; O. Guttmann, *Observationum in M. Val. Martialem particulæ v* (*Breslauer Doctordissertation*, 1866), pp. 31-39. The latest and best discussion of the subject will be found in Marquardt (*Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 207-212), whose views have in several instances caused me to modify my own.

It is probable that in earlier times the patron was accustomed to invite the client to dinner; this appears to have been usual even in Horace's time (*Epp.*, i, 7; I should also be inclined to regard the persons mentioned in *Sat.*, ii, 7, 36; 8, 41; *Epp.*, i, 18, 10 as actual clients). Whether a money equivalent was substituted in Columella's time must be left undecided; in *praef.* i, 9 and 12 he calls the clients "mercenarii salutatores", their daily visits a 'cotidianum tributum' (Seneca, *De brevitæ vitæ*, 14, 6, meritoria salutatio, not *sportula*, as Rein says, a word which according to Haase's index does not occur in Seneca). Certainly, at the beginning of Domitian's reign (and perhaps much earlier)<sup>3</sup> the client, instead of being invited to a regular dinner (*cena recta*) was presented with a portion of the food to take away or an equivalent in money. Both were called *sportula*, the money *sportula* being the more common.

<sup>1</sup> [Marquardt and Rein give the name as Schmieder. I am unable to trace the treatise. Tr.]

<sup>2</sup> Referred to as i and ii.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps after Nero's introduction of the *sportula* at the *cenæ publicæ* (Suetonius, *Nero*, 16; Marquardt, p. 210, 5).

About the year 87 the *cena recta* to clients was reintroduced. The third book of Martial, composed about this time, is the only one in which he mentions the new arrangement and the abolition of the money *sportula*. Both these innovations were perhaps connected with Domitian's reintroduction of the *cena recta* at the *cenae publicae* (instead of the *sportulae* substituted for them by Nero; Sueton., *Domitian*, 7); perhaps also the patrons thought it would be cheaper, since the food set before the clients was inferior—a frequent cause of complaint. Thus Martial, iii, 60:—

Cum vocer ad cenam, non jam venalis ut ante,  
cur mihi non eadem, quae tibi, cena datur?  
ostrea tu sumis stagno saturata Lucrino,  
4   sugitur inciso mitulus ore mihi . .  
9   cur sine te ceno, cum tecum, Pontice, cenem?  
     *sportula quod non est*, prosit: edamus idem.

Further, the clients lost by the exchange to a certain extent, since the money *sportula* helped to supply their wants (iii, 3); for this reason a starveling Spaniard on his way to Rome turned back at the Milvian bridge, on hearing the report (*sportularum fabulae*, iii, 14) of its abolition.

The following epigram (iii, 7) refers to the same thing:—

Centum miselli jam valete quadrantes,  
anteambulonis congiarium lassi,  
quos dividebat balneator elixus.  
quid cogitatis, o fames amicorum?  
regis superbi sportulae recesserunt,  
'nihil stropharum est, jam salarium dandum est'.

This epigram cannot be taken (with Heuermann, i, 27 and Guttman, p. 37) as an expression of delight at the new arrangement; the last verse, and the two other epigrams, which clearly indicate the clients' dissatisfaction, forbid such an interpretation. 'The client', says Buttman (p. 399), 'in whose name Martial speaks (iii, 7) is greatly displeased because the *patronus* wants to put him off with empty invitations, and demands a regular salary'. Martial himself, who was no doubt dissatisfied, states the condition under which the innovation would be acceptable to clients; but its fulfilment could hardly be expected from patrons, since it would have meant additional expense to them. In any case, the new arrangement did not last long, chiefly owing to the client's dissatisfaction; for the fourth book assumes the reintroduction of the money *sportula*; thus, iv, 26:—

Quod te mane domi toto non vidimus anno,  
vis dicam, quantum, Postume, perdiderim?  
tricenos, puto, bis, videnos ter puto nummos  
ignoscas: togulam, Postume, pluris emo.

The patron here addressed, who appears to have paid his client only sixty sesterces for the whole year, certainly only rarely required to be waited upon, but gave less for each attendance than the usual money *sportula* (25 *asses* = 100 *quadrantes* = 6¼ sesterces), paid also when the client accompanied his patron on a journey (e.g. at Baiae, i, 59).

Larger sums were also offered (viii, 42) :

Si te sportula major ad beatos  
non corruperit, ut solet, licebit,  
de nostro, Matho, centiens laveris.

x, 27 : Natali, Diodore, tuo conviva senatus  
accubat et rarus non adhibetur eques,  
ac tua tricenos largitur sportula nummos,  
nemo tamen natum te, Diodore, putat.

Here we should probably assume (with Buttmann, p. 409 and Guttman, p. 36) that distinguished guests were entertained and money distributed to the clients ; so perhaps also vii, 86. On the other hand, in ix, 100 :

Denaris tribus invitas et mane togatum  
observare jubes atria, Basse, tua,

the three *denarii* appear to be promised for long service, consequently the remuneration was less than the ordinary ; the poet refuses the offer with the remark that he couldn't buy a new toga with it.

Wealthy and distinguished persons apparently claimed and paid for the services of their clients year in year out ; the annual pay of a client 2281½ sesterces (about £25) was no great expense for senators. (The younger Pliny, by no means a wealthy member of the senate, left in his will a sum of money to provide 1120 sesterces apiece annually for 100 freedmen ; Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 102). Less well-to-do persons only exceptionally requisitioned the services of clients, the pay being of course regulated partly by the services required, partly by the means and position of the donor. Cp. iv, 26 above and ix, 85, where a patron shams illness in order to deprive his clients of the *sportula*, which was not given when their services were not required (Marquardt, 212, 4). Probably many clients were obliged to earn their pay by this patron one day, by that the next, and needed a large number of such engagements, in order to find employment and pay even for the greater part of the year (Martial, xiv, 125 : si matutinos facile est tibi perdere somnos, attrita veniet sportula saepe toga). Zealous clients contrived to earn more than one *sportula* in one day (i, 80 : sportula, Cane, tibi suprema nocte petita est. occidit, puto, te, Cane, quod una fuit).

Although the clients as a rule were squared with the *sportula* in money or in kind (Martial, xiii, 123), of course they sometimes received invitations to the *cena recta* (Martial, ii, 18 ; x, 18 ; cp. xi, 24 ; xii, 77, 6). But in that case they must frequently have had to put up with scanty fare at the patron's table. Cp. xii, 26, 13 : et 'rogat ut secum cenes Laetorius' inquit. viginti nummis ? non ego, malo famem ; i.e. the meal does not cost the patron more than 20 sesterces (? asses). Thus, in the *Acta* of the Arval brethren the cost per head is given : hoc anno cenatum est a singulis dies singulos denariis centum (Henzen, *Acta*, p. 16 ; Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 453, 6). So also in iv, 68, which Heuermann (ii, 8) and Marquardt (*Prl*, i<sup>2</sup>, 211, 7) refer to the money *sportula*, the reference is to a meal :

Invitas centum quadrantibus, et bene cenas.  
ut cenem invitor, Sexte, an ut invidiam ?

Only when the client dines at the patron's table can he imagine that he has been invited to arouse his envy; the patron dines well, the client so badly, that his meal cannot have cost more than 25 *asses*.

Juvenal describes a somewhat later age than Martial. As regards the payment of clients proper, there seems to be no difference; in Martial the *sportula* is distributed in the evening, in Juvenal (i, 125) in the morning, but so trifling an alteration is unimportant. 100 *quadrantes* was still the usual sum, with which the clients bought clothes, food, and firing. But it is remarkable that in Juvenal, in addition to the clients (the *turba togata* of l. 96), even men of old family (*Trojugenae*, 100), praetors and tribunes, well-to-do freedmen and even women in sedan-chairs (consequently women of position) present themselves to receive the *sportula*, and the highest dignitaries reckon up at the end of the year how much it has brought them in (Juvenal, i, 117-128). We may, therefore, perhaps assume that rich and distinguished men (and even women) at their morning complimentary visits did not disdain to accept the usual fee of 100 *quadrantes* (l. 120), which they probably gave to their servants; that they went round to secure the doles (128, Buttmann, p. 407), accompanied by their clients (*comites*, 119), in the early morning. As they in turn paid the same fees to their own visitors, the acceptance of the trifling sum could not be considered unseemly, so long as it was regarded as a mere formality; it would only appear so, if it was hinted that importance was really attached to it or that it was much sought after. Becker-Göll (ii, 211) consider that this passage refers to extraordinary family festivities (cp. Pliny, *Ad Trajanum*, 116).

Martial, who mentions (ii, 18; x, 10; xii, 26) the complimentary visits of distinguished persons and their abject exhibitions of devotion, never mentions a *sportula* paid to them or to non-clients generally; this seems to show that the custom of bestowing it upon distinguished visitors was not developed until after the death of Domitian. The same may be said of the morning visits paid by women of position, which are not referred to by Martial or earlier writers.

Lastly, on Juvenal, iii, 249:

Nonne vides quanto celebretur sportula fumo?  
centum convivæ, sequitur sua quemque culina,

the scholiast's explanation is certainly correct: *pulmentaria secum portant comparata e sportula*, *i.e.* the eatables distributed (so Becker-Göll, ii, 206), or bought with the *sportula*, and prepared in the cook-shop, are carried home by the clients' slaves in a portable kitchen, to prevent their getting cold (so Heuermann, ii, 9 and Marquardt, 211, 8). Gifford in Mayor's Juvenal *ad loc*: "How often have I been reminded of the *sportula* by the firepans and suppers of the Neapolitans! As soon as it grows dark, the streets are filled with twinkling fires glancing about in every direction on the heads of these modern Corbulos, and suddenly disappearing as they enter their houses with their frugal meal."

In later times, the following references to the *sportula* (paid on



extraordinary occasions) are all that are known to me. Apuleius, *Apol.*, 88 : quippe ita placuerat, in suburbana villa potius ut conjungeremur, ne cives denuo ad sportulas convolarent, cum haud pridem Pudentilla de suo L milia nummum in populum expunxisset ea die qua Pontianus uxorem duxit et hic puerulus toga est involutus. *Vit. Gallien.*, 16 : convivatus in publico est. congiariis populum mollivit. senatui sportulam sedens erogavit, matronas ad consulatum suum rogavit, denique manum sibi osculantibus quaternos aureos nominis sui dedit. *Ammian. Marcel.*, xiv, 6, 17 : cum autem intervallata temporibus convivia longa et noxia coeperint adparari, vel distributio sollemnium sportularum ; anxia deliberatione tractatus, an exceptis iis, quibus vicissitudo debetur, peregrinum invitari conveniat etc. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ix, 134 : sportulam consulatus mei et amicitiae nostrae et honori tuo debeo. hanc in solido uno ad te misi, orans ut benigno animo sollemnia officii mei libamenta suscipias, Vale.

#### XV. THE USE OF *DOMINE* AS A FORM OF ADDRESS IN ORDINARY LIFE.

(Vol. I, p. 199, l. 10.)<sup>1</sup>

THE use of *domine* ('sir') as a form of address has never been adequately discussed. The best account of it will be found in Lipsius, *Excursus ad Tac. Ann.*, ii, 87, P. ; all the other writers cited by Gessner in his *Thesaurus*, s.v. *dominus* have either copied him or added nothing new. I shall chiefly confine myself to the first three centuries. I further exclude (1) the well-known practice of lovers, who call themselves *dominus* and *domina* (mistress), a custom transferred by Ovid and his imitators even to the heroic age (*Heroides*, xiii, 145 ; xv, 18, 118, 164, 176 ; *Metam.*, ix, 465) ; (2) the use of *domine* in addressing the emperors, discussed by Spanheim (*De usu et praest. numm.*, diss. vii, 8, p. 729, ed. 1671) and with his usual acuteness and in detail by Eckhel (*Doctr. numm.*, viii, p. 364<sup>a</sup>).<sup>2</sup>

During republican times, with few exceptions, *domine* was never heard as a form of address in the mouth of a free man. Even in imperial times it was never so generally in use as at the present day ; it was limited to certain relations, expressed special politeness and respect, or was used for special reasons.

It may have been a very old custom, derived from the nature of the *patria potestas*, although only occasionally preserved or intentionally revived, that children addressed their father as *dominus*. Augustus strongly objected to it, since its use might have led people to think it was intended gradually to introduce it as the Emperor's right. He would not even allow his own children or grandchildren (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 53) to call him 'sir' in jest or earnest. That it was customary in many houses is shown by the epigram of Martial (i, 81) :

A servo scis te genitum blandeque fateris,  
cum dicis dominum, Sosibiane, patrem.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Progr. der Königsberger Universität* (Jan. 23rd, 1859).

<sup>2</sup> On the use of *domine* in addressing the emperors from Augustus to Julian, cp. Chr. Schöner, *Über die Titulaturen der röm. Kaiser* (Erlangen, 1881), pp. 26-33.

In the will (dated A.D. 175) of a son who died at Sirmium, found at Cephaledium (Cefalù) in Sicily, we have: have michi domine pater, vale michi domine pater (Orelli, 4359). Letronne, *La Statue vocale*, p. 244: καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῆς κυρίας μητρός. In the oldest times the wife also possibly addressed her husband as *dominus*. Yet I only know one instance, in which there is no admixture of flattery or endearment, and that belonging to an age when members of a family frequently addressed one another in that manner. *Dig.*, xxiv, 1, 57: Paulus libro VIII Responsorum: —Ea quae a marito suo pecuniam ex causa donationis acceperat, litteras ad eum misit hujusmodi: quum petenti mihi a te, domine carissime, annuerit indulgentia tua.

Also in the time after Augustus, whenever equals or inferiors are so addressed, it is due to the wish to be especially polite. In Epicetetus philosophers, physicians and soothsayers are frequently addressed as 'sir', but only by those who need their assistance and want to curry favour with them. *Diss.*, ii, 7, 9: διὰ τοῦτο κολλᾷς ἐὺ οὐ μὲν τοὺς μάντεις· Κληρονομῶσω, κύριε, τὸν πατέρα; Ἰδῶμεν, ἐπεκθυσώμεθα. Ναί, κύριε, ὡς ἡ τύχη θέλει. *ib.*, ii, 7, 12: νῦν δε τρέμοντες τὸν ὀρνιθάριον κρατοῦμεν, καὶ τὸν (ὡς?) θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦμενοι δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ· κύριε, ἐλέησον· ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ἐξελθεῖν. *ib.*, ii, 15, 15: οὐ θέλεις τὰ τοῦ νοσοῦντος ποιεῖν καὶ τὸν ἱατρὸν παρακαλεῖν; Νοσῶ, κύριε· βοήθησόν μοι· τί μοι δεῖ ποιεῖν, σκέψαι, ἐμὸν ἐστι πείθεσθαι σοι. *ib.*, iii, 10, 15: τί οὖν κολακεύεις τὸν ἱατρὸν; τί λέγεις; ἔαν σὺ θέλῃς, κύριε, καλῶς ἔξω. *ib.*, iii, 22, 38: ἐν τίνι οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τούτοις οὐκ ἔστιν; Εἰπέ ἡμῖν, κύριε ἀγγελε καὶ κατὰσκοπε. *ib.*, iii, 23, 11: πρῶν ἐπαινεθεὶς περιήρχου καὶ πᾶσιν ἔλεγες· τί σοι ἔδοξα; Θαυμαστὸς, κύριε, τὴν ἐμὴν [σοι] σωτηρίαν. *ib.*, iii, 23, 19: τὸ καλὸν, κύριε, καὶ λίθον κινῆσαι δύναται. From one passage it might seem that the address was regarded as a proof of servile obsequiousness; iv, 1, 56: ὅντινα οὖν ἐπ' ἄλλω κωλύσαι ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναγκάσαι, θαρρῶν λέγε μὴ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον· καὶ μὴ μοι πάππους αὐτοῦ καὶ προπάππους βλέπε, καὶ ὦνὴν ζήτει καὶ πρᾶσιν· ἀλλ' ἂν ἀκούσης λέγοντος ἔσωθεν καὶ ἐκ πάθους, κύριε· κἂν δώδεκα ῥάβδοι προάγωσι, λέγε δοῦλον. Here, however, a slavish temperament is clearly only attributed to one who calls another 'sir' ἔσωθεν καὶ ἐκ πάθους. Petronius, 57: unus ex conlibertis Trimalchionis—'an tibi non placent lautitiae domini mei'? *Colloquia scholastica* (gloss. Labb. ii, 427): Ἰάε κύριε, τί ἐπιτάσσεις;—Μή τι ἔχεις χρήματα εὐκαιροῦντα;—Τί χρεῖαν ἔχεις δανείσασθαι;—Εἰ ἔχεις χρῆσόν μοι πέντε δηνάρια. *Colloq. schol.*, ed. Haupt, *Ind. lect. Berol. hib.* 1871 (on entering a house, apparently a senator's): χαῖρε κύριε, χαῖρε κυρία. βασιλεῦ χαῖρε, βασίλεια χαῖρε, Πόθων [μητέρα], θύγατερ Πελάγους Ἀφροδίτη, πῶς τὰ παιδιά; ζῶσιν καὶ καλῶς ἔχουσιν. Philogelos, ed. Eberhard:<sup>1</sup> 5, κύριε σχολαστικέ· 144, Εὐτράπελος ἀγρὸνδρομέα ἰδὼν εἶπεν· οἶδα τίνος χρῆζει ὁ κύριός μου οὗτος. (Cp. 208 and 235). Scaevola, *lib. I Responsorum* (*Dig.*, xiii, 6, 26): Quidam ad creditorem litteras ejusmodi fecit: decem quae Lucius Titius ex arca tua mutua acceperat, salva ratione usurarum habes penes me, domine. Even after his accession Marcus Antoninus

<sup>1</sup> According to Eberhard this collection was made in the fifth century; but these anecdotes, although handed down in a very late form, certainly had their origin in part (as is shown by their contents), and perhaps altogether, in an earlier age: thus in 87, the gladiatorial games are supposed to be still in existence,

writes to Fronto: vale mi domine magister (*Epp. ad M. Anton.*, ii, 2, p. 98).<sup>1</sup> Fronto himself calls his son-in-law Aufidius Victorinus *domine* (*Epp. ad am.*, i, 11), his friend Squilla Gallicanus *domine frater* (*ib.*, i, 28), Arrius Antoninus, a younger kinsman of Antoninus Pius, *mi domine fili carissime* (*ib.*, ii, 11). Scaevola, *Dig.*, xxxii, 41, 4: *testamento pueros ita legaverat: Publio Maevio, dominulo meo, ab hereditibus meis dari volo.* The respectful and confidential address *domine frater* (e.g. Hyginus, *De munit. castr.*, 45) was certainly very common down to the latest times. Inscription on a draughtboard (Marquardt, *Pril*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 859): *domine frater ilaris semper—ludere tabula.* Palladas (*Anthol. Pal.* ed. Jacobs, ii, 293 = cap. x, 44 ed. Dübner):—

Ἦν ὁ φίλος τι λάβῃ, δόμιν ἐφράτερ εὐθὺς ἔγραψεν.  
ἦν αὖ μὴ τι λάβῃ, τὸ φράτερ εἶπε μόνον.  
ὥνια γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα. αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε  
οὐκ ἐθέλω δόμινε. οὐ γὰρ ἔχω δομέναι.<sup>2</sup>

Of course such modes of address as *frater*, *pater*, *mater*, *fili* were common at all times. Cicero, *Verres*, iii, 3, 66, 155: *volo mi frater fraterculo tuo credas.* Horace, *Epp.*, i, 6, 54: 'frater', 'pater' adde, ut cuique est aetas, ita quemque facetus adopta (cp. *Sat.*, ii, 1, 12). This was also the custom later. Petronius, 98, 100; *ib.*, 7, *mater*. Lucian, *Lucius*, 4, *μητηρ*. Martial, ix, pr., x, 65, 3. Juvenal, v, 135. Epictetus, *Diss.*, i, 26, 15; iv, 13, 18. Quintilian, *Declam.*, 321. Gellius, xiii, 20, 5 (*mi fili*). Apuleius, *Metam.*, ix, 181. *Vit. M. Anton.*, 18: cum in amore omnium imperasset, atque ab aliis modo frater, modo pater, modo filius, ut cujusque aetas sinebat, et diceretur et amaretur. Paulus, *l. IV ad Vitellium* (*Dig.*, xxviii, 5, 58 [56], 1): Qui frater non est, si fraterna caritate diligitur, recte cum nomine suo sub appellatione fratris heres instituitur. Desideri(um?) frater in the letter of a *pontifex* to a colleague A.D. 155 (Wilmanns, 312). Among Christians: Athenagoras, *Supplicatio*, 32; Minucius Felix, *Octav.*, 3; Cyprianus, *Epp.*, 21. Celerinus Luciano: haec cum tibi scriberem, domine frater; *ib.* 3, rogo itaque, domine et peto per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum ut ceteris collegis fratribus tuis, meis dominis referas; 4, peto ergo domine carissime Luciane—ut omnibus dominis meis fratribus; *Ep.*, 22: Lucianus Celerino domino, sidignus fuero vocari collega in Christos. The Gallic pilgrim, who relates an account of her journey to the holy places (385–388) apparently to the inmates of a convent, addresses them as 'dominae (venerabiles) sorores' or 'dominae' (Gamurrini, *S. Silviae Aquitanae peregrinatio in Biblioteca dell'accad. storico-giuridica*, iv, 1887, pp. 39, 55, 75, 105s).

In the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius the hero is sometimes addressed as 'Luci domine' (ii, 30; iii, 50), in the first passage by his host Milo, in the second by the town council of Hypata, who are anxious to appease his anger at a joke which they had played upon him: neque tuae dignitatis, vel etiam prosapiae tuorum ignari sumus, Luci

<sup>1</sup> Naber (*Epp. Graec.*, vi, p. 252) reads 'have mi optume magister' for 'have mi domine magister' (*Epp. ad M. Caes.*, i, 6 ed. Niebuhr, p. 31).

<sup>2</sup> In passing it may be observed that this epigram shows that at that time (reign of Arcadius, emp. 395–408) αἰ was pronounced as ē. This fact, not noticed by Hermann (*De emendanda ratione Graecae grammaticae*, p. 52) had already been pointed out by G. Voss (*Instit. Orat.*, iv, p. 220).



*domine*. nam et provinciam totam inclytæ vestrae familiae nobilitas complectitur. It is worthy of remark that Apuleius begins his apology as follows: *certus equidem eram*—*Maxime Claudii quique in consilio estis*, while his accuser according to the quotation (p. 563 ed. Flor.) had begun: *hunc ego, domine Maxime, reum apud te facere instituo*. This clearly shows that at that time even persons of higher rank were by no means universally addressed as *domine*; it seems that Apuleius, by omitting it when addressing the proconsul, desired to keep up the appearance of outspokenness and perhaps of a certain equality, while his opponent behaved like an inferior. It cannot be a mere accident that in the numerous conversations between learned or educated men in Gellius this form of address never once occurs, while it is found in polite addresses, some of which are seriously meant, while others are ironical. In any case, it was purposely avoided; perhaps some of the 'antiquaries' objected to it as too modern. The persons who appear in Gellius call one another 'magister' (iii, 1; iv, 1; xviii, 7; xix, 10; xix, 13; xx, 10), 'magister optime' (xviii, 4; xix, 10), 'vir doctissime' (vi, 10), *vir bone* (xviii, 10), 'philosophus' (xix, 10), 'philosophorum amplissime' (i, 2), 'mi Favorine' (xx, 1). Favorinus the philosopher even calls a woman of rank 'mulier' (xii, 1), not *domina*. Yet the strict avoidance of *domine* was probably limited to individual circles. An instance (from the same period) of the title being given even to inferiors by superiors as an act of special politeness is found in a letter (apparently of the year 149) to a collegium fabrum Narbonensium subaedianorum from its patronus (Henzen-Orelli, 7215), which concludes: *valere vos cupio domini optimi et carissimi mihi*. From the third century: Dig., xxxv, 2, 22: *Nesennius Apollinaris Julio Paulo. ex facto, domine, species ejusmodi incidit*, in which we should perhaps recognize the address (to be mentioned later) of the pupil to the teacher: Bremer, *Rechtslehrer und Rechtsschulen*, p. 31). *Testamentum M. Grunnii Porcelli* (Bücheler, Petronius, ed. 2, p. 231, 6): *rogo, domine coce, vitam peto*; p. 232, 15: *mei domini vel consobrini mei, qui in medio testamento interfuistis, jubete signari*.

Clients in particular were obliged to show their inferiority to their patrons by addressing them as *domine*. The reason why this is first mentioned in Martial is because it is just the relationship of client and patron that he most frequently touches upon; the application of the title 'King' to the patrons is already found in Horace (*Epp.*, i, 7, 37: *rexque paterque audisti coram nec verbo parcius absens*); similarly in Columella, *praef.* i, 9. Cp. Martial, i, 112; ii, 32, 8; ii, 68; vi, 88; ix, 92.

But, generally speaking, it may be said that superiors were usually addressed as *domine* by inferiors. Dasumius in his will (year 109) alternately calls his highly placed friend Servianus 'S. meus' and 'S. dominus meus' (Rudolf, *Zeitschr. f. geschichtliche Rechtswiss.*, xii, p. 381). Carpophorus, a Christian freedman of Commodus (in Hippolytus, *Refut. haeres.*, ix, 12, ed. Duncker, p. 454) addressed Fuscianus, *praef. urb.*: *δέομαι, κύριε Φουσκιαρέ*. Avidius Quietus (proconsul of Asia under Hadrian; see Waddington, *Asie Mineure*, p. 239, no. 860, and cp. p. 722 [Fastes cons., no. 130]) in a letter



about the town of Aezani (in Phrygia) to Hesperus, *proc. Caesaris*, calls him 'mi Hespere carissime', and is addressed by Hesperus as 'Quiete domine' (*CIG*, iii, 3835 = Waddington, *Asie min.*, 862). A letter from an Ephesian L. Pompeius Apollonius to the proconsul L. Mestrius Florus (83/4) begins: *Μυστήρια καὶ θυσίαι, κύριε* (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 390). Septimius, adjutor a rationibus, writes to his superior, Cosmus: rogo, domine. In the inscription on the tunnel at Saldæ under Antoninus Pius (Mommsen, *Arch. Zeit.*, n.f. iii, 1870) the (equestrian) procurators of Mauretania, writing to the (senatorial) governors of Numidia, address them as *domine*. This may have been a standing title for senators generally (Martial, xiv, 1, 1: *synthesibus dum gaudet eques dominusque senator*). It was the more natural, if the superior were the older man. In Petronius (86) the boy from Pergamum asks the quaestor's companion: rogo, domine, ubi est asturco? Perhaps pedagogues and tutors were regularly addressed in this manner by pupils (Becker, *Gallus*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 71). Quintilian, vi, 3, 100: *et Fulvius Propinquus legato interroganti, an in tabulis quas proferebat chirographus esset, Et verus, inquit, domine.* *Κύριε* is certainly meant in Lucian, *Gall.*, 9: *ἐντυγχάνω χθὲς τῷ Εὐκράτει, καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν προσειπὼν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ εἰώθειν δεσπότην, ἀπηλλατόμην.*<sup>1</sup> Even in later inscriptions *dominus* before the name (except in addresses) is very rare. In addition to *CIL*, viii, 597 (quoted above), a d o Postumiano c. v. cos., I know only one example, *CIL*, ix, 2803 (Aufidena): D. Fl. Severo v.p. statuum marmoream quae meritorum ejus perenne testimonium loqueretur, ponendam ordo et populus Aufidenatum censuit civi et patrono.

Assemblies and corporations were honoured with this address by those who stood, or pretended to stand, in a dependent relation towards them. Tiberius, addressing the senate, declared that a good prince must be the servant of that body: 'in you I have, now as formerly, good, just, and well-disposed masters' (Sueton., *Tib.*, 29). A letter from the army to the senate after the death of Aurelian has: *hunc et inter deos referte, sancti domini p.c.* (*Vit. Aurel.*, 41). The senate is called *sanctus* as early as Ennius, *Ann.*, 243 V, and in Virg. *Aen.*, i, 426; cp. Horace, *Odes*, iv, 5, 3; Cicero, *Calil.*, i, 4, 9; Juvenal, xi, 29 (sacer); in Greek inscriptions *ἡ ἱερὰ σύγκλητος* (Keil in *N. Rhein. Mus.*, xx, 543; Lebas-Waddington, 519, p. 142). Claudius pushed his deference so far that, at the gladiatorial games, he frequently called the spectators *domini* to put them in a good humour (Sueton., *Claud.*, 21). Artists, who wished to gain public favour on the stage, called the audience 'gentlemen'. Nero, who carefully imitated the ways of cithara-players to the most trifling detail, addressed the public on his appearance: 'Gentlemen, give me a favourable hearing!' (Dio, lxi, 20: *κύριοι ἐμοί, εὐμενῶς μοῦ ἀκούσατε*).

In Nero's time it was already customary for one man to greet another, whose name he could not think of, as *dominus*, to avoid impoliteness (Seneca, *Epp.*, iii, 1). Even slaves might be so addressed; cp. Martial, v, 57:

Quum voco te dominum, noli tibi, Cinna, placere.  
saepe etiam servum sic resaluto tuum.

<sup>1</sup> Ennodius ad summam animi venerationem significandam etiam pluralem substantivi *domini* advocavit (W. Hartel, *Analecta, Wiener Studien*, 1880, p. 232).

It is well known that women were called *domina* even by their husbands. Seneca, *De Matrim.* in Jerome (ed. Haase, iii, 429): *vocanda domina, celebrandus natalis ejus*. Epictetus, *Encheiridion*, 40: αἱ γυναῖκες εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τεσσαρεςκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κυραὶ καλοῦνται. τοιγαροῦν ὁρῶσαι, ὅτι ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν αὐταῖς πρόσεστι, μόνον δὲ συγκοιμῶνται τοῖς ἀνδράσι. ἄρχονται καλλωπίζεσθαι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πάσας ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας. *Dig.*, xxxii, 41 (Scaevola): *uxorem et filiam communem heredes instituit, et uxoris fidei commisit in haec verba: peto a te, domina uxor*. Cp. Ovid, *Tristia*, iv, 3, 9; v, 5, 1; Sueton., *Claud.*, 39; Orelli, 2663; Renier, *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 624; *ib.*, 2074 = Wilmanns, 592; *id. ib.*, 534; *CIL*, v, 1, 4438 (Brixia): *et conjugē (sic) hujus, domne meae sanctissimae et amicae carissimae; CIL*, v, 2, 6039 (Mediolani): *dominae et conjug. carissimae; CIL*, vi, 2, 14351, *sanctissimae conjugī* — — *nn. conjux dominae: ib.*, xiv, 3358: *Matid[iae] Valeria[nae] domin[ae] optimae; CIL*, xii, 682<sup>a</sup> (Arelate): *nn. vibus sibi posuit et nn. dominae et uxori*: Philogel., 234: Ὁξοστόμος τὴν γυναῖκα ἡρώτα λέγων· κυρία, τί μεμισεῖς; Christian age, De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.*, 30 (A.D. 307): τῇ κυρίᾳ καὶ ἀειμνήστῃ Μαρτίᾳ. *Ib.*, 78 (344): *dominae conjugī Tigridi*. The *patrona* was not only called *domina* by her *clientes*, but also *regina*, as is shown by the epigram of Martial (x, 64: *contigeris regina meos si forte libellos*) addressed to Polla Argentaria, Lucan's widow; Haupt (*Colloq. scholast.*, *Ind. lect. Berol. hib.* 1871; see above), Βασίλεια χαῖρε.

Lastly, we must mention the strange custom of blood-relations, who addressed and spoke of one another as *dominus* and *domina*, partly in jest, partly as a mark of respect or endearment. Augustus (for the reason already mentioned, p. 81) forbade such terms of endearment (*blanditiae*) to be used by his children and grandchildren (Sueton., *Aug.*, 53). Waddington, *Asie min.*, 323/4, μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ υἱοῦ, 415, l. 15, μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν. Naturally, the mother was called and spoken of as *domina*. *CIL*, v, 1, 1470: *dominae et matri incomparabili; ib.*, 2826 = Henzen, 5571: *dominae matri Val. Maximillae nob. fem. (wife of Maxentius)*. Letronne, *La statue vocale*, p. 244 (in a *Syrinx*)<sup>1</sup>: τὸ προσκύνημα πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῆς κυρίας μητρός. It was also usual amongst brothers and sisters. Seneca calls his brother 'dominus meus Gallio' (*Epp.*, 104, 1). In a letter to Fronto (*Epp. ad M. Antonin.*, 2 and 3) Marcus Aurelius calls Lucius Verus 'dominus meus frater', and in like manner Verus writes of Marcus Antoninus (*Epp. ad L. Ver.*, i, 11) and Fronto himself of his own brother (*ib.*, 6, 5, *domino fratre meo*). *CIL*, viii, 333 (Ammaeadera): *domino meo fratri rarissimo posui; CIG*, iii, 4781<sup>b</sup> (in Syringe Memnonis): Βουρίχιος σχολαστικὸς ὁ καὶ Πλάτων(?) ἐθαύμασα εἰστορήσας· τὸ προσκύνημα τοῦ κυρίου μου Σαπρικίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου. (Letronne, *La stat. vocale*, p. 274, and Franz, *l.c.*, p. 1210, wrongly translate *κυρίῳ* by 'teacher' and insert καὶ before τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ). Orelli, 3007: Julia Hellas Hygiae dominae et sorori bene merenti. Even parents called their children *domine* and *domina*, and even if it is only in jest that Jupiter addresses Cupid as 'domine fili' (Apuleius, *Metam.*, vi, 124), Symmachus quite seriously writes to his daughter as 'domina filia' (*Epp.*, vi, 40; vi, 67). In the *Hist.*

<sup>1</sup> [Σῦριγγς was an underground burial vault.]

*Apol. regis Tyri*, 17, the King says to his daughter, 'bene dicis, domina'; *ib.*, 50: Apollonius exclamavit: domina Tharsia, nata dulcis. Scaevola, *L. XVIII Digestorum* (*Dig.*, xxxii[iii] 37, 2): Maevio substituit Sempronium pupillum suum, deinde codicillos—confirmavit, quibus ita cavit:—cujus in locum partemve ejus Publium Sempronium, dominum meum, heredem esse volo: cp. 5, Μαξιμῷ τῷ κυρίῳ μου δηνάρια μύρια πεντακισχίλια, 41, 4: Publio Maevio, dominulo meo. M. Aurelius, *Ad Frontonem de feriis Alsiensibus*, 1: domnulam meam febricitantem repperi. Salvianus, *Epp.*, iv: Ad socerum et socrum. Ypatio et Quietae parentibus Salvianus Palladia et Auspiciola salutem (the address is: affectus dilectissimi [carissimi] vel domini indulgentissimi):—advolver vestris, o parentes carissimi, pedibus, illa ego vestra Palladia, vestra gracula, vestra domnula; cum qua his tot vocabulis quondam indulgentissima pietate lusistis, quae vobis per varia nomina nunc fui mater, nunc avicula, nunc domina: cum esset scilicet unum vocabulum generis, aliud infantiae, tertium dignitatis. Victor Vitensis, *Persecutio Vandalorum*, ii, 9, 30: conspicimus mulierculam—manu infantulum unum tenentem atque in his sermonibus consolantem: curre, domne meus. Hence we also find sepulchral inscriptions of little children, as in Fabretti, *Inscr. ant.*, p. 582, 167: d. m. domino filio Amantio—qui vix. ann. vi m. ii d. xv. Renier, *Inscr. del'Alg.*, 583: filio et domino meo—vix. ann. ix. Cp. *CIL*, vi, 2, 14190: Macciae Deuterae alumnae et dominae meae bene merenti. *CIG*, 1158 (Argos): Κύριε Τιβέριε, χαίρε ἡ[σας] . . ., where the fragment tells us nothing of the age of the deceased. That the custom still existed in Christian times is shown not only by the passage from Salvianus and the Christian sepulchral inscriptions quoted by Fabretti, but also by the passage in the Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas, c. 4 (*Acta martyrum*, ed. Ruinart, p. 89, ed. Veron. 1731): tunc dixit mihi frater meus: domina soror. The remark of De Rossi (*Inscr. Chr.*, 103, A.D. 348?: "domino [filio?]): ipsa inscriptionis dictio (praesertim domini appellatio defuncto tributa) saeculum plane quartum sapere videtur," is certainly wrong: at least, it is difficult to see why a mode of expression so common in earlier times should have taken so long to find its way into sepulchral inscriptions.

#### XVI. ENDEARING AND COMPLIMENTARY NAMES FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS.

(Vol. I, p. 228, l. 10.)

FABRETTI, *Inscr. dom.*, p. 146, 174: Nomen fuit, nomen haesit nascenti Cusuccia; cp. Borghesi, *Œuvr.*, iii, p. 502. To all appearance also Glaucopi (for glaucopidi) Veneri above the monument of a certain Gellia Agrippina, c(larissima) p(ue)lla, erected by her nutritores lactanei Aurelia Soteris and Mussius Chrysogonus (Maffei, *Mus. Ver.*, p. 293, 1 = *CIL*, vi, 1424) is to be taken as a complimentary name that had lasted from childhood. Venus was in common use as a distinguishing title of beautiful women and girls.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So perhaps Musa for female singers and poets. A female musician is called Petronia Musa. Kaibel, *Epigr.*, 551 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 24042.



Lucretius, iv, 1177 (1185, Munro): nec Veneres nostras hoc fallit. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 8: sororem suam, festivissimam omnium puellarum, quam omnes Venerem vocarent. Haupt, *Colloq. Schol.* [Ind. lect. Berolin. hibern. 1871], p. 6: βασίλισσα χαῖρε, Πόθων [μήτερ] θύγατερ Πελάγους Ἀφροδίτη. Venus as the name of a slave: Wilmanns, *Ex. Inscr.*, 367. *CIG*, 6278 (Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 565, 5): οἱ ἐμέ γειναμένη μήτε Βένους. *CIG*, 6215 = K. 635: καλλιτεκνον σεμνήν ὅδε τύμβος ἔχει σε, Ἀφροδίτη. Venus as an epithet *CIL*, ii, 4415: Veneri Latinillae Spedius M. Ternianus maritus. *CIL*, vi, 2, 12281: Arabia Firma Venus Afra. Aphrodite as an epithet: *CIL*, ii, 4382; v, 2, 5869, 6851, 7104, 7395, 8938; vi, 286, 3446. Overbeck, *Pompeii*, i<sup>2</sup>, 109. Aphrodite alone as a woman's name, *CIL*, vi, 2, 12119-12123: it was even given to Christian women, as in the *coemeterium* of Callistus (B. Schultze, *Die Katakomben*, p. 324). MEROPI HELIADI (so Henzen on Borghesi, as above, p. 510) which occurs twice written in the same way on the monuments of a brother and sister (Q. Licinius Q. fil. Florus Octavianus and Licinia Lampetia; Maffei, *Mus. Ver.*, 293, 2; Muratori, 1477, 2), also erected by the *nutritores lactanei* mentioned above, appears to be in the dative, but I am unable to give an explanation. According to Lanciani, *Suppl. al vol. vi del CIL*, *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1883, p. 230, the same is found on the pedestal of a statue of honour. Pet-names in -itta (Julitta, Livitta). Jahn, *Analekta*, *Hermes*, iii, 190; J. Klein, *N. Rhein. Mus.*, xxxi (1876), p. 297; cp. Mommsen's criticisms (*Observ. epigr. in Ephem. epigr.*, iv, p. 522) of Klein's list, according to which only Gallitta, Pol(l)itta, Julitta, Livilitta can be regarded as certain: the first three are of common occurrence, the last is only found *CIL*, viii, 6777.

# XVII. THE STORY OF AMOR AND PSYCHE AND OTHER TRACES OF THE FOLKTALE IN ANTIQUITY.

(Vol. I, p. 229, l. 5 from bottom.)<sup>1</sup>

THE classical, and still more the pseudo-classical student have from time immemorial regarded popular poetry with more or less disfavour. Accustomed to consider complete harmony of form and matter and perfection of form as of paramount importance, they are repelled by the nature of a class of poetry which, caring little about form and equally incapable of mastering it, can never fashion an artistically perfect whole, although able to produce overpowering effects by its instinctive genius. Only reflection can enable the classically trained mind to understand this poetry. Hence we need not be surprised to find that even in ancient Greek and Roman literature popular poetry is only exceptionally mentioned; but although we only find in it isolated traces of popular and nursery tales, we must not believe with Welcker (*Griechische Götterlehre*, i, 110) that the Hellenic spirit was devoid of that childlike simplicity, 'which is the essence of the German, Slavonic, and Persian tales, in which while they belie the convictions of reason and the experience of the observer who knows mankind, the motley world of nature and human society appears to be mirrored as it were in the eyes of children'.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the *Progr. Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1860 I and II. The additions kindly communicated to me by Reinhold Köhler are marked R.K. [The word translated by 'folktale' is *volksmärchen*.]



Even our own pre-romantic literature gave no hint that we possessed an abundant store of poetic folktales; yet so it was. Certainly it had to be discovered.

But although we cannot in any case expect a rich harvest of popular tales from classical literature, the study of the literature of the subject itself, especially among kindred peoples, may be of great service in assisting us to trace them further. Following the advice of J. Grimm (*Vorrede zum Pentamerone des Basile*, trans. Liebrecht, p. xi), I have searched for traces of Greek nursery tales in Lucian, but have found few; I am not inclined to believe that the original of his 'Timon, on whose field Zeus, Hermes, and Ploutos take up their abode and to whom the whereabouts of a treasure is shown, is to be found in a story well-known amongst us'. On the other hand, the magic rings, which Timolaus wishes for in the *Ship or Wishes* (*Navigium*, 42) certainly appear to be borrowed from a popular tale, especially as each is said to have only *one* special virtue; one makes a man healthy, strong, and invulnerable, another renders him invisible, like the ring of Gyges; a third gives him the strength of more than ten thousand men; a fourth confers the power of sending others to sleep and of opening any door that is shut; a fifth makes him irresistibly lovable—marvellous virtues, such as are common in our own popular tales. Perhaps the statement that with the right tail feather of a cock it is possible to open every door and to see everything without being seen (*Somnium seu Gallus*, 28) has the same origin. Also in the *Vera Historia* 'we catch glimpses of old fairy tales, some of them borrowed from the East': e.g. the vines, from the top of which grow maidens (i, 8), the lights that run about in Lychnopolis by night (i, 29), the enormous fish which swallows the travellers (i, 30). The description of the land of the blest (ii, 13) reminds us of Schlauffaffenland<sup>1</sup> or Cockaigne, the gigantic halcyon, which sinks the ship with its wings (ii, 40), of the fabulous roc. The inhabitants of the moon have eyes which they can take out and put in again; when they lose them they borrow from others (i, 25), like Lamia (see below and E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, 192-6). But, although I have searched carefully, I have been unable to find further traces of popular tales in Lucian. On the other hand, the story of the ring of Gyges, which rendered its wearer invisible, particularly in the form in which it is told by Plato (*Rep.*, ii, 359D-360B) appears at least to contain such elements. The shepherd Gyges, during a great storm and earthquake, sees the earth riven asunder; he descends into the opening, and finds a hollow brazen horse, and a corpse inside it. From the finger of the corpse he pulls off a ring, and soon discovers that he becomes invisible, when he turns the collet of the ring inside his hand (cp. Γύγου δακτύλιος in Diogenianus, ii, 20; *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin, ii, p. 20). The turning round of the ring is also mentioned by Cicero (*De Officiis*, iii, 9) and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii, 8, where, perhaps by an oversight, Midas appears as the owner). The opinion of E. Müller, that the brazen horse points

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the descriptions of the comic poets in Athenaeus, vi, 94, p. 267E [also in J. Poeschel, *Das Märchen vom Schlauffaffenlande* in Paul & Braune's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Litteratur*, v (1878), 389-427. R. K.]

to the breeding of horses in Lydia, the subterranean abyss to the frequent earthquakes in that country, appears to me as unacceptable as his general explanation of the story (*Philologus*, vii, 239). The other Platonic myths (Fischer, *De mythis Platonicis*, Regim., 1865) as far as I can see, have nothing of the popular tale about them.

It must remain uncertain whether professional story-tellers (*fabulatores*, whom Augustus used to send for to talk him to sleep, Suetonius, *Aug.*, 78), who told their stories as a rule in public (in a hippodrome, Dio Chr., xx, p. 264 M. *ιστορίαν τινα ἢ μῦθον διηγούμενον*, Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 1316) for money (Pliny, *Ep̄p.*, ii, 20, 1: *assem para et accipe auream fabulam*),<sup>1</sup> also told popular tales. Elsewhere, the latter are only mentioned as told by mothers and nurses to children (Grimm, ii, p. 469<sup>2</sup>; cp. B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen, und Volkslieder*, [1877,] p. 11, 3, and 12, 2-4; Plato, *Rep.*, 377B; *Quintil.*, i, 8, *aniles fabulae*, i, 9, 2, *fabulae nutricularum*; Julian, *Orat.*, vii, p. 204, *κυνὸς—ὥσπερ αἱ τίτθαι μύθους ᾗδοντος*; Tacitus, *Dial.*, 29), or at most as an amusement for girls and women (Arnobius, *Adv. Gentes*, v, 14: *cum historias, quaeso, perlegitis tales, nonne vobis videmini aut textriculas puellas audire taediosi operis circumscribentes moras aut infantibus credulis avocamenta quaeritantes anus longaevas*; cp. Tibullus, i, 5, 84: *adsideat custos sedula semper anus. haec tibi fabellas referat*). As a rule they were considered as much beneath the notice of men as in modern Greece (J. G. Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, Introd. i, p. 9; B. Schmidt as above). This is no doubt the chief reason why we know so little of them. But it has been quite correctly observed by Haupt (in *Hermes*, vii, 10) that Persius, who had been brought up amongst women, evidently has in mind the stories heard by him in the nursery, when he mentions (ii, 37) the wishes of the grandmother, aunt, and nurse for the boy in his cradle. 'May he be a catch for my lord and lady's daughter! May the pretty ladies scramble for him! May the ground he walks on turn to a rose-bed'! (Conington). The first and last wish undoubtedly have their origin in nursery tales, and probably the second. Jahn has already observed that the third wish occurs in a Neapolitan story, and Haupt recalls the names, which owe their origin to these and similar wishes—'Rosentreter' and those already explained by Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (Eng. tr., iii, p. 1101)—'Rosenlacher', 'Rosenlächter', 'Blumlacher' [cp. R. Köhler's note in *Laura Gorenbach's Sicilianische Märchen*, ii, 225]. Aristides (*Or.*, xlviii, p. 357 J) says that one must leave it to nurses to lull their charges to sleep by telling them tales of a sweet sea, of river horses, of a sea which flows into a river, and the like; but these instances of the marvellous are not taken from popular tales, but are due to the writer's own imagination, unless in this case (and in Tertullian, *Adv. Valentinianos*, 19: *puerilia dicibula, in mari poma nasci, in arbore*

<sup>1</sup> See E. Rohde, *Über griechische Novellendichtung und ihren Zusammenhang mit dem Orient in Verhandlungen der Philologenversammlung zu Rostock* (1875), p. 63. He rightly regards them as disseminators of Greek stories in the Grecized East.

<sup>2</sup> [Except where otherwise stated, the references to Grimm are to the English translation of his *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* by Margaret Hunt in Bohn's Standard Library, 2 vols., 1884. Numbers by themselves indicate the number of the tale. TR.]

pisces) we are to imagine some story of impossible things as in Grimm (*The Story of Schlauraffenland*, 158; cp. ii, p. 450). In the tales of antiquity we make the acquaintance of little more than ghosts and bogeys, such as Lamia (who belonged so essentially to fable, that Demetrius of Soli called King Demetrius *Mṓthos*, because he had a mistress named Lamia: Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 27), Gorgon, Ephialtes and the Mormolycae (Strabo, i, 2, p. 19 C.): the 'towers of Lamia' (Tertullian, *Adv. Valent.*, 3), associated with the 'combs of the sun' (?), are perhaps an allusion to the stronghold of a child-eating ogress, like her who in German fairy-tales lives in a house of gingerbread. In a modern Greek tale the Lamnissa carries off the King's daughter to her enchanted tower, where she sleeps for forty days and forty nights until she is released by a King's son (Schmidt as above, p. 76, who on p. 226 also refers to the passage in Tertullian). In the old Greek story Lamia, when at home, kept her eyes in a vessel, and thus was blind; when she went out, she put them in their place again; she was also said to sing at home (Plutarch, *De Curiositate*, 2: *νῦν δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ μύθῳ τὴν Λαμίαν λέγουσιν οἴκοι μὲν ἔδειν τυφλὴν, ἐν ἀγγείῳ τινοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσαν ἀποκειμένους, ἔξω δὲ προϊούσαν ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ βλέπειν*. Cp. schol. Aristophanes, *Pax*, 757; Diod. Sic., xx, 41; Suidas, s.v.; also Plautus, *Mil. glor.*, 346: *nam ego quidem meos oculos habeo nec rogo utendos foris* may be derived from another version or kindred story; cp. Lucian, *Vera Historia*, i, 25 referred to above). In the Greek tale the monster may by her singing have enticed into her castle children who had lost their way, but her blindness made it easy for them to escape. In order to pursue them, she was obliged to put back her eyes. In the old folktale the child was pulled out alive from the Lamia's belly (Horace, *A.P.*, 340: *neu pransae Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo*, probably as represented in an *Atellana*.) like the kids from the wolf's belly (Grimm, 5, *The Wolf and the Seven Kids*). A Pomeranian version seems to agree entirely with Horace: while his mother is away, a child is swallowed by a goblin similar to Knecht Ruprecht (see Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr., ii, p. 514), but the stones swallowed with the child make the goblin so heavy, that he falls down and the child jumps out of his mouth unharmed. In antiquity, the Manducus bears the nearest resemblance to Knecht Ruprecht: like Lamia, Mania (Festus: *Manias*—*quas nutrices minitantur pueris parvulis*) and other bogeys (Munk, *De Atellanis*, p. 39), he may have passed from the nursery tale into the *Atellana*. Lamia, who also plays an important part in modern Greek popular tales (Hahn, as above, p. 331) is mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Thucydide Judicium*, 6) in a passage, where he is speaking of the fables of earlier historians: *λαμίας τινὰς ἱστοροῦντες ἐν ὕλαις καὶ νάπαις ἐκ γῆς ἀνιέμενας, καὶ ναῖδας ἀμφιβίους ἐκ ταρτάρων ἐξιούσας καὶ διὰ πελάγους νηχομένας καὶ μιζόθηρας, καὶ ταύτας εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἀνθρώποις συνερχομένας* (just like the beautiful Melusine and the Nereides of modern Greek popular belief).<sup>1</sup> Acco

<sup>1</sup> [Lamia occurs twice in the Vulgate; *Isaiah*, xxxiv, 14, and *Lamentations*, iv. 3 (where the Septuagint has *ὄνοκένταυροι* and *δράκοντες* respectively; cp. also M. Mayer, *Lamia* in *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1885, p. 119. R. K.] But it is at least doubtful whether a Lamia is represented on the vase there discussed (*Taf.*, vii, 2).



and Alphito also belong to the goblins of old Greek nursery tales (Plutarch, *De Stoic. repug.*, 15, p. 1040 B. : τῆς Ἀκκοῦς καὶ τῆς Ἀλφίτου δι' ὧν τὰ παιδάρια τοῦ κακοσχολεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνείργουσιν), and perhaps the child-stealing Gello, told of in Lesbos and mentioned by Sappho (Zenobius, *Paroem.*, iii, 3 : Γελλῶ παιδοφιλωτέρα, where read Γελλοῦς according to cod. Coisl. in Montfaucon, p. 608, and Suidas s.v.). Even to-day anxious parents go in fear of Gello; cp. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen* (1864) p. 77 ff. Cp. Fix in the Paris edition of Stephanus under Γελλῶ and B. Schmidt, *Volksl. d. Neugriechen*, 139 (*Gillo und die Gillouden*).<sup>1</sup>

The name of Acco, like that of Gello, is used proverbially, not of a goblin, but of a foolish woman, who talked to her reflection in a mirror, took her dress from the loom half finished and put it on (Zenob., i, 53, ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin, i, p. 21). This reminds us of *Clever Elsie* (Grimm, 34) and *Catherine* (59), who, when half asleep, cut her clothes to pieces, and when she woke up, said, 'Am I myself or not?', being finally convinced that she was not. Similarly, other foolish men and women may have made their way from the popular tale into the proverb; Morychus (Zenobius, v, 13 : μωρότερος εἰ Μωρύχου. αὕτη ἡ παροιμία λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς Σικελώταις ἐπὶ τῶν εὐηθέε τι διαπρασσομένων—λέγεται δὲ οὕτως \* μωρότερος εἰ Μωρύχου, ὅς τὰ ἐνδον ἀφεῖς ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας κάθηται), Ibycus, Coroebus, Meletides, Amphistides (Diogen., v, 12), Mammacythus, Butalion (Didymus on Aristophanes, *Ranae*, 991), Praxilla (Diogen., i, 1), Charixena (*Etym. Mag.*, 367, 21; *Appendix Proverbiorum* in Leutsch, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ii, 82), Macco and Lamo (schol. Aristoph. *Equites*, 62 : cp. Stephanus, *Thesaurus s.v. μακκοῶ* and L. Cohn, *De Aristophane Byzantio et Suetonio Tranquillo Eustathii auctoribus* in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, supptbnd, p. 350). Praxilla, when asked what was the most beautiful thing, answered, 'The sun and figs', i.e. things sweet as sugar; Coroebus was so silly that he tried to count the waves of the sea (Zenobius, iv, 58, Κοροῖβου ἡλιθιώτερος); Meletides could only learn to count up to five; when he was married, he never touched his wife, for fear she might complain to her mother<sup>2</sup>; Amphistides did not know whether he was born of his father or his mother. Other persons and events of popular tales may also have made their way into proverbial expressions, for instance, Pases, the mighty enchanter, who could call up at will a magnificent banquet and attendants, and as suddenly cause them to disappear (cp. Philostratus, *Apolonius*, iv, 25, where the banquet of an Empusa disappears, gold and silver plate, attendants and all); he also possessed a half-obol piece, which always returned to him after he had paid it away (Suidas, s.v. Πάσης, Apostol., xvii, 6, τὸ Πάσητος ἡμιωβόλιον). Juvenal, vi, 363, ac velut exhausta redivivus pullulet arca nummus et e pleno semper tollatur acervo, is certainly a reminiscence of a story of the lucky penny or wishing-purse. Perhaps Cissamis of Cos was originally a character in a folktale. He was a wealthy

<sup>1</sup> [On Gillu or Gyllu (Γιλλοῦ, Γυλλοῦ), see also K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* v, 572-578. R. K.]

<sup>2</sup> Told of Margites in Photius and Hesychius (*Μαργίτης, μωρός τις [ἦ] μὴ εἰδώς μίξιν γυναικός, κὰν γυνὴ προτρέπηται αὐτόν*); cp. Sueton. in Eustathius 1669, 43.



owner of flocks, whose finest sheep was carried off every year by an eel. Cissamis killed the eel, which appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to bury it. Cissamis neglected to do so, and perished with all his family (Zenobius, iv, 64, Κίσσαμης Κῶος). Some proverbial-sounding expressions in Roman poetry also may be reminiscences of popular tales. In Martial, xiii, 2, 1 : *nasus, qualem noluerit ferre rogatus Atlas*, Grimm (ii, p. 422) is reminded of a story, in which a man's nose grows to an enormous length after he has eaten a certain fruit or vegetable. Plautus, *Trinummus*, 1023 : *quorum unus surripuerit currenti cursori solum* may allude to a story like that of the *Masterthief* (Grimm, 192) ; Petronius, 45 : *milvo volanti unguis rescare*, to one like that of the *Three Brothers* (Grimm, 124, cp. 129), of whom the barber shaves a running hare, the smith pulls off a galloping horse's shoes and fastens them on again ; the line found on a column in Pompeii : *moram si quaeris, sparge milium et collige* (Zangemeister, *Bull. d. I.*, 1865, p. 190), to the task (so frequently mentioned in popular tales ; see below) of separating or picking up different kinds of seeds, usually performed by animals (Plautus, *Trin.*, 410 : *quam si tu obicias formicis papaverem*). The expression in Petronius (45), *si tu aliubi fueris dices hic porcos coctos ambulare*, is no doubt derived from a story of Schlauraffen land ; the proverbial measuring of money by the bushel (in both Greek and Latin) was certainly common in popular tales (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii, 2, 27 *μεδίμνῳ ἀπομετρήσασθαι τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀργύριον*. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 1, 96 : *dives ut metiretur nummos* ; Petronius, 37, *nummos modio metitur* ; cp. Grimm, 142, *Simeli Mountain* ; [R. Köhler in L. Gonzenbach's *Sicil. Märchen*, ii, 251]) ; so also the equally proverbial 'carbonem pro thesauro', Phaedrus, v, 6, 6, Zenobius, *Cent.*, ii, 1 c, with Schneidewin's note (Grimm, 182, the presents of the little people, coal changed into gold and back again ; B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, 192, 5, any one who tells any one that he has dreamt of a treasure, finds coal instead) ; perhaps also the 'golden mountains' (Plautus, *Aulul.*, iv, 8, 1 : *pici divitiis qui aureos montes colunt* ; Terence, *Phormio*, i, 2, 18 : *modo non montes auri pollicens* ; Apuleius, *Apol.*, p. 437 : *nec montibus auri satiabitur* ; cp. Jahn on Persius, iii, 67), although here the allusion may be to 'Persarum montes' (Lucretius, ii, 44, see Varro in Nonius, p. 379 ; *montes mariaque polliceri* in Sallust, *Catilina*, 23, 3 = to promise boundless wealth). The expression 'in rutae folium coicere' (Petronius, 37) may be an allusion to a tale of Thumbling (Tom Thumb) (such as Grimm, 37 and 45), who, while creeping among the weeds, is swallowed by a grazing cow, especially as Greek Thumblings are known (Grimm, i, p. 392). [C. Schenkl, *Zur Däumlingssage in Germania*, viii, 384, compares the child Hermes and his tricks in the Homeric hymns ; cp. also Gaston Paris, *Le Petit Poucet et la Grande Ourse*, Paris, 1875, pp. 21 and 39. R. K.] In Plautus, *Mil. glor.*, 803 (ed. Lorenz) : *non potuit reperire, si ipsi Soli quaerundas dares*, we may have one of the stories, in which the sun is asked to disclose the whereabouts of something that is hidden. The fragment of Varro, too (*Sat. Menip.*, 432 : *Prometheus liber X* (in Bücheler's Petronius, ed. min., p. 200 : *Chrysosandalos locat sibi amiculum de lacte et cera Tarentina, quam apes*

*Milesiae coegerint ex omnibus floribus libantes, sine osse et nervis, sin pelle, sine pilis puram putam proceram candidam teneram formosam*) may contain a reminiscence of a popular tale; similarly, the growth of wings after eating a certain root (Aristophanes, *Aves*, 654: ἔστι γάρ τι ῥίζιον, ὃ διατραγόντ' ἔσσεσθον ἐπτερωμένω). Perhaps the story in Ovid (*Metam.*, iv, 49) should also be mentioned here: Nais an ut cantu nimiumque potentibus herbis Verterit in tacitos juvenilia corpora pisces, donec idem passa est.

Apio in his *De Mago* mentioned the magician Pases, and books on magic undoubtedly often contained fabulous traditions, which found a place even in scientific works, as is shown by Pliny's account of the wonderful virtues of animals, plants, and stones. The magic herbs of Asclepiades, by whose aid man can dry up seas and rivers, open everything that is shut, put hostile armies to flight, and procure everything in abundance, resemble the miraculous gifts of fairy tales. The second and fourth marvel is of frequent occurrence, the first in the story of the *Six Servants*, one of whom drinks up the sea, 'so that it becomes as dry as a meadow' (Grimm, 134), the third in Grimm, 54 (*The Knapsack, the Hat, and the Horn*) and its variations (i, p. 409), in which tapping on a knapsack calls forth great armies and cannon, which nothing can resist. The wonder-working herb *Osiritis* in Egypt was according to Apio the Homeric *moly*: any one who dug it up was bound to die at once (Lehrs, *Quaestt. epicae*, p. 26; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxx, 18). This quality of the *alraun* root, as well as the manner of obtaining it without danger (Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr., iii, p. 1202) was known to antiquity. According to Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, vii, 6, 3), at Baaras near Machaerus on the East of the Dead Sea there grew a root of the same name (according to Cedrenus' *Compendium*, p. 305 D. in Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 904 u, where it is called Battaritis, near Caesarea), from which at evening a light shines forth, making it impossible to approach it, since any one who does so immediately dies. Accordingly, a trench is dug round it and a dog tied to the root; the dog pulls it out and falls down dead. The root is used to heal those possessed with demons. This root was later identified with the mandragora, which again was brought into connexion with the *alrune* on German soil (cp. Grimm as above; Rohde, *Griechische Roman*, 230, 1; and appendix XIII). Both ancient and German popular belief prescribed the same method of procuring the *springwurz* (explosive root): the nest of a woodpecker is closed with a wooden bung; the bird, who knows where to find it, fetches it and holds it before the bung, which at once *springs out* (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, Eng. tr., iii, p. 973; Keller, *Thiere des kl. Allerthums*, p. 285). It was anciently believed that any one who had eaten a dog's tongue was bound to speak the truth (Petronius, 43: verum dicam qui linguam caninam comedi). The language of birds and beasts generally, which in the German story was acquired by eating a white snake or a dragon's or bird's heart (Grimm, 17; cp. i, p. 357), had been learnt by Apollonius of Tyana [from the Arabs according to Philostratus, i, 20, who themselves learn it σιτούμενοι τῶν δράκόντων οἱ μὲν καρδίαν φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἡπαρ. R. K.] According to Porphyry, *De Abstinencia*, iii, 3 (p. 220 ed de Rhoer),

Apollonius heard one swallow tell another to hurry to the gate of the city, for an ass laden with corn had fallen down there, and the corn was scattered all over the ground. Birds know where to find hidden treasures (Aristophanes, *Aves*, 601). They also know the future, and speak about it to one another (cp. the story of *Faithful John*, Grimm, 6). 'Ἐταῖρος δὲ ἡμῶν ἐξηγεῖτό τις, continues Porphyry, οἰκέτον εὐτυχῆσαι παιδὸς, ὃς πάντα ξυνῇ (read ξυνίει) τὰ φθέγματα τῶν ὀρνίθων· καὶ ἦν πάντα μαντικά καὶ τοῦ μετ' ὀλίγον μέλλοντος ἀγγελτικά· ἀφαιρεθῆναι δὲ τὴν σύνεσιν, τῆς μητρὸς εὐλαβηθείσης μὴ δῶρον αὐτὸν βασιλεῖ πέμψειν, καὶ καθεύδοντος ἐς τὰ ὦτα ἐνουρησάσης. It was also popularly believed in Greece that knowledge of the language of animals and prophetic inspiration could be acquired by allowing snakes to lick out the ear, but lost by spitting into the mouth, as in the tales of Melampus, Glaucus and Cassandra.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we everywhere come upon traces of a widespread agreement between ancient and German popular belief; but in particular the popular mythology of antiquity exhibits the most surprising similarity with the popular traditions of the north-European peasants, as is clearly shown by the valuable results of the exhaustive investigations of Mannhardt (*Wald- und Feldkulte*, 1877). 'This similarity extends to popular traditions, tales, and usages; the individual traditions deal with the same subjects as ours, and are identical with them in range and matter. There we find repeated the popular traditions of the death of the wood-spirit (= death of the great Pan), of the fettering of intoxicated wood-spirits, of the self-chastisement of the man who damages a tree, of the metamorphoses and disappearance of the fairies (= the story of Thetis), of the change of the sun god's beloved into a sun-flower as she waited on the road, of the change of the woman riding on the whirlwind (Harpy) into a horse. Also our stories of the change of treasures into coal, of the dragon watching over a hoard of gold,<sup>2</sup> of the dwarfs or goblins who become visible as soon as their hat or cap is knocked off, must have been well known.<sup>3</sup> The story of the Teumessian fox was, in its unmutilated form, a variant of Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, 60).<sup>4</sup> There also we find stories like that of the dragon-slayer (Peleus); lastly, the may-pole, harvest-may, harvest home, harvest festival, harvest-race, the leaf-man (Jack-in-the-Green), the summer-solstice bonfire (Palilia, Hirpi Sorani). Further, we find the same mythical personifications, directly created by a primitive religious feeling from the material supplied by the contemplation of nature. We find, in entirely analogous forms, the wild huntsman (Zetes, the Boreades), the flying woman (Harpy), the moss-folk and wood-maidens (Dryades), the wild men (Cyclopes, Centaurs, Pans, Satyrs), the water-witch (Thetis), the bull-formed river-spirit' (Mannhardt, ii, 349).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Preller, *Griech. Myth.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 472-480, esp. 473, 1. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, x, 137: vel quae Democritus tradit, nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur quem quisquis ediderit intellecturus sit avium colloquia.

<sup>2</sup> Paulus, p. 67: Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*, ii, 13; Phaedrus, iv, 20, 3; B. Schmidt, *Volksl. d. Neugr.*, i, 192, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Petronius, 38; Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 105, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Mannhardt, ii, 58.



The varied extent of this agreement in ancient and modern popular traditions is further shown by the belief (common to antiquity and modern times) in the cap of invisibility (*Ἄϊδος κνῆή*, Preller, *Gr. Myth.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 655, *Tarnkappe*), the divining or wishing rod (Cicero, *De off.*, i, 44, 158; cp. Preller, i<sup>3</sup>, 344; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, Eng. tr., iii, p. 974), ghosts (e.g. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 27; Plutarch, *Lucullus* 1; Lucian, *Philopseudes*) and their disappearance at cockcrow (B Schmidt, *Griech. Märchen*, 244; Prudentius, *Cathemerina*, i, 37; Lucian, *Philops.*, 14<sup>1</sup>), witches (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, Eng. tr., iii, 1036), and were-wolves (*ib.*, 1093). That mice (whose place in modern popular belief has been taken by rats which were unknown to antiquity; cp. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*<sup>4</sup>, p. 380) desert houses before they fall (Cicero, *Ad Att.*, ix, 14; Aelian, *Hist. An.*, vi, 41); that if a man reads inscriptions on tombstones, he loses his memory (Cic., *De sen.*, 7, 21; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, iii, p. 1811); that he who has a ringing in the ears is being talked about elsewhere (Grimm, *ib.*, p. 1117; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxviii, 24; Statius, *Silvae*, iv, 4, 26; *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 452); that when thinking of any one to whom we wish well, it is effective to pinch the thumb (Plin., *H.N.*, xxviii, 24, 25)—all this was believed in antiquity, as in many cases to-day. The modern belief in sympathetic cures has many points of agreement with the old; in the former executed criminals (and murdered men) have taken the place of the gladiators, whose blood was supposed to cure epilepsy (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xvii, 28, 4; Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*<sup>2</sup>, 120). According to W. Kaden (*Skizzen und Kulturbilder aus Italien*, 1882), a notched (in Cato, *Res rust.*, 160, split) reed is considered a cure for warts in Calabria, and urine for inflammation of the eyes, as in Cato, 157, 10, for dim eyesight. One of the recognized remedies against enchantment (on which and on the evil eye, see Jahn, *Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten in Ber. d. sächs. Ges.*, 1855, esp. p. 82; Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 84; Wuttke, pp. 153, 155) now, as in antiquity, was spitting (Wuttke, 171). Further, there appears to be a general agreement between the superstitions of the nursery in ancient and modern times. According to Mannhardt's very probable assumption (*WFK*, ii, 125, 1), it was the function of the *dea Candelifera* (Preller, *RM*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 208) to see that a light was left burning by the cradle of new-born children (a practice still common in the houses of German peasants), to prevent the subterranean powers, dwarfs and the like, from changing it; in Apuleius (*Met.*, v, 28), where Venus calls Psyche 'meae formae succubam', *succuba* appears to be a changeling (Petronius, 63; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, Eng. tr., ii, 468; iii, 1421). There seems no doubt that a large number of the conceptions and forms of popular belief found a place in ancient as well as modern popular tales. The story of the two witches in Apuleius (*Metam.*, i), who cut out the heart of the faithless lover of one of them and stuff in a sponge in its place, is exactly like some Servian witch-

<sup>1</sup> According to Lucian, *Philops.*, 15, the clang of brass or iron scares ghosts. With this is perhaps connected the modern belief that they cannot endure the striking of sparks with flint and steel, the beating of pots and pans, the clank of the scythe, and so forth (Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, ed. 2, p. 453).



stories (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, Eng. tr., iii, p. 1080); the words of Panthia: heus tu spongia cave in mari nata per fluvium transeas, sound as if they were borrowed word for word from a popular tale. (The belief in Thessalian sorceresses still lives in Greece: Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen*, p. 34). But unfortunately Petronius and Apuleius are writers, whose turn of mind in many other respects differs from the classical, and they are the only ones who have not disdained to borrow directly from popular superstition—Petronius only so far as he found it necessary to mark the inferior culture of his middle-class characters, Apuleius to a far greater extent and with evident interest in the subject.

The fables of Æsop have also preserved some traces of the popular tale (see E. Rohde, *Ein griechisches Märchen in Rhein. Mus.* xliii, 1888, pp. 303–305). 'A weasel (γαλή) falls in love with a handsome young man; Aphrodite answers its prayer and changes it into a beautiful maiden, whom the youth woos and weds. A mouse sent by Aphrodite runs across the bridal chamber, the weasel in maiden form springs up and tries to catch the mouse to eat it, and is forced to resume its animal shape' (Æsop, 88, ed. Halm). This tale, which was already well known in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., as is shown by the proverb in the comic poet Strattis: οὐ πρέπει γαλή κροκωτόν (Zenob., ii, 93), reproduces a type found in the *Mahabharata* and an American Indian tale: 'The love of a demonic being in animal form, its change into human form in order to associate with the loved one, its resumption of the animal form, as soon as an accident or malicious contrivance brings an object near, which rouses to activity the natural impulses of its animal nature.' Cf. Zielinski, *Das Wiesel als Braut in Rhein. Mus.*, xlv, 1889, p. 156 f. (νύμφη, like Mod. Gr. νυμφέτρα, is said to have been also a name for the weasel); and especially August Marx, *Griechische Märchen von dankbaren Thieren und Verwandtes*, 1889. The following fable, mentioned by Grimm (ii, p. 527; Plutarch, *Conviv. septem. sap.*, 14, the source of *Fab. Æsop.*, 389, ed. Hahn), is also a children's tale: The moon asked his mother to make him a little coat, which would fit him. The mother answered, 'How can I make one to fit you, since you are at one time full moon, at another half-moon, at another new moon?' The story, in which part of the lifetime of certain animals (the horse, the ox, and the dog) is allotted to man (Grimm, 176), by which his character at different periods of his life is explained, is found with certain variations in Babrius (74; cp. Grimm, ii, p. 456; W. Grimm, *Über eine Thierfabel des Babrius in Haupt's Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, xii, 228–231 = *Kleinere Schriften von W. Grimm*, iv, 1887, pp. 395–399; Reinhold Köhler, *Zu dem Märchen von der Lebenszeit* in H. R. Gosche's *Jahrbuch für Literaturgeschichte*, i, 1865, pp. 196–98). The story of the wren also appears to be very old (Grimm, ii, p. 455; cp. Knaack, *Ein griechisches Thiermärchen in Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1888, p. 507). The fable in Phædrus (*App. fab. novae*, 3, ed. L. Müller) is akin to the German tale of the rich man and the poor man (Grimm, 87; cp. ii, p. 373). Mercury is inhospitably received by two women; he grants to each the fulfilment of a wish. The one wishes that her child may soon have a beard, and the infant grows one at once;

the other, a common prostitute, wishes that everything she touches may be obliged to follow her: she blows her nose, and draws it down to the ground. 'Generally speaking, the tales of the entertainment of wandering gods form part of the oldest storehouse of common Indo-Germanic myths' (Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, 508 note).

But the further investigation of the connexion between folktales and the sagas of gods and heroes is also of the greatest importance for the knowledge of the ancient folktale. Elements of the folktale in the myth, and mythical elements in the folktale, have already been pointed out in many instances, especially by the brothers Grimm in the notes to their tales (see also Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, i, 107; and Hartung, *Religion und Mythologie der Griechen*, i, 144). I may mention the similarity of the Sisyphus legend (Preller, *GrM*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 76) and the story of Spielhansl or *Gambling Hansel* (Grimm, 82; cp. i, p. 442); in both death and the gods of the underworld (the devil) are overcome by craft. Emmanuel Cosquin (in his excellent work, *Contes populaires de la Lorraine, comparés avec les contes des autres provinces de France et des pays étrangers et précédé d'un essai sur l'origine et la propagation des contes populaires européens*, 1886, ii, p. 28, in the parallels to 37, *Chatte blanche*, p. 12) has pointed out the relationship of the myth of Jason and Medea (qui du reste a bien l'air d'un conte populaire) with a class of tales in which a young man is ordered by an evil being to perform apparently impossible tasks, which he does by the aid of a maiden (usually the daughter of the evil being); they flee together, and escape pursuit by magic. When the young man reaches his home he forgets the maiden, who nevertheless succeeds in making him remember her. As this last feature is altered beyond recognition in the Jason myth, we may recognize in Aeson's dismemberment and return to life the displacement of a motive which recurs in a number of similar stories: in these it is always the maiden who allows herself to be cut to pieces, in order to be able to assist her lover (p. 25). Mannhardt has shown that the myth of Peleus and Thetis is identical with an elf-saga and a Siegfried saga, the latter of which is the foundation of several tales, especially that of the two brothers, 'an incontestable argument against Benfey's assertion, that the materials of folktales are *entirely* of Buddhist origin, and reached Europe at a comparatively late period' (*Wald- und Feldkulte*, ii, 78; cp. 53, 57, 68, 151 note; also B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen*, p. 15). 'The identity of the stories and legends referred to with the adventure of Peleus is unmistakably shown by the agreement of several features combined in the same order (contest with a monster on a mountain, the acquisition of a victory-giving magic sword at the moment of the fight, cutting out of the tongues, their production in proof of victory, sleeping on the scene of the contest); the relationship of the traditions is most clearly shown in the Tristan saga' (p. 51). All the chief features of the old *Peleis* are repeated in modern Greek and north European traditions: the fairy (Thetis) changing herself into animal and other forms, to escape her hero suitor; her refusal to speak while living with him; her sudden

disappearance when reviled by him (or for some other reason). Rohde has made other contributions to our knowledge of the mutual relations of myth and popular tale (*Der griechische Roman*, p. 125 note : the story of the metamorphosis of Glaucus by a magic plant, the virtues of which became known to him through the revival of dead fishes that were laid upon it ; cp. Grimm, 16 and i, p. 356 [Cosquin, ii, 80, 1] ; the solitary life of maidens like Hero and Danaë in a tower,<sup>1</sup> p. 134, 1 ; the father's love for his own daughter, p. 420, 1, are all favourite motives of both saga and fairy tale ; cp. also Rohde, *Die sardinischen Sagen von der Neunschläfern*, in *N. Rhein. Mus.*, xxxv, [1880], p. 157) ; he has also pointed out the insertion of fairy tale elements in the romance of Achilles Tatius (*Der gr. Rom.*, 484, 1). Hahn's important work on Greek and Albanian tales is the first step towards a comprehensive comparison of kindred myths and folktales ; the relationship of the story of Amor and Psyche with a myth (Zeus and Semele) has already, to my mind, been convincingly shown by Felix Liebrecht. B. Schmidt in his *Griechische Märchen, Sagen, und Volkslieder* (1877) has shown in particular the frequent admission of elements of the ancient myth into the modern popular tale by numerous and interesting examples ; cp. especially pp. 224, 226 f., 229, 231, 236 f., 238, 248. Among the fairy tales recorded, the majority of which have their home in the island of Zacynthus, no. 23, 'the seven-headed snake, in its relation to the Theseus legend affords an especially instructive insight into the manner in which different ancient elements are amalgamated in the modern Greek popular tale, and shows how curiously they are sometimes remodelled and how diversified is the combination' (p. 238). R. Köhler (*Über die europäischen Volksmärchen* in the *Weimarer Beiträge zur Literatur und Kunst*, 1865, p. 187) has indicated the following tales recorded in antiquity, as recurring amongst other peoples : the stories of Polyphemus (Servian, Hungarian, Esthonian, Finnish, Gaelic), King Midas (Servian, Breton, Irish, Mongolian), the Egyptian Rhampsinitus (Greek [Trophonius], German, Danish, Gaelic), and another Egyptian tale in Mannhardt (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde*, iv, 232).

The story admitted by Apuleius into his romance contains so many foreign ingredients and is so disfigured by unsuitable embellishments, that its real nature has frequently been misunderstood, although the brothers Grimm long ago explained it correctly. These misunderstandings are chiefly due to the names Amor and Psyche, which have led most of the commentators from Fulgentius Planciades downwards to consider the allegory of the relation of the human soul to the Platonic Eros, arbitrarily extended and fantastically embellished by the writer, as the real foundation of the Apuleian story. The idea of Eros and Psyche being related as two lovers is first found clearly expressed in the poems of Meleager (last century B.C.), who assumes it as already known. It is the motive of numerous works of art, perhaps produced or prompted by the younger

<sup>1</sup> In the parallels to *Le fils du pêcheur*, ii, p. 66 (cp. especially p. 80) Cosquin shows the close relationship of the Perseus myth with a certain class of popular tales. [Cf. E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, 1894-6. Tr.]



Attic school, the subject of which is the separation and reunion, the joys and sorrows of the pair of lovers, but especially the torments which they cause each other. As Jahn remarks in his exhaustive discussion, it was not a myth, the unconscious product of the legend-creating power of the people, but an allegory, originating in poetic reflection; hence it never became the property of the people, but remained unknown outside educated circles (*Über einige auf Eros und Psyche bezügliche Kunstwerke in Ber. d. sächs. Ges.*, 1851, p. 156).

But an impartial consideration of the story in Apuleius will soon convince us that it bears only slight resemblance to the allegory. Two lovers, made unhappy by a long separation for which one of them is responsible, are finally joined together in an everlasting and blissful reunion; and this is no doubt the reason why Apuleius gave the names of Amor and Psyche to the hero and heroine of his narrative. But here the resemblance ceases. Psyche brings sorrow upon Amor, but unintentionally; if she suffers torments for his sake, it is without his knowledge. If, notwithstanding, we attempt to interpret the entire narrative according to the allegory upon which it is supposed to be based, we shall be obliged to have recourse to the most violent explanations, and even then there will remain many characters and incidents, which it is utterly impossible to explain allegorically. For instance, according to Hildebrand (Apuleius, i, *Prol.* p. xxxii), the sisters of Psyche are fleshly desires; hence they are exceedingly beautiful and attractive, are sought in marriage by numerous suitors and finally happily wedded, but to men worthy of their wantonness (?), and so forth. According to Creuzer, who follows Fulgentius (cp. Apuleius, *Psyche*, ed. Jahn, p. 64), the three daughters are the flesh, free will, and the spirit; according to Carus, unconsciousness, world-consciousness, and self-consciousness! Others even take them to be the three kingdoms of nature (Stadelmann, *Amor und Psyche in Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, xc, 202). Similarly, Krahner's view (*Eros und Psyche*, second ed., 1861) must be considered fundamentally erroneous. Instead of a restoration of the ancient myth, which is perhaps no longer possible, he attempts a remodelling, the object of which was 'to clothe certain truths of salvation in the garb of anticipation'. The author is convinced 'that the ancient myth certainly had for its foundation certain profound ideas, and must at one time have existed in a much purer and more consistent form, but that the age of Apuleius was neither able to understand nor to hand it down in this nobler form'.

I am unacquainted with the majority of the older discussions of the subject, referred to in the Stuttgart *Realencyclopädie*, vi, 1, 176 note and i<sup>2</sup>, 880. The most recent contribution to the already extensive literature known to me is a treatise by J. A. Hartung, *Auslegung des Märchens von der Seele und des Märchens von der schönen Lilie* ('Exposition of the tale of the soul and of the tale of the beautiful lily'), which also contains a brief natural history of the popular tale in general (*Programm des Gymnasiums zu Erfurt*, Easter, 1866). Hartung agrees with me in regarding the story as a popular tale, but further rightly lays stress on the fact that Apuleius also had in view 'a glorification of the morally purifying influ-



ence of the mysteries'. 'The wanderings and dangerous tasks which Psyche has to go through, resemble the preliminary trials of those who offer themselves for initiation; the name Psyche (soul) itself proves that a morally religious feeling is at the bottom of the story' (or rather, is read into it by Apuleius). Certainly, Hartung goes too far in his ingenious attempt to interpret every important incident in the narrative symbolically. In particular, it seems to me that the frequent use of the number three, a standing feature of popular tales, cannot possibly be regarded as an allusion to the mysteries. Friedrich Pressel's interpretation, in the *Erläuterungen* to his free translation of the story (*Psyche. Ein allegorisches Märchen nach dem Lateinischen des Apuleius*, Ulm, 1864, kindly brought to my notice by Reinhold Köhler), is much nearer the truth. He certainly starts deliberately from the wrong principle, 'that the folktale (*märchen*) as a distinct *genre* of art was always unknown to classical antiquity'. For he assumes the separation of the natural and divine in the consciousness, and, as the result, the endeavour to escape from the barren, miserable world by means of the power of the imagination. The Greeks, and still more the Romans, were unacquainted with 'a poetry of yearning'. Only when 'the ancient consciousness went astray in itself and the belief in an invisible world became a necessity, did the new consciousness of the age (which found its expression in Neoplatonism) produce a new class of poetry, the artificial and allegorical story, not the naïve popular tale'. Yet Pressel, altogether contrary to his deduction, goes on: 'Or can the Apuleian fiction be a revision of an originally naïve tale? I confess that this is my opinion, because I think that, if a distinction be made between the invention and the execution, I can perceive a very great difference. The invention, it seems to me, is too good; the man, in whose head it originated, could not have been guilty of the errors of taste, which have crept in here and there in the narrative of Apuleius'.

Leaving entirely out of consideration the moral and religious intentions of Apuleius and the mythological and allegorical elements of his narrative, I propose to discuss only its essential features. These show that it belongs to a large class of tales, whose character has been described by the brothers Grimm (*Über das Wesen der Märchen, Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Berlin, 1819, p. xlv [= *Kleinere Schriften von Wilhelm Grimm*, ed. G. Hinrichs, Berlin, bd. i, 1881, p. 351. R. K.]) as follows: 'While its idea always remains the same, a folktale is told four or five times, in each case under different relations and circumstances, so that in form it can be regarded as another story. The good and innocent daughter, generally the youngest, is promised to a monster by her father under stress of necessity, or she voluntarily gives herself up to it. Patiently she endures her lot, frequently troubled by human weaknesses, for which she has to atone by severe penalties; at last, however, she falls in love with the monster, who at once throws off his ugly form (hedgehog, lion, frog) and appears as a faultlessly beautiful youth. This story, which is common amongst the Indians and is obviously connected with the Roman and Old French tales of Amor and Psyche and Parthenopex and Meliure, signifies *Enthralment by the*

*Earthly and Redemption by Love.* Step by step the pure works its way out; if the development is interrupted, worldly misery and sorrow rush in, and the earthly can only be thrown off by the contact of souls, by their recognition in love'. Of the folktale formulae laid down by Hahn (as above, p. 45), it is certainly to the 'Freya formula' that the tale of Amor and Psyche essentially belongs; for the fundamental features of this formula are: (1) The wife or betrothed is missing and the husband abandons her on that account. (2) She wanders about in search of him. (3) Recovery and reconciliation. But also, apart from the fact that in this case the wandering is not the most important element, features and motives are frequently adopted from other forms. Indeed, speaking generally, the popular tale is indebted for the apparent abundance of its creations to a kaleidoscopic admixture of a number of fundamental forms by no means large (Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, praef. xxvi; Hahn, p. 43).

If the course of the story in Apuleius in the main exhibits the characteristics indicated above, and its outlines recur in the tales of the most different peoples, it is evident that it was not invented by Apuleius, but that in its original form it is one of the tales common to numerous Aryan and non-Aryan peoples, which Apuleius became acquainted with as a Roman (or perhaps Greek) <sup>1</sup> popular tale, and adapted and altered in his own way. Although it is certainly disfigured by his additions, omissions, and alterations, with the aid of similar German tales alone we can still effect a probable restoration of the original.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning, not only the matter, but also the manner is partly preserved. 'In a certain city there once lived a king and queen' (cp. Perseus, ii, 37; p. 90 above). They had three beautiful daughters, but the youngest was by far the most beautiful; her beauty was so great and magnificent, that it could not be expressed in words.<sup>3</sup> But while the two eldest were married to kings, the youngest had to be given over into the power of a monster. The motive of this turn in the story appears to me to be correctly stated by Bolle (*Apuleius als Lektüre für die unterste Stufe eines Gymnasiums oder einer Realschule. Progr. des Gymnasiums und der Realschule zu Celle*, Easter, 1877, p. 13).<sup>4</sup> A king's son, whose mother (like the queen in *Little Snow-white*) is jealous of her reputation for being the most beautiful woman in the world, and is also an enchantress, falls in love with the youngest of the three daughters

<sup>1</sup> Fulgentius Planciades (Jahn, *Apuleii Psyche et Cupido*, p. 63, 27) mentions a Greek version: Aristophontes Athenaeus in libris qui Dysarestia nuncupantur, hanc fabulam ingenti verborum circuitu discere cupientibus prodidit. M. Zink (*Der Mythologe Fulgentius: ein Beitrag zur röm. Litt.-Gesch. und zur Grammatik des afrikanischen Lateins*, ii, Würzburg, 1867, p. 89) does not regard the quotation as an invention (since the contents of the story are admirably suited to a book *On Discontent*; Rohde, p. 345, 4, without justification conjectures *Δυσεργικὰ* for the title), but thinks that Fulgentius had seen the name of the author in an oblique case, and that it was really Aristophon. Aristophontes, however, occurs as a personal name in Plautus, *Captivi* (Teuffel, *Studien*, 451). B. Schmidt (*Griech. Märchen*, p. 14 note) states that he was credibly assured in the island of Zacynthus (Zante) that a very similar tale was current amongst the people.

<sup>2</sup> My attempt at restoration was first published in the *Morgenblatt* (1858, no. 37 f.).

<sup>3</sup> 'A young woman as beautiful as a picture; nay, so beautiful, that it cannot be expressed in words' (Grimm, 166, *Strong Hans*).

<sup>4</sup> His idea of adapting Apuleius for school reading also seems worthy of attention.

of the king. His mother, seeing that her beauty is surpassed by that of the princess, pursues her with hatred and bewitches her son to punish him for loving her. After the lovers had received the names of Amor and Psyche, Venus was bound to be made the mother of the king's son. In a modern Greek variant of the tale of *Snow-white* the goddess of love (the mother of Eros) also takes the place of the beautiful wicked queen.<sup>1</sup> B. Schmidt (*Griechische Märchen*, 17, *Maroula und die Mutter des Eros*): 'There was once a king's daughter, who was by far the most beautiful of all the women in the world. When the mother of Eros heard of it, unable to endure that any woman should be more beautiful than herself, she conceived the idea of killing the maiden'. B. Schmidt observes (p. 233): 'Eros' mother's hatred of the maiden who surpasses her in beauty; the sufferings which she inflicts upon her; and her final pacification certainly remind us of the story of Amor and Psyche': and I believe that, in view of the existing analogies, we are justified in assuming that Apuleius found the motive of jealousy in the popular tale which he made use of.

In this tale we may suppose that the enchanted prince (who had been changed into a monster) met the father of the beautiful princess, perhaps out hunting, and, by threatening to kill him, made him promise to give her up. Apuleius, however, represents her parents as being induced to do so by an oracle of Apollo. But from the point at which the beautiful king's daughter, dressed in grave-clothes, is escorted by her weeping relatives in melancholy procession to the top of a steep rock, where she is abandoned, he has again followed the tale. A passage in Grimm's *Two Brothers* (60) is exactly parallel: 'the youngest, accompanied by his animals, entered a city, which was all covered with crape. . . . The huntsman . . . asked the host why the city wore the garb of mourning. Because, replied the host, our king's only daughter is to die to-morrow. . . . Outside the city is a high mountain, whereon dwells a dragon, to whom a pure maiden must be offered every year; otherwise, he ravages the country. Now there is none left but the king's daughter, and she must be given up to him to-morrow'. The Greek *Twin Brothers* (Hahn, 22, i, 170) corresponds to the German story, in which a monster guards all the springs and prevents the inhabitants from drawing water, except once a year, when a maiden is offered to him; the king's daughter is a victim. Certainly, the exposure of the king's daughter in the ancient tale cannot have been introduced in this manner, since the story of the two brothers has no further similarity with it; and it is just as possible that the escort of the maiden, apparently destined for sacrifice, to the top of a mountain, occurred in several tales, as that Apuleius borrowed individual features from other tales. In Grimm (88, *The Singing, Soaring Lark*) a father of three daughters falls into the power of a lion and can only save himself by promising him the first thing which should meet him on his return home; and this proves to be his youngest daughter. This story, which occurs in the most varied forms amongst different

<sup>1</sup> In a kindred Sicilian tale the son of the mother (in this case an ogress) who hates her daughter-in-law is called *lu Re d'Amuri*, the 'King of love' (Cosquin, *Contes populaires de la Lorraine*, ii, 237).



peoples (Grimm, ii, p. 378), is the one that corresponds most closely to that of Apuleius, at least in its main theme: 'the heart is put to the proof and everything earthly and evil falls away at the recognition of pure love' (*ib.*, 381).

The monster, to whom the maiden is surrendered, was also in the ancient tale an enchanted man. I had long thought it probable that he was changed into a dragon, before I became acquainted with the following kindred tales, which completely confirm my conjecture. Certainly, when the oracle calls the destined husband of the king's daughter 'a cruel, snake-like monster' (*saevum atque ferum vipereumque malum*, *Metam.*, iv, 33), we have perhaps only a reminiscence of Sappho's description of love as a 'bitter-sweet, unruly snake' (γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον ὄρπετον), although Fulgentius (ed. Jahn, p. 62) says: *jubetur puella—pennato serpenti sponsa destinari*. But the sisters of Psyche also assert that they have seen him in this form, and that this is the reason why he never shows himself to her. They describe him as a huge snake, gliding along in many coils, with enormous jaws, dropping poison, and remind her of the oracle which foretold her marriage to a horrible monster (*trucis bestiae*). Many peasants and huntsmen are said to have seen the dragon, on his return from feeding in the evening, swimming across the waters of a neighbouring river (*Met.*, v, 17, cp. 20: *postquam sulcatos intrahens gressus cubile solitum conscenderit*). Only at night the spell was evidently broken, and the enchanted one resumed his proper form, that of a beautiful youth, in which he visited his wife. In numerous kindred stories the enchanted are permitted to resume their true form during certain hours, days, weeks, or months. Probably the tale used by Apuleius also contained the feature, that when the enchanted one returned to human form no ray of light might fall upon him, which would only increase the strength of the charm and make it last longer. This is the case in the story already compared (Grimm, 88), in which the lion, to whom the youngest daughter must be surrendered, is a king's son; during the night he and his people who were enchanted with him resume their natural form. But when the ray from a burning candle falls upon him, he is changed into a dove, and is obliged to fly with the doves seven years long; this happens to him once when a ray no broader than a hair falls upon him through a crack in the door; immediately he is transformed into a white dove and flies away. At least we are here reminded of Amor, who, when the light of Psyche's lamp falls upon him, awakes from sleep and without uttering a word flies away and then addresses her from the top of a tall cypress (*Met.*, v, 23). So also Grimm (ii, p. 381): 'Our story also agrees with it in this, that light brings misfortune and that night, which loosens all bonds, always dissolves the spell'. Also, in the Greek tale of *Golden Wand*, to be mentioned below (Hahn, 7) the king's son is changed into a dove and in consequence of the discovery of the secret is wounded by the sisters.

So then the king's daughter is left alone on the top of a rock to be married to such a husband. A gentle breath of wind wafts the timid maiden down into a flowery valley where, refreshed, she sees a grove with a clear spring of water and a palace



adorned with fairylike splendour. Even in the description we seem to hear the note of the folktale: the walls of the rooms are so resplendent with gold, that even night seems like daylight (v, 1). Similarly, in a modern Greek story, in the palace of the dragon, to whom the king's youngest daughter is surrendered, 'the sleeping apartment is so splendid, that it gives light by night' (B. Schmidt, *Gr. Märchen*, 94). No man is to be seen; she only hears the voices of the invisible servants, who carry out all her commands, and fulfil all her wishes. This also is a common feature of the folktale (Rohde, *Der gr. Roman*, 195 note): so in the tale of *The Young Giant* (Grimm, 90): 'after he had sat there a while, all at once the door opened, and a large table came in, and on the table wine and roast meats and much dainty food, all of which had placed itself there, for there was no one to set it on table. Then the chairs moved up of themselves, but there came no people, until suddenly he saw fingers, which handled the knives and forks and put food upon the plates; but this was all that he could see'. Then the invisible husband warns the king's daughter not to admit her two sisters, who are trying to find her; but as she cannot resist the desire to see them, he warns her earnestly and repeatedly at least not to listen to their insinuations nor to endeavour to gain sight of his form and features; if she does this he must leave her, and the child, which she carries in her womb, will be mortal; but if she represses her curiosity, it will be divine. However, the insinuations of the sisters and curiosity gain the upper hand; she inquires about what is forbidden, and what was foretold comes to pass. The curiosity which leads to doing something forbidden, with the result that previous good fortune ceases and misfortune breaks in, is a common feature of folktales, e.g. the forbidden opening of a shut door, in Grimm (3, *Our Lady's Child*; 46, *Fitcher's Bird*; cp. ii, p. 341, 394). Similarly, the opening of the chest containing Erichthonius brings misfortune to the daughters of Cecrops. In a Hanoverian version (Grimm, 87) the king's son is changed into a raven; in the king's daughter's bedroom is a mirror, in which she is able to see everything that goes on in the castle where she had lived; but she is forbidden to allow her maid to look in it. So the king's daughter always carries the key about with her; but on one occasion she leaves it in the door of the room, the maid goes in and looks in the mirror. The raven tears her in pieces and says to the king's daughter: 'Now you must go forth and serve seven years and do the work of seven maids' (Grimm, ii, p. 379). There are also many points of resemblance between the Roman tale and that of *Cinderella* (Grimm, 21), in which the two elder and less beautiful sisters treat the youngest with malicious cunning, but in the end are duly punished. The following occurs in a Hessian version: After Cinderella has lived happily with her husband for a year, he sets out on a journey, leaving behind all the keys, with strict injunctions that she is not to open a certain chamber. When he has gone, she is persuaded by her wicked sister to unlock the forbidden chamber, in which they find a well of blood. When lying ill after the birth of a son she is thrown into this well by her sister, who takes her place in bed; but the guards hear her cries, save the real queen, and the false one is punished

(Grimm, ii, p. 364). The frequent mention of the expected child in Apuleius, and of the influence which the constancy of the mother is supposed to exercise upon its nature, permits us to conjecture that in the ancient tale the spell also had power over the child, if the mother did not stand firm, and that it was destined to come into the world in the same form as its enchanted father. The latter impresses upon her that she may preserve him, herself and her little one from the misfortune that threatens them, if she remains firm (v, 13).

The king's daughter, in despair at the result of her curiosity, tries to drown herself, but in vain ; the river bears her safely to the bank. She then wanders about in search of her lost husband, and comes to a certain country, the king of which is the husband of one of her sisters. The latter allows herself to be deceived by the story that the husband desires her for his wife instead of the one who is repudiated (Psyche) ; she hastens to the rock, whence the west wind formerly wafted Psyche, but hurls herself headlong down to death. In the same manner the other sister is deceived by the youngest and punished for her malice and cunning.

In the tale adapted by Apuleius the repentant wanderer now evidently reaches the place where she atones for her error by hard service, severe tasks and renewed steadfastness, and redeems her beloved. In the Hanoverian story the king's daughter, who has brought about the separation from her husband by her carelessness, comes to a wicked woman, whom she has to serve for seven years and to do the work of seven maids (Grimm, ii, p. 380). In some of the tales that follow this hostile being is the mother of the husband. This was undoubtedly the case in the tale used by Apuleius ; Venus takes the place of the enchantress, who has transformed her son and put her hated daughter-in-law to severe tests, which finally bring about deliverance. But instead of the king's daughter seeking out her mother-in-law, with whom she at first expects to find her husband (cp. *Met.*, vi, 5), Apuleius makes Venus seek her ; she at first hides herself from her, fearing discovery, but finally voluntarily gives herself up. The sole object of all this is to make room for ornamental episodes, in harmony with the taste of the writer and his contemporaries, who probably regarded them as great improvements on the too simple narrative, while to us they rather seem to disfigure it. When Psyche attempts suicide, Apuleius has already inserted a totally unnecessary episode about Pan (v, 24) ; then follows (v, 28-vi, 10) the account how Venus learns of her son's marriage and violently reproaches him ; how Ceres and Juno in vain attempt to appease her : how Psyche in vain implores them to protect and grant her a refuge ; how Venus searches for her everywhere, whereupon Psyche gives herself up and is handed over to the servants of Venus, Anxiety and Sorrow, to be tortured and scourged. This mythological padding is in part affected and frigid allegory, in part downright burlesque. Venus speaks to Amor as an enraged mother in comedy addresses a dissolute son, Ceres and Juno like two old gossips ; the marriage with Psyche is said to be invalid, because it took place at a country house without witnesses ; Mercury as public crier of the gods, offers a reward of seven kisses

from Venus to the finder of Psyche. In one passage, certainly, we are reminded of the popular tale, where the wandering princess in the temple of Ceres arranges in order the sheaves, garlands, and scythes that were lying about in confusion. Similarly, in German tales good maidens and women, during their wanderings often in desolate solitudes, often, without being called upon lend a helping hand and thereby earn the thanks of kindly spirits.

From these unedifying episodes we return again to the story, stepping out as it were from an elaborate formal garden of the rococo period into the natural free life of the forest. The princess, to atone for her error and to release her husband, has to accomplish three difficult tasks. First, she has to sort out a heap of barley, wheat, millet, poppy seeds, peas, lentils, and beans before evening; ants perform the task for her. Next, she has to fetch wool from spiteful, savage sheep with golden fleeces; in despair she is about to throw herself into the river, when a reed whispers to her to wait till the sheep rub their wool off on to the trees; then she will be able to collect it. Lastly, she has to fetch water from a spring (in Apuleius called Stygian), which flows in a fearful, inaccessible ravine and is guarded by dragons; an eagle fills her crystal vessel with the desired water.

The first task is exactly the same as that imposed upon *Cinderella* (Grimm, 21) by her stepmother, in which doves render assistance. The second task recurs in the Indian tale of the woodcutter's daughter, and frequently also in German tales. In *The White Snake* (Grimm, 17) all the suitors of the king's daughter have to perform three tasks: if they cannot, they have to die. One of these consisted in picking up ten sackfuls of millet seed scattered over the grass, between sunset and sunrise; this task is also performed by thousands of ants. These tasks are especially characteristic of the 'Bride-wager class', in which the suitors stake their heads against the bride, who can only be won by the accomplishment of difficult tasks (Hahn, p. 54; cp. ii, p. 323). Also in the Greek tale of *The King's Son and the Beardless Man* ants sort out for the king's son four horse-loads of wheat, barley, spelt, and maize, all mixed together, in half a day. I am not acquainted with an exact analogy to the second task; I will return to the third later. The princess may have earned the gratitude of the animals who assist her, as in so many tales (including the Indian), by taking pity on them or rendering them assistance (in Hahn formula 32, *The Grateful Animals*, p. 57). Apuleius may have omitted this; it suits his narrative better that all nature should assist the chosen of the god of love. Perhaps it did not occur in the tale;<sup>1</sup> the animals may assist the unhappy maiden out of compassion, and similarly the inanimate beings, the reed and (later) the tower, from which she intends to throw herself down. 'The sun, the moon, and the stars above all possess a spiritual nature, and when they speak to those in distress and give them presents which deliver them out of their trouble, they appear as divine beings, objects of worship (quorum opibus aperte juvantur,

<sup>1</sup> Cosquin, who considers (*Cont. pop. de la L.*, ii, p. 230) that in the original tale Psyche must have done the animals a good turn to account for the assistance rendered her, supposes a Buddhist version.



Caesar, *B.G.*, vi, 21), as in ancient times they actually were to the Germans. Trees and springs, whose worship was of long continuance, are also instinct with life. The spring, which leaps sparkling over the stones, warns the children not to drink of it; if they do they will be transformed' (Grimm). Thus in the Roman tale the spring guarded by the dragon cries out to the princess: 'Begone! What are you doing? Have a care! What do you want? Mind what you do! Flee, else you will die!' (vi, 14; cp. the warning of the lake in the tale of *The Seven-headed Snake*, B. Schmidt, *Gr. Märchen*, 119).

To these three tasks now succeeds a fourth. The king's daughter has to descend into the underworld and fetch up a little beauty-ointment from the goddess of the dead. This may be only a variation of the third task, borrowed by Apuleius from another version of the tale, for we naturally only expect three tasks, according to fairy tale precedent; it is also possible that the fourth task was in this case exceptionally added, as a last, most difficult task, aggravated by three temptations. The water of the Stygian spring, like the beauty-ointment (*i.e.* a means of renewing youth) reminds us of the water of life frequently mentioned in German tales (Grimm, 97). Just as the tower, from which the king's daughter in the old tale intends to throw herself down, instructs her how to obtain what she desires, so does a dwarf in the German tale: 'It springs from a well in the court of an enchanted castle, but you cannot make your way thither, unless I give you an iron rod and two small loaves of bread. With the rod strike three times on the iron gate of the castle, and it will spring open; inside lie two lions, with mouths wide open; but if you throw in a loaf to each they will be quiet; then hasten and fetch some of the water of life, before it strikes twelve, else the door will close and you will be shut in'. The prince does as he is told, but, finding in a room a beautiful newly-made bed, he cannot help lying down upon it to rest. 'So he lay down and went to sleep; when he awoke, it was striking a quarter to twelve. Then he sprang up in alarm, ran to the well, drew some water in a cup which stood hard by, and hurried off. But when he was going out of the iron gate it struck twelve, and the door shut so violently that it took off a piece of his heel'. Exactly in the same manner in the ancient tale dangers and temptations stand in the way of the performance of the undertaking, and exactly in the same manner, at the last moment, after the greatest difficulty has been surmounted, the attempt is threatened with failure. On her way to the palace of the god of the dead the king's daughter has to take in each hand a cake and barley meal, honey and wine, and in her mouth two copper coins. Three times she is tempted to let the cake fall; if she does, she will have to remain in the underworld; for then she will be unable to quiet Cerberus, when going in and coming out. She first meets a lame ass laden with wood, whose driver, also lame, begs her to lift up the logs of wood that have fallen off. While crossing the river of the dead (when Charon himself has to take the coins out of her mouth) a dead old man swims after the boat, stretching out his putrefied hands and entreating that he may be taken on board. On the opposite shore are seated some old women at the loom, who



beg her to lend them a hand. She successfully overcomes all these temptations. She is invited by the goddess of the dead to take part in a sumptuous banquet; but she is forbidden to take anything but a piece of bread, which she is obliged to eat sitting on the ground. She obtains what she desires and makes her way back without any accident; but when she reaches the upper world, although forbidden to do so, she cannot resist the temptation of opening the box, from which a narcotic vapour ascends and plunges her into a deathlike sleep. But her lover, now set free by her loyalty and steadfastness, hurries up and brings her back to life.

The conclusion, in which the marriage of Amor and Psyche is celebrated in heaven, is another example of low comedy (*Met.*, vi, 22-24). Psyche bears a daughter Voluptas. Here also it is clearly shown that Apuleius in his narrative has amalgamated two heterogeneous elements, allegory and popular tale; for where the expected child is mentioned it is repeatedly spoken of as a boy (v, 12, 13), certainly in accordance with the fairy tale—a fact evidently forgotten by Apuleius.

It can hardly be accidental that there are no ancient works of art which illustrate the narrative of Apuleius.<sup>1</sup> Classical art, like classical poetry, disdained to borrow its subjects from the folktale. Certainly it might have done so, after the tale had been introduced into literature by Apuleius (the date of the Aristophontes mentioned by Fulgentius Planciades appears to be unknown); but at that time the productive power of plastic art was practically extinct. If any proof were needed that the folktale is rich in motives admirably adapted for representations, Raphael would have furnished it in the frescoes of the villa Farnesina and in another cycle of extremely graceful representations; Thorvaldsen also has represented the chief scenes in a number of sketches to be seen in his museum at Copenhagen.

In my opinion, the evidence from German parallels clearly shows that a genuine folktale forms the basis of the Apuleian narrative. Experts will doubtless be able to make this evidence more complete. Of the kindred stories mentioned in Grimm (ii, p. 381) the Dutch (*Wodana*, 3) is unknown to me; the Swedish (Grimm, ii, p. 509) is only distantly related. I did not become acquainted with the others until I had completed my attempt at reconstruction. As they in all essentials confirm it (most of them especially in the feature that the lover or husband of the heroine is changed into a snake), I shall give their contents so far as it is necessary, in order to show the thorough general agreement in spite of manifold differences in points of detail. These differences are due to that jumbling together of features and motives from different tales which is peculiar to the composition of the folktale.

<sup>1</sup> Heydemann (*Eros und Psyche* in the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1869, taf. 10) considers the sarcophagus there represented, which perhaps depends upon the same source as the narrative of Apuleius, to be older than the latter. I am not acquainted with the carved stones there mentioned. I have been unable to consult M. Collignon's *Essai sur les monuments grecs et romains relatifs au mythe Psyché* (Paris, 1877), where two carved stones are represented (according to Cosquin, *Contes*, ii, p. 224), the subjects of which are said to be directly borrowed from the narrative of Apuleius: Psyche sorting the grains with the assistance of the ants and receiving the water of the Styx from the eagle.

Several stories in the *Pentamerone* of Basile are akin. In 15 (*The Snake*), a snake woos a princess, and having performed three tasks which were considered impossible is perforce accepted by the father as a son-in-law. While the pair are in the bridal-chamber, the king looks through the keyhole and sees the snake transformed into a handsome young man; he breaks in and burns the snake's skin that is lying on the floor. But the young man changes himself into a dove (see above, p. 104), which injures its head while flying through the window. The king's daughter wanders about in search of her husband. She learns from a fox what the birds in the forest are telling one another: that the king's son had been changed into a snake for seven years by a witch; that this period was almost over, when in consequence of the snake's skin being burnt he was changed again into a dove; that during his flight he had injured himself so severely that he was very near death; that the only remedy was to besmear his wounds with the blood of the birds who had told the story and with that of the fox. The fox procures the first for the king's daughter, who kills the fox by cunning and obtains the second. She then repairs to her sick husband and heals him, and is happily reunited to him.

In the *Padlock* (19) the youngest of the three daughters of a poor mother becomes the wife of an enchanted prince; her envious sisters persuade her to disobey his commands, whereupon he repudiates her. She wanders about, till she bears a boy, whose birth brings about her husband's disenchantment. In the *Golden Root* (44) Parmetella, the youngest of the three daughters of a poor gardener, finds her way into a subterranean enchanted palace, where she is wedded to a Moor, who at night assumes his proper form, that of a beautiful youth. When Parmetella spies upon him in this form, he drives her away, at the same time telling her that his enchantment has been prolonged for seven years through her curiosity. Parmetella meets a fairy, who gives her advice and the means of protection during her years of wandering. After seven years, when her iron shoes are in holes, she arrives at a house, wherein dwells a man-eating witch with seven daughters spinning, the mother and sisters of her husband. The fairy's advice saves her from being eaten, but she is again threatened by the same fate, unless she is able to perform three difficult tasks imposed upon her. Her husband, however, takes pity upon her and assists her. At his command ants sort out a mixed heap of various seeds, and birds fill twelve bed-ticks with feathers. Lastly, the witch sends Parmetella to her sister to fetch musical instruments for the marriage festival of her son, in reality that she may be put to death. Her husband gives her a little loaf, a bundle of hay, and a stone; with the first she quiets a dog, which would eat her, with the second a horse which would trample on her, and with the stone she keeps a door steady which is always banging to and fro. She escapes all dangers and obtains the instruments, but on her way back is unable to refrain from opening the box which contains them; whereupon they all fly into the air. Finally, however, she is reunited to her husband, who reconciles her with his seven sisters; the old witches and the daughter of the second who is intended for his bride perish.

Amongst the tales of the Comtesse d'Aulnoy, *Le Serpentin vert* (the green dragon) is an originally kindred story, which, however, has adopted many features from Apuleius (*Cabinet des fées*, iii, 174-227). A king has two twin daughters, one of whom has been enchanted by a wicked fairy and is terribly ugly. She retires into solitude, and after a number of adventures detailed at great length in the author's manner, marries a king whom she has never seen; she agrees to the condition that she will never attempt to see him until the time of his atonement is over; as a warning she is obliged to read the story of Psyche. But her mother and sister, when on a visit, induce her to break her oath and to spy upon her husband by night. She recognizes in him a green dragon by which she had formerly been terrified, which now immediately disappears. She then falls into the power of the wicked fairy who has enchanted her; she makes her put on tight iron shoes and sets her to perform three difficult tasks. She has to spin off a distaff full of cobwebs, to plait fishing nets of the web, and lastly, to climb a mountain with a millstone round her neck, to fill a basket with four-leaved clover, and to draw a pitcher of marvellous water from a fountain guarded by giants in a deep valley. She accomplishes all these tasks with the aid of a kindly fairy and the water restores her beauty. After she has descended to the underworld to fetch the water of life from Proserpine, she is released with her husband. In *Le Mouton* (the Ram; *Cab. d. f.*, iii, 431) compared by Grimm (ii, p. 493) a king is so enraged with the youngest of his three daughters that he orders her to be put to death. She is saved and lives with a prince, who is changed into a ram. The writer has invented the denouement. The princess, while on a visit to her father, forgets her ram, who dies of grief. *Gracieuse et Percinet* (ii, p. 5) need only be mentioned, since the heroine has to perform three difficult tasks for a step-mother. In *L'Oiseau bleu* (ii, p. 67) the king's son, who has been changed into a blue bird, is wounded with knives through the agency of hostile beings, and believes his innocent sweetheart to be an accessory to the crime. After a difficult and dangerous journey, she finds and marries him, after having bought permission from his betrothed, by wonderful gifts, to be allowed to approach him.

In the Magyar tale of the *Snake-prince* (Gaal, p. 364), it is predicted to the prince, who has come into the world in a snake's skin, that he will be able to put it off on his wedding night for the first time and every night afterwards; but he must put it on again every morning. His wife burns it while he is asleep, whereupon he curses her and prays that her shoes may not fall from her feet and that she may not bring forth a child until he has become reconciled to her. He then leaves her, and after long wandering arrives at an island, marries the king's daughter, but lives unhappily with her. Meanwhile his first wife wanders about the world in search of him; she first comes to the moon, who knows nothing of him, then to the sun, and lastly to the wind, who conducts her to him. By presents of gold, which the sun, moon, and wind have given her, she persuades the queen to allow her access to the king twice at night, but to no purpose, since he is always in a deep sleep caused by a soporific draught. At last, a faithful servant changes the sleeping draught



for another ; the king becomes reconciled to his wife, who bears a beautiful boy, who comes into the world aged six years.

Kindred tales are also found amongst the Greek and Albanian, which exhibit equally remarkable agreement with the German. In *The Golden Wand* (Hahn 7, from Epirus), a merchant trading with India has three daughters, the youngest of whom begs him to bring her a golden wand thence. Now Golden Wand is the name of an Indian prince, who gives the merchant a letter, a ring, and a basin for his youngest daughter. When she fills the basin with water, throws the ring into it, and cries three times, 'Come, come, come, my golden wand', he comes flying in the form of a dove, washes in the water, and is changed into a man. The sisters play the spy and become jealous of the youngest. The eldest calls the dove, but does not notice that there is a knife in the basin, with which the dove cuts itself and then flies off. The youngest sister now journeys to India to find her lover ; on the way she hears from a bird of prey and a dove that he can only be healed with an ointment which must be made from the flesh of both birds. She shoots them, prepares the ointment, and heals the king's son. In *Filek Chelebi* (Hahn 73, from Crete) the youngest of three poor sisters marries a Moor, who at night is transformed into a handsome young man. On the advice of her sisters she plays the spy and surprises him in this form ; he declares to her that her curiosity has put off his disenchantment which was near at hand. She is obliged to have three pairs of iron shoes and three golden apples made, to ascend three mountains, and, rolling the apples before her, to make her way to the sisters of Filek Chelebi who live at the summit ; after she has finished her wanderings, she brings her child into the world and is united to her husband, who is now set free from his enchantment. *Zi, Ba, Achmet Chelebi* (71) is very similar. The *Snake-Prince* (Albanian, from the island of Poros, Hahn, 100) corresponds exactly to the Magyar tale (and also to a Servian and a Wallachian (Hahn, ii, p. 311).

The following Indian tale, taken down by an Englishman from the mouth of a washerwoman at Benares, was communicated by him to the *Asiatic Journal*, xxxvii (1842), p. 114 ;<sup>1</sup> a German translation in *Ausland* (February, 1843) appeared in H. Brockhaus's *Die Märchensammlung des Somadeva Bhatta aus Kashmir* (ii, 191-211). Although it still survives in the mouth of the people, Benfey considers it to be very old (*Pantschatantra*, ii, p. 255).

In a certain Eastern kingdom there lived a poor man named Nur-Singh, who supported himself and his wife and daughter Tulisa by wood-cutting. Tulisa, who was beautiful and of an age to marry, went into the forest to gather wood ; she came to a dilapidated well, from which issued a voice, which called her by name and asked her, 'Wilt thou be my wife ?' The question was repeated three times. At last she answered tremblingly that only her father could decide ; whereupon the voice bade her summon him. Nur-Singh obeyed the summons, and persuaded by the promise of great wealth, consented to his daughter's marriage. When the wedding day drew

<sup>1</sup> [This is translated from the German, the original English not being available at the time ; a few alterations have since been made after consulting it, Tr.]



near, splendid wedding presents were conveyed by unseen hands to the bride's cottage. Having adorned herself, she repaired with her parents to the well ; then the voice called upon the father to place a ring that was floating in the air upon Tulisa's finger. After the three had partaken of a sumptuous meal in a splendid pavilion a palanquin appeared, which the bride entered with fear and hesitation, and unseen hands bore her away ; her parents followed and came to a valley, where stood a large palace, through the door of which the litter disappeared. They then returned home with lightened hearts.

Soon after his daughter's marriage the woodcutter became rich and aroused his neighbours' envy, who falsely accused him before the king ; he was thrown into prison and condemned to death. But on the morning of the day on which he was to die, he and the king alone were left alive in the city ; all the inhabitants had been killed by snakes. The king entreated the woodcutter to call his subjects back to life ; the woodcutter called upon his son-in-law, whereupon the voice ordered the snakes to revive the dead by antidotes known to them alone. This was done ; and the woodcutter was handsomely rewarded and set free.

Meanwhile, Tulisa lived very happily with her husband, but only saw him at night-time. She was not allowed to leave the palace, but it was royally furnished and provided her with all kinds of recreation ; she also had serving-maids, who amused her by playing on the lute and telling stories.<sup>1</sup> On one occasion, seeing a squirrel pursued by another animal, she drove the latter away. After some time, however, she felt a great longing for the society of her fellow-creatures. One day, looking out of the window, she saw an old woman, who addressed her with flattering words and begged her to let her in ; Tulisa at last allowed herself to be persuaded to let down a sheet from the window, up which the woman climbed with extraordinary nimbleness.<sup>2</sup> In the course of conversation the old woman asked Tulisa whether her husband had ever eaten from the same plate with her ; when she said no, the old woman suggested that she must demand it as a token of the respect due to her from her husband. Tulisa did so, when her husband appeared at evening ; he apparently granted her request but in reality ate nothing. After some time Tulisa saw another old woman before the window, and allowed her to climb up to her room like the other. This old woman asked Tulisa whether her husband had ever chewed a betel-leaf and offered it to her to eat (a delicate mark of attention amongst lovers). Tulisa was obliged to say no to this also, and allowed herself to be persuaded to ask him the reason ; but he evaded the question. Finally, a third old woman appeared, who asked her whether her husband had ever told her his name. Tulisa was persuaded to ask him to tell her what it was, as a proof of his affection. He entreated her not to insist, since it would bring destruction upon her, but in vain. At last, he led her to the bank of a river, and having again asked her not to persist in her request, slowly entered the water,

<sup>1</sup> Apuleius, *Met.*, v, 15 : jubet citharam loqui : psallitur ; tibias agere : sonatur ; choros canere : cantatur.

<sup>2</sup> This reminds us of the wicked sisters in the ancient story.

repeating his entreaty until only his head and shoulders were visible. When she still persisted, he cried out, 'My name is Basnak Dau !' At the same moment a snake's head appeared on the surface of the water and sank into the stream.

Tulisa stood again in her old ragged clothes, the palace had disappeared, her parents were still living, as poor as before, in their old hut. Their complaints and reproaches increased her unhappiness, but not so much as her own remorse and longing for all that she had lost. Once she fell asleep while gathering wood, and when she woke up she heard two squirrels talking. From their conversation she learned that her husband's mother had lost all her strength, since he had become king of the snakes ; but that she would recover it, if his mortal wife could be persuaded to ask him his name ; this had been accomplished by her confederate, Sarkasukis, in the form of an old woman. The squirrel whom Tulisa had saved then asked if there were no means of restoring his power to Basnak Dau. The other answered, 'Tulisa must wander eastwards, until she comes to a wide river, which is full of snakes ; she must swim across and on the other side seek for the nest of the bird Huma, and lay one of its eggs in her bosom until it is hatched. Then she must offer to serve in the palace of the queen her mother-in-law ; there heavy tasks will be imposed upon her, and if she cannot perform them she will be devoured by snakes. But when the egg is hatched, the bird, who brings kingly power to all who possess it, will peck out the eyes of the green snake, which is always coiled round the queen's neck. Then Basnak Dau will recover his kingdom and become reconciled to his wife.'

Tulisa, undeterred by these dangers, boldly entered upon her journey, and reached the river swarming with snakes. She had provided herself with some earthen jars and, tying some bamboos together, she laced them across with twigs and laid a quantity of grass upon the top. Using this as a raft, she crossed in safety to the other side ; some squirrels sprang before her to encourage her. She was then guided by squirrels and bees to the Huma's nest, from which she took an egg and laid it in her bosom. At last she came to the queen's palace. She was conducted to her presence, and found her lying on soft cushions, with the green snake round her neck. The queen agreed to take her into her service, at the same time telling her that if she could not perform her commands she would have to die. She gave Tulisa a crystal vase, and told her to collect in it the scent of a thousand flowers in a paved court surrounded by high walls. A swarm of bees came flying along, each bringing a little bag with scent, which it dropped into the vase. On the next day, she was given a large pitcher full of seeds and told to make a splendid ornament from them. A large number of squirrels came and put precious stones into the pitcher, and took out the same number of grains. Tulisa also heard from the squirrels that their common enemy, Sarkasukis, was in the neighbourhood, and that he could only be prevented from entering the castle by burning certain herbs. The squirrels, however, would be obliged to retire, and she would have to depend upon her own vigilance. Tulisa burnt herbs incessantly as she had been told, until the young Huma

came forth from its egg. It grew up with incredible rapidity, suddenly flew on to the queen's shoulder, and picked out the green snake's eyes. The queen, knowing that her power was at an end, cried out aloud: Sarkasukis, in his true form as an ugly demon, fell to the ground, and long processions of genii, squirrels, and snakes escorted their rightful master into the palace. Tulisa, now queen of a kingdom of spirits, was reunited to him for ever; her parents recovered their former wealth.

A Bessarabian story also, connected with the name of the emperor Trajan (of whom the inhabitants tell all kinds of stories), reminds us of the popular tale, as already pointed out by A. von Haxthausen in his studies on the internal condition of Russia (ii, 460): 'Beyond the Danube lived a king named Trajan, who loved a queen who lived on this side of the river, named Bielayakeyina (the white princess). He rode over to her every evening, and left her before sunrise. But the princess wanted to see him by daylight. His horse always neighed before the sun rose, and as a signal for his departure. One day she ordered some oats to be thrown in front of the horse, who forgot to neigh. But when the sun rose, horse and rider disappeared like smoke.

My list of parallels to the story in Apuleius being necessarily inadequate, I expressed the hope that some specialist would complete it, and Professor Adalbert Kuhn (died 1881) kindly consented to do so. I have made no alteration in the communication with which he favoured me, especially as only a few of the tales known to me are referred to by him.

I begin by remarking that I have confined myself only to two groups of tales, closely related to that used by Apuleius, in order to show more clearly that it is only a question of the use of a popular tale. In both groups we have a man, usually changed into an animal, wedded to a young maiden, who in spite of his terrifying form, remains constant in her affection. In the first group the betrayal of the secret postpones his release from enchantment, and brings about a fresh trial of patience and love; in the second, as a rule it directly furnishes the means of release. The introductory accounts of the manner of the betrothal or of the origin of the change of form may be disregarded, since they are not essential. In the first group the Scandinavian (Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic) recensions are decidedly most akin to Apuleius; the Danish in particular agrees in the most essential features. I will first give a list of the tales used by me.

I. 1. *Danish*, in Grundtvig's *Gamle Danske Minder*, i, 100-115: *Den lille hvide hund* (the little white dog).

2. *Swedish*, in Hyllén-Cavallius and Stephens, *Svenska folksagor och äfventyr*, i, 2, p. 323: *Jungfrun som såg på sin käraste vid ljus* (the maiden who looked on her beloved with a light [candle, lamp]). Three versions: A. *Ulfprinsen* (the wolf-prince; from Södermanland, with three variants from Småland and Finland). B. *Prins Hatt under jorden* (Prince Hat under the earth; from Småland with a variant from Västergötland). C. *Den halde hunden* (the lame dog; from Småland, with a variant from the same province).

3. *Norwegian*, in Asbjörnsen and Moe, *Norwegische Volksmärchen* ii, 102, no. 11: *East of the Sun and West of the Moon*.
4. *Icelandic*, in Jón Arnason *Islenzkar thjóðsögur og æfintýri*, ii, 334: *Sigurdr Kóngsson* (Siegfried the king's son).
5. *Holsteinish*, in Müllenhoff, *Schleswig-holst. Sagen*, p. 385, no. 3: *Der weisse Wolf* (the white wolf).
6. *Bohemian*, in Waldau, *Böhmisches Märchenbuch*, p. 160: *Der weisse Bär* (the white bear).
7. *Greek*, in J. G. Hahn, *Griech. und alban. Märchen*, ii, 67, no. 73: *Filek Chelebi* (a Moor takes the place of the animal).<sup>1</sup>
8. *Albanian*: A. *ib.*, ii, 116, no. 100: *Das Schlangenkind* (the snake-child), and B. *ib.*, ii, 130, no. 102: *Taubendiebe* (dove thieves). Cp. further C., *ib.*, i, 97, no. 7.
9. *Wallachian*, in Schott, *Wallachische Märchen*, no. 23: *Trandafir* (a pumpkin takes the place of the animal).
10. *Neapolitan*, in Basile, *Pentamerone*, i, 19, p. 246: *The Padlock*, agreeing mostly with no. 7; cp. also *ib.*, ii, 168, no. 43: *Pinto-smauto*.
11. *Servian*, in Wuk, *Serbische Märchen*, no. 10, p. 82 (another snake-bridegroom).
12. *Transylvanian*, in Haltrich, *Siebenbürgische Märchen*, p. 228, no. 43: *Borstenkind* (bristle-child).
13. *Indian*, in Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, i, 255: *Tulisa*.
14. *Kalmuck*, in Jülg, *Kalmükische Märchen*, p. 39, tale 7.
15. *Gaelic*, in the extract from Campbell, given by R. Köhler in Benfey's *Orient und Occident*, no. iii, 2, 114 and no. xii, 2, 126.
16. *Scotch*, in Chambers's *Popular Rhymes* (first ed.), p. 75, *The Red Bull of Norway*, in the third ed. with the variant of the *Glass Mountain*, according to R. Köhler on Campbell (*loc. cit.*, xii.).
17. *The Harz*, in A. Ey, *Harzmärchen*, p. 9.
- The Lark* in Grimm (88), already compared (p. 103), is not further cited here.
- II. 1. C. and T. Colshorn, *Märchen*, p. 64, no. 20: *Vom klin-kesklanken Lowesblatt* (cp. 3).
2. *Ib.*, p. 139, no. 32: *Der verwunschene Frosch* (the enchanted frog).
3. Müller and Schambach, *Niedersächsische Sagen und Märchen*, p. 265, no. 5: *Das klingende, singende Blatt* (the ringing, singing leaf).
4. *Ib.*, p. 263, no. 4: *Die Rose* (the rose).
5. *Holsteinish*, Müllenhoff, p. 384, no. ii: *Vom goldenen Klin-gelklangel* (cp. 3).
6. *Suabian*: in Meier, *Schwäbische Märchen*, p. 202, no. 57: *Drei Rosen auf einem Stiel* (three roses on one stem).
7. *Tirolese* in Zingerle, i, p. 182, no. 30: *Die singende Rose* (the singing rose).
8. *Ib.*, ii, p. 173: *Die Schlange* (the snake).
9. *Ib.*, p. 391: *Der Bär* (the bear).
10. *Flemish*: in Wolf, *Wodana*, ii, 61: *Roosken zonder doornen* (the rose without thorns).

<sup>1</sup> B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen*, 9: *Prinz Krebs* (Prince Crab) and 10: *Die Schönste* (the most beautiful maiden) may be added.



11. *Servian*: in Wut, p. 77, no. 9: *The Snake-bridegroom*.

12. *Russian*: in Benfey, *Orient und Occident*, ii, 539, from Afanasieff's collection, communicated by Schiefner.

13. *Indian*: Panchatantra, i, 8, in Benfey, ii, 144: *The enchanted Brahmin's son*.

I will now compare the individual features with the narrative of Apuleius.

'A king and a queen (merchant, peasant, etc.) have three daughters, the youngest of whom is the most beautiful and the most amiable': cp. Swedish, i, 2 B; German, ii, 1, 2, ii, 3, 4, 5, ii, 7, 9; Greek, 7, 8 C; Flemish, ii, 10; Gaelic, i, 15. Owing to the special elaboration of the story in the Icelandic version there are four (i, 4), in the Norwegian many daughters (i, 3). The elder sisters are proud and haughty (Swedish, i C, Scotch, i, 16). Conversely, in the Tirolese story (ii, 9) the eldest sister is good, the younger proud and wicked. The end of the tale ii, 1 recalls the former contrast. 'The elder daughters are married to kings, the youngest to a monster (or animal)'. Cp. Swedish (i C), where the eldest desires for her husband a king with golden hair and beard, the second one with silver hair and beard, while the youngest is content to obtain only a lame dog. In nearly all the tales the bridegroom of the youngest takes the form of an animal. The Swedish story, i, 2 A (variant), ii, 11, i, 11, 13, ii, 13, i, 8 A, ii, 8, and B. Schmidt (*Gr. Märchen*, 10), mention the snake or the dragon (*vipereum malum, immanis coluber, multimodis voluminibus serpens*).

The manner in which the bride is handed over to the promised bridegroom is nearly always different in the above from that in Apuleius: in the first group the animal himself fetches away the bride (only in a Swedish version, i, 2, B, the king leads her out under the hazel bush amidst the lamentations of her companions). Elsewhere a similar leading out is very common in tales and needs no further proof.

Equally unknown to the cycle of tales compared is the heroine's being wafted down by the wind, an incident which dropped out automatically, when once her being taken to the top of the rock was omitted. In place of this the animal and the maiden, after they have entered a thick forest, suddenly sink into the depths of the earth (i, 1), or come to a mountain ravine (i, 2 A) or a hole in the earth (i, 2 A, variant 1; i, 2 B, variant); in i, 3 the bear knocks upon a rock, which opens. As soon as they enter, a splendid palace appears, in which everything is of glittering gold and silver (i, 2 A, B, C; i, 1, 3, 10, ii, 6), and the table sumptuously spread with food and wine (i, 1, 3, 10, 17, ii, 4, 6); the invisible handmaids who perform all Psyche's wishes, appear in i, 3, where the bear gives the maiden a silver bell, which she only has to ring and immediately everything she desires is before her.

In the majority of the tales compared the bride is forbidden to reveal the change of her husband's form; in i, 2 C, 7, 8 C, 10 she is persuaded by her sisters to do so (in ii, 6, the elder sister persuades her to infringe another prohibition); here also jealousy is as a rule the cause. The triple temptation in Apuleius occurs in i, 2 B, 4, 10; as Apuleius utilizes the awakening maternal feelings to entice her

to infringe the prohibition, so in i, 2 B the stepmother attacks the young wife on this her weak side, by praising the children, who are playing at their mother's feet. Apuleius has : *O nos beatas, quas infantis aurei nutrimenta laetabunt ! qui si parentum, ut oportet, pulchritudini responderet, prorsus Cupido nascetur ;* in the Swedish tale : *hon tillade, at de säckert bråddes uppå sitt fäderne, och att Prins Hat mände vara en mycket fager ungersvenn* (she added that they no doubt took after their father and that Prince Hat must be a very beautiful youth). The northern group, with the exception of the Icelandic, contain the feature, that the young wife is advised to look at her lover by a light while he is asleep ; this she does, like Psyche in Apuleius, and wakes him, forgetting all warnings through the heavenly sight. While i, 1 A, B and 3 introduce a wax or tallow candle, from which a drop or snuff falls upon the loved one, in i, 2 C it is the lamp, but the catastrophe is brought about by the young wife looking at him for three nights in succession. The Icelandic tale (i, 4), instead of the kindling of a light, speaks of swinging a stone over the sleeper's head. But the kindling of the light is found in the Neapolitan (i, 10), where, however, the story is somewhat differently worked out.

From this point most of the above tales take a different turn from the narrative of Apuleius. The commonest variation is that the abandoned wife wanders through the world in search of her vanished husband and arrives at three different stages, where she finds sympathy and assistance ; having found her lover again, at the moment when he is celebrating his marriage to a fresh bride, she persuades her with gifts to allow her to pass three nights in succession in her lover's chamber. Finally, she succeeds in recalling the past to his memory and is reunited to him. The Danish story (i, 1), on the other hand, agrees throughout with Apuleius, as will be seen from the following extract.

When her lover awakes, he says to her : ' Now we must be separated for a long time ; you must go forth and leave your (three) children behind. You will be allowed to visit them, but you may not play with them '. A moment afterwards she was standing alone in a dark forest, in which she found her three children in three little houses. On reaching the first and second, she quietly looks on at them while they are playing ; but when she comes to the third and he rolls a golden apple towards her, she is unable to resist the temptation of rolling it back. At once the little white dog appears, and tells her she must go and serve the old witch who lives at the edge of the forest. She does so, and the witch, who is about to marry, sends her to her sister in the underworld, to fetch some musicians in a box. The dog now appears again and gives her advice ; she is to go straight on till she comes to a bridge, on which she is to put a loose plank in its place and then cross over ; after this, she is to hang the little door properly which swings on a single hinge, and go through, when she will come to the underworld ; in the court she will see a dog barking round a firkin of butter which is turned upside down, which she must set right ; the witch will offer her cake and wine, but she must neither eat nor drink. She does everything as she is told, and when the witch goes to fetch the musicians, she hides

the cake offered her in her wallet (*mave* = 'wallet' and 'stomach') and pours the wine over herself. When the old woman returns and asks, 'Cake, where art thou?' the cake replies, 'In the girl's *mave*', and the wine cries out 'Right down the girl'. The old woman now gives her the box and tells her not to open it; when the girl has gone the witch calls upon the dog, the little door, and the plank to bite and squeeze and push her into the water, but they refuse, since the girl has done them a kindness. So she gets back to the wood without accident, when she is overcome by the desire to know whether there really can be musicians in the box; she lifts up the lid a little, they fly out, but the little dog comes up and sends them in again. She takes them to the witch, who says, 'Now you shall prepare for the wedding'. The witch then gives her a card of black wool, which is to be washed white, and some linen to wash, amongst which is her lover's shirt with the three grease-spots. In the first and second tasks she is assisted by the little white dog. The witch, in her rage, bursts into a thousand pieces, the little white dog again becomes a handsome prince, and so on.

Thus the Danish story differs in the number of the tasks set (only three instead of the four in Apuleius), and also in their nature and order: however, in the washing of the white wool black we can recognize an echo of the collecting of the gold wool in Apuleius. But the descent into the underworld affords some striking parallels. As in Apuleius Psyche is given a box (*pyxis*) to fetch the beauty-ointment for Venus, so the deserted wife is sent with a box to the witch's sister in the underworld, to fetch musicians for the wedding. The quieting of Cerberus with the *polenta* may be compared with the propitiation of the dog by setting up the firkin that has fallen down. In Apuleius the tower warns Psyche neither to sit down nor to partake of the sumptuous banquet (*prandium opipare sumere*), in the Danish tale the little white dog gives a warning against taking cake or wine. As Psyche on her return is unable to restrain her curiosity and opens the box, from which a stupefying vapour ascends, which wraps her in Stygian sleep, from which she is awakened by Cupid, so here the wife opens the box, the musicians fly away, and are brought back by the little dog.

Two variants of the Swedish tale are attached to the Danish version. In i, 2 A var. 3 the wife on her wanderings meets an old woman, who gives her a ring, a cushion, and two hams. One of these she gives to a bear, who in return takes her over a large piece of water. She then comes to the palace of the evil witch and enters her service. She has first to sweep the floor till it is as white as snow; in this she is assisted by the wolf-prince, to whom in return she gives the ring; she is next sent to the witch's sister to hear tales (*för at höra sagor*). The prince again gives her good advice: she must give the cushion to the lattice that it may not squeeze her, and the second ham to the dogs, that they may not tear her to pieces. Thus she escapes all dangers, returns in safety, and the prince's deliverance takes place.

As to the second variant of i, 2 C, the editors state that it agrees with the text except in the conclusion, which, where the princess makes ready to search for her husband, agrees with the second part



of 14 B (*The King's Son and the Princess Singorra*). In this tale, which is found in two variants (of which A is entitled *The King's Son and Messeria*), a prince, like the princess in our tales, falls into the hands of a lady of the sea, who sets him to perform difficult tasks, which he does with the aid of her daughter (Messeria or Singorra). In 14 A he has (1) to wash black yarn white and white black; (2) to separate a barrel of wheat and a barrel of rye which are mixed together; (3) to cleanse an ox-stall of 100 oxen. After he has performed these tasks by the aid of Messeria, he is told to choose one of the daughters of the lady of the sea; he will then be allowed to return home. But Messeria has told him that the daughters of the lady of the sea would be changed into different animals, and that she would become a little cat. So he selects the right one; the lady of the sea then sends him to her sister, to fetch the wedding dress for the young bride. Messeria again advises him how to escape the dangers that threaten him; here the lattice-gate of the Danish tale recurs; two vultures, which he must quiet with pieces of meat, take the place of the dogs; similarly, he is forbidden to eat or drink anything from the sister's hands. He escapes all perils, obtains the box and opens it, when a shower of sparks shoots out, which he fastens up again with the assistance of Thumbings, and so on.

In no. 14 B the three tasks are different, the dangers which threaten him while fetching the wedding things identical or similar. Thus, he divides two cakes that he has taken with him between a bear and a wolf which threaten to gobble him up, but only seats himself on a particular (black) chair belonging to the witch, whereas Psyche is advised to sit only on the ground, touches nothing that is offered her and conceals them as in the Danish tale.

Consequently, in this case we have, in addition to the washing the yarn white, Psyche's first task, the separation of certain grains, then the quieting of the warders of the underworld with cakes, etc., the choice of a particular seat and abstaining from food and drink. Finally, the box and its opening recur.

Thus we find very essential features of the second part of the Roman tale preserved in the Scandinavian group; of the four tasks two are almost identical, one at least is akin to that in Apuleius, and the last, not yet referred to, the third in Apuleius, seems to me to have left its traces in the Icelandic tale. Psyche has to fetch water in an urn from the Stygian rock, but its enormous height and slipperiness (*saxum immani magnitudine procerum et inaccessa salebritate lubricum*), the wild rock-springs and fierce dragons, make her shrink back in terror; then the eagle of Zeus flies up and fetches her the water. Similarly, in the Icelandic tale, the young wife arrives at the third stage, an enormous mountain, whose steep ascent is as smooth as glass (the glass-mountain of other tales). Her helper furnishes her with frostnails for climbing and winds a cloth round her head, to prevent her seeing or hearing the marvels and horrors of the place. In this manner she successfully attains her end. Further, in a Polish tale in Lewestam (p. 117), a student is carried on to the mountain of glass by a hawk, which takes him for dead and sticks its claws into him; Çaktideva in *Kathāsaritsāgara* (p. 26, 30) is carried aloft by a bird to the golden city of the Vidjādharas, and



similarly in Conon (*Narrations*, 35) a shepherd who has descended a ravine, by a vulture. This makes it probable that Apuleius employed a similar feature in his own manner in the construction of the third task.

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Recently published sources have but little to add to the above. With the stories discussed under I three Italian tales are connected; no. 14 of the *Novelline di Santo Stefano, raccolte da Angelo de Gubernatis* (Turin, 1869); nos. 15 and 27 in the *Sicilianische Märchen, aus dem Volksmund gesammelt von Laura Gonzenbach* (Leipzig, 1870): also no. 2 in de Gubernatis may have originally belonged here. Of the tales discussed under II we have two remarkable variants in Nos. 9 and 77 of the Gonzenbach collection; a special class of this group is formed by the versions connected with no. 13, which have been discussed by Reinhold Köhler in his notes to no. 12 in Widter-Wolf's *Volksmärchen aus Venetien* (*Jahrb. für roman. und engl. Litt.*, vii), to which may be added Gonzenbach, nos. 42 and 43.

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The most recent and the most exhaustive survey of kindred folk-tales has been given by Emmanuel Cosquin, independently of the above, in his frequently quoted *Contes populaires de la Lorraine* (1886), in the notes to 63 (*Le loup blanc*, ii, 217-230) and 65 (*Firosette*, ib., 236-245), the wealth of material being increased by contributions from different countries; see also his *Essai sur l'origine et la propagation des contes populaires européens* (i, pp. xxii and xxxii).

On the other hand, Andrew Lang, in his introduction to the reprint of William Adlington's translation of *Cupid and Psyche* (1887), attempts to explain its similarity to so many tales of the most different peoples by the fact that the fundamental *motifs* of the narrative are founded partly upon universal human notions (mother-in-law's jealousy of daughter-in-law, punishment of curiosity, etc., p. xxxi), partly at least upon very widely spread ideas, such as that of the friendly assistance which animals can render to men (p. xxxviii); also the belief that living beings can descend into Hell and return safely, provided they have not tasted of the food of the dead, is found amongst the Ojibways and Maoris, in Melanesia and Finland, as well as in Greece (p. xxxvi). Lastly, the essential incident of the Apuleian tale, the prohibition to inquire after the husband's form, is derived by Lang from the imposition by belief or custom of 'a kind of marriage taboo', of certain restrictions on the intercourse of newly married couples, just as in ancient Sparta the young married man might only visit his wife by night (p. xlii).<sup>1</sup>

The last explanation is the least convincing. The world of the popular tale is throughout imaginary; not the least part of its charm, as well as of its character, is its complete independence of the premises of reality, indeed, its contrast to them. Also that motive has entirely the character of a fiction, not that of a reminiscence, however distorted, of something real.

Moreover, the fact that certain ideas are common to many or all peoples by no means justifies us in expecting to find them em-

<sup>1</sup> This is examined in detail by Lang in *Custom and Myth* (1884), pp. 64-86, which, however, is unknown to me.

ployed everywhere in an equal degree as motives of the popular tale. Perhaps we should rather expect the opposite, since in the case of each individual people they are connected with other ideas which are peculiar to it alone.

But lastly, the points of agreement in the tales of so many peoples of Asia and Europe are so numerous and substantial, that they can only be explained by the assumption of a common origin, and Benfey's view, that they for the most part come from India, has rightly been widely accepted.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that customs and ideas, of so singular a kind that their recurrence would seem to be impossible unless they were transferred, are found in countries in different parts of the earth, between which there can never have been communication (Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, pp. 22-27). This fact, however, can do no more than make individual striking similarities in the fictions of the most different stocks appear spontaneous,<sup>2</sup> but cannot explain the thorough agreement in the principal motives and their combination, of the European and Asiatic tales hitherto examined.

Thus, certain similarities between a Zulu tale in Lang (p. lxxviii) and the tale of Amor and Psyche do not justify the conclusion, that the elements of the latter were common to the whole human race in an earlier state of society. A girl undertakes a dangerous journey to a distant place. After an adventure of the 'swallowing (Kronos) class', she reaches the kraal, where she is to be wedded; but the bridegroom is missing. The young man, on whom her heart is set, the youngest prince, had disappeared when a child. The girl remains there. Meat and beer, placed in her hut, are consumed at night by an unseen being (as a matter of fact the lost prince). One night he feels the girl's face in the dark and retires in the morning, without her having seen him, since he forbade her to make a light. On the following night he allows her to touch his person; it is slippery, so that her hands cannot grasp it. His mother had sewn him up in a boa's skin when he was a child, in order to protect him against the jealousy of her rivals, who had brought animals of various kinds into the world; his 'elder brothers' also had tried to kill him out of jealousy. Now that he has become a man, he is set free by the girl's love and placed upon the throne.

Lastly, I will quote from F. Liebrecht's *Amor und Psyche, Zeus und Semele, Pururavas und Urvaci* (in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, xviii, p. 56) the chief arguments for the view there set forth, that the myth of Zeus and Semele rests on the same foundation as the tales of Psyche and Tulisa, and that 'consequently all three are only different versions of one and the same incident. Zeus, like Amor, is unwilling that his beloved should see him in his proper form, just as Basnak Dau does not wish Tulisa to know his name; Zeus and Basnak Dau gratify the curiosity of

\*<sup>1</sup> Cp. R. Köhler, *Über die europ. Volksmärchen in Weimarer Beiträge zur Litteratur und Kunst* (1865), p. 189; Rohde, *Über griechische Novellistik und ihren Zusammenhang mit dem Orient in Verhandlungen der Rostocker Philologenversammlung* (1875), p. 56; G. Meyer, *Essays und Studien* (1885), p. 222.

∞<sup>2</sup> Cp. my essay, *Griechische Mythologie in Deutsche Rundschau*, October, 1887, p. 96.

Semele and Tulisa with the greatest unwillingness. The mother of Basnak Dau corresponds exactly to Hera ; as the latter assumes the form of the nurse Beroe to persuade Semele to make her foolish request, so Basnak Dau's mother's accomplice, Sarkasukis, visits Tulisa in the form of an old woman and persuades her to ask her lover his name ; he pronounces it as unwillingly as Zeus shows himself in his proper form to Semele, for both of them are aware (like Amor) that only misfortune can follow the granting of the request, although Zeus feels himself compelled by his oath and Basnak Dau by a higher power to grant it. Consequently, Semele, Psyche, and Tulisa act contrary to the wish or command of their lovers, and all three have to undergo punishment, but only for a while ; when it is over, Semele and Psyche ascend to Olympus, Tulisa becomes queen and is reunited to her lover as Psyche to Amor. We may here inquire whether, in the older version of the Psyche myth, Psyche's punishment was not death like Semele's ; her long life and search, in the course of which she herself has to go down to Proserpina in the underworld, may perhaps contain a hint of this'.

Another series of myths or tales (to which the Urvaçi-myth forms the transition) is also discussed, in which the wife or beloved disappears from the man, since he desires to see her (naked) in spite of her prohibition ; but its consideration, as any further prosecution of the subject in the domain of comparative mythology, is beside my purpose, and beyond my range.<sup>1</sup>

[I am indebted to Dr. Andrew Lang for the following communication.—Tr.

I am not sure that I understand Dr. Friedländer's objections to my view that close resemblances in the *Märchen* of races most widely sundered in space, speech, and civilisation are the result of the uniformity of human nature, and of human superstitions, as in certain nuptial taboos. For Cupid and Psyche I may refer to my essay on the subject in *Custom and Myth*. The close resemblances in the construction and plots of *Märchen* are not confined to the tales of Europe and Asia ; they extend to those of the Egypt of the fifteenth century B.C., and are common in North and Central American, Samoan, and Maori *Märchen*. To derive these last from India is more than hazardous. Since the date (1888) when Dr. Friedländer's excursus was written, great additions have been made to our knowledge of savage *Märchen*. But the question as to how they so closely, in several cases, resemble those of Europe and Asia in plot, remains obscure.

A. LANG.]

### XVIII. THE USUAL AGE OF GIRLS AT BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE.

(Vol. I, p. 232, l. 27.)

BETROTHAL frequently took place long before marriage. Dio, liv, 16 : ὡς δ' οὖν βρέφη τινὲς ἐγγυῶμενοι, τὰς μὲν τιμὰς τῶν γεγαμηκότων ἔκαρ-

<sup>1</sup> Zinzow's *Psyche und Eros : ein milesisches Märchen, in der Darstellung und Auffassung des Apuleius beleuchtet und auf seinen mythologischen Zusammenhang, Gehalt und Ursprung zurückgeführt* (1881) is based upon views radically different from my own, which have entirely failed to convince me.



ποῦντο, τὸ δὲ ἔργον αὐτῶν οὐ παρείχοντο, προσέταξε μηδεμίαν ἐγγύην ἰσχύειν, μεθ' ἣν οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν γαμήσει τις, τούτέστι, δεκέτιν πάντως ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὸν γέ τι ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀπολαύσοντα, δώδεκα γὰρ ταῖς κόραις ἐς τὴν τοῦ γάμου ὥραν ἔτη πλήρη, καθάπερ εἶπον, νομίζεται: cp. lvi, 7 and Suetonius, *Augustus*, 34. Modestinus, *Digg.*, xxiii, 1, 14: in sponsalibus contrahendis aetas contrahentium finita non est, ut in matrimoniis: quapropter et a primordio aetatis sponsalia effici possunt, si modo fieri ubi utraque persona intelligatur, id est, si non sint minores quam septem annis. But apparently, during the early empire, girls were frequently betrothed even when still younger. Vipsania Agrippina, daughter of Agrippa and Pomponia, was betrothed to Tiberius before she was two years old (Nepos, *Atticus*, 19). One of Sejanus' daughters, who was put to death after his fall by decree of the senate, was betrothed to Drusus, son of Claudius, who a few days afterwards was choked by a pear; both were still children (Tacitus, *Ann.*, v, 9; Dio, lviii, 11; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 61 and *Claudius*, 27. On the difference between *destinare* and *despondere* see Nipperdey on Tacitus, *Ann.*, iv, 7). Claudius first betrothed his daughter Octavia (born in 43) to Lucius Silanus (Tac., *Ann.*, xii, 3), and in 49 to Nero (*ib.*, c. 19). Orelli, 2647: Dis manibus Valeriae M. f. Fortunatae vixit annos VIII (not VIII according to Hirschfeld) menses VIII dies XVIII M. Valerius Anicetus vix. ann. XX qui fuit spon(sus) ejus. In Juvenal, iii, 111 the *sponsus levis* appears to be still living in his father-in-law's house.

Although the proper marriageable age was not till the end of the twelfth year and puberty did as a rule not begin till the fourteenth (cp. the passage quoted below from Macrobius, *Comm. in Somn. Scip.*, i, 6, 70), girls were sometimes married even younger. Plutarch, *Lycurgi et Numae Comp.*, 4. 2: τῶν δὲ 'Ρωμαίων δωδεκαετείς καὶ νεωτέρας ἐκδιδόντων· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ ἦθος καθαρὸν καὶ ἄθικτον ἐπὶ τῷ γαμοῦντι γενέσθαι. But they did not become regular wives till the twelfth year; till then they remained *sponsae*. Pomponius, *l. iii ad Sabin.*, *Digg.*, xxiii, 2, 4: minorem annis duodecim nuptam tunc legitimam uxorem fore, quum apud virum explesset duodecim annos. Ulpianus, *l. xxxiii ad Sabin.*, *Digg.*, xxiv, 1, 32 § 27: si quis sponsam habuerit, deinde eandem uxorem duxerit, quum non liceret, an donationes quasi in sponsalibus factae valeant, videamus. Et Julianus tractat hanc quaestionem in minore duodecim annis, si in domum quasi mariti immatura sit deducta; ait enim hanc sponsam esse etsi uxor non sit. Ulpianus, *l. ii de adulteriis*, *Digg.*, xlviii, 5, 13 § 8: si minor duodecim annis in domum deducta adulterium commiserit, mox apud eum aetatem excesserit coeperitque esse uxor, non poterit jure viri accusari ex eo adulterio quod ante aetatem nupta (? nuptiarum) commisit, sed vel quasi sponsa poterit accusari ex Rescripto Divi Severi, quod supra relatum est. Octavia, daughter of Claudius and Messalina, was in her twentieth year when she was murdered (A.D. 62; Tac., *Ann.*, xiv, 64); consequently, she was eleven when she married the sixteen-year-old Nero (A.D. 53; Tac., *Ann.*, xii, 58). Examples of such marriages are also found in inscriptions, some of which have been collected by Fabretti. *Inscr. dom.* 586 C (at Rome, epitaph on a wife, who died at the age of 22, and had



been married 12 years, 30 days) : 586 E (epitaph on a wife who died aged 11 years, 1 month, 26 days—sched. Barb.) : 325 H (cum qua vixit annos xxxvii tulit annos lii, Venice). A ten-year-old wife in *CIL*, v, i, 630. Jahn, *Spec. epigr.*, p. 84 : D. m. Sabinae Carpus Ac. (?) conjugis suae incomparabili fecit cum quem cunvixit ann. xx m. v quae vixit an. xxx m. vi. *Anthologia latina*, ed. Meyer, 1370 (Muratori, p. 1689) : Julia C. l. Aphe virguncula annorum xi deducta jam ad C. Julium Apollonidam pia et sancta suo et parentibus vixit annos xv. (Murat., 1368,9 (= Orelli, 2653) : D. m. Luciae Redemptae vixit annis xxxv N. Cassicius Phoebus fecit conjugī benemerenti cum qua vixit ann. xxxviii. Orelli, 2654 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 18412 (marriage at the age of eleven). *CIL*, iii, 1, 3572 (Aquincum) : hic sita sum matrona genus nomenque Veturia, Fortunati conjux de patre Veturio, nata ter novenos (misera) et nupta bis octo per annos, unicuba, unijuga, quae post sex partus uno superstite obii. *Bull. comun. di Roma*, 1877, p. 174, 158 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 21273 : Dis m. L. Licinius Lucio Telesphoridi conjugī carissimae bene merent. fecit cum quua (*sic*) vixit an. xiii. Vixit ann. xxiii. *CIL*, ix, 900 = *IRN*, 1020 (Luceria) : Vitoriae Urbice—vixit. a. xxxxi con conjuge xxx a. *Ib.*, 3710 (Marruvium) : que vixit ann. xxxi m. vi NN. cum qua vixit ann. xxiii m. xi. *Ib.*, x, 1, 155 = *IRN*, 404 (Potentia) : died at the age of 38 years and 9 months, having been married 27 years and 11 months. *CIL*, ix, 3011 (Ortona) : married at the age of 11 years and 6 months. *Oesterreich. Mittheil.*, viii, 1884, p. 11, 24 (Salona) : at 10 years. Gruter, 710, 3 (Rome) : Ti. Claudio Chrysanthio vix. an. xi fecit Helvia Salvia conjugī suo. b. m. and 788, 8 = Muratori, 1357, 4 (where also an eleven-year-old husband is mentioned) cannot be correct.

We may assume fourteen to have been the average age of girls at marriage, as is expressly stated by Epictetus, *Encheiridion*, 40 : αἱ γυναῖκες εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἐτῶν κυραὶ καλοῦνται. τοιγαροῦν ὁρῶσαι ὅτι ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν αὐταῖς πρόσεστι, μόνον δὲ συγκοιμῶνται τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀρχονται καλλωπίζεσθαι. We must also certainly assume that as boys (*pueri alimentarii*) were supported in the charitable institutions up to the age when they were able to earn their living,<sup>1</sup> so the girls (*puellae alimentariae*) were kept till they were old enough to claim the care of a husband. The institution founded by Caecilia Macrina at Terracina was for the support of boys up to the age of 16, of girls up to 13 (*BdI*, 1869, p. 153 = *CIL*, x, 6328) ; that of a certain Publius Licinius Papirianus at Sicca Veneria (Africa, about A.D. 177 ; Henzen, *BdI*, 1863, pp. 140, 231 = *CIL*, viii, 1641), for boys from 3 to 15 and girls from 3 to 13. Hadrian fixed the age for boys at 18, and for girls at 14, which was confirmed by Caracalla (imperator noster in Ulpianus *l. ii Fideicommissorum*, *Digg.*, xxxiv, 1, 14 § 1). Literature supplies examples from different periods of these early and even earlier marriages. Agrippina, Nero's mother, born on the 6th of November, 16, married Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus in 28, when hardly twelve years old (Preuner, *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 613) ; Augustus' daughter Julia,

<sup>1</sup> These regulations by no means contradict the higher average ages of men at marriage assumed in vol. i, p. 233.

born in 39 B.C. married M. Marcellus in 25, in her fourteenth year (Höck, *R.G.*, i, 343, 347). Agricola's daughter, whom he betrothed to Tacitus during his consulship (76) and gave her to him in marriage in the following year (ac post consulatum collocavit, Tacitus, *Agric.*, 9), was born while Agricola was quaestor in Asia (65; cp. Tacitus, ed. Haase, 1855, p. viii); consequently, she can hardly have been more than 13 at her marriage). The daughter of Minucius Fundanus died before she had completed her thirteenth year, shortly before her marriage. In 33 Tiberius, after long consideration, found husbands for Julia and Drusilla, the daughters of Germanicus, postquam instabat virginum aetas (Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 15). Julia was born in 18 (*Ann.*, ii, 54), and was thus about 15 years of age; Drusilla perhaps two years older (*Ann.*, ii, 41; Suetonius, *Calig.*, 7). Aemilia Lepida (born 2 B.C.) was the daughter of Augustus' granddaughter Julia (born 18 B.C.), who thus had married when 15 (Mommson, *Ephem. epigr.*, i, 57): cp. Ausonius, *Epitaph.*, 32, in tumulum sedecennis matronae, who had died a mother. Quintilian's wife died nondum expleto aetatis undevicesimo anno duos enixa filios (*Inst. Or.*, vi, prooem. 4), who were not twins (filius minor, *ib.*, 6); consequently she cannot have been more than 17 at the time of her marriage.

Here follow a number of inscriptions, in which the age of women at marriage is either directly stated, or can be arrived at by deducting the years of their marriage from those of their life. They are nearly all from Italy, and a large proportion have been communicated by Messrs. Nissen and Hirschfeld, who have specially investigated the matter.<sup>1</sup>

| Age at marriage 12-13             |   |             | in 15 inscriptions. |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|-------------|---------------------|---|
| "                                 | " | 13-14       | " 18                | " |
| "                                 | " | 14-15       | " 17                | " |
| "                                 | " | 15-16       | " 14                | " |
| "                                 | " | 16-17       | " 10                | " |
| "                                 | " | 17-18       | " 7                 | " |
| "                                 | " | 18 and over | " 31                | " |
| Maidens who died between the ages |   |             |                     |   |
| of 12 and 19 and 10 months        |   |             | 11                  | " |

There is no reason to assume that a larger collection would give essentially different results. No doubt many, if not the majority, of the women who are recorded as having married when more than eighteen years old, had been already married before that age. Naturally, the earlier marriages would only be exceptionally mentioned in their epitaphs: as *CIL*, v, 2, 7453 (Vardagate): epitaph on a woman who died at the age of 36, who had been twice married, the second time at the age of sixteen.<sup>2</sup> It must also be remembered that most of these women belonged to the middle and lower classes, whose poverty, want of a dowry, etc., would be more likely to postpone marriage than in the case of the upper classes, amongst whom marriage soon after the completion of the twelfth year was pro-

<sup>1</sup> [The references to the actual inscriptions are not given here, but only the results; the references will be found in the sixth edition of the original work, vol. i, p. 566. TR.]

<sup>2</sup> In the inscriptions set up by widowers to their wives earlier marriages are sometimes, but rarely, mentioned (*CIL*, vi, 3, 15488, 20116, 20564).

bably the rule. If we may draw any conclusion as to the Roman practice from Terence, *Eunuchus*, ii, 3, 27, where a young woman is described as being in her prime at sixteen, we must certainly assume a later average age for the earlier times. 'In modern Italy the age of marriage, according to a six years' estimate, has risen to 23 years and 10 months for the woman, and 30 years and 7 months for the man. Marriages before the end of the fifteenth year take place even now, but only in the minimal proportion of 1.29 per 1000 for the female, .02 per 1000 for the male sex. Further, they chiefly occur in Sicily and the southern provinces, where the figure rises to about 2 and .03 per 1000' (Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, p. 411).

I am acquainted with very few epitaphs from the provinces, in which the years of marriage are given in addition to those of life. Unless I am mistaken, the only Spanish inscription with a statement of age is *CIL*, ii, 2752 (Segovia) : Herenniae Paternae nurui an. xiv L. Fab. Sigerus. For Africa and Egypt a still earlier age of marriage might probably be assumed.<sup>1</sup> Of course there are exceptions, *Inscr. de l'Algérie*, 3863 = *CIL*, viii, 9686 (Cartenna) : Varia Honorata, virgo decora et innocens, que prope novos obiit toros. vixit ann. xxi. *CIL*, viii, 9638 (Zuccabar, Mauret. Caesar.) : tradita marito annorum xviii. Also the following from *Inscr. de l'Alg.* in which ages are given : 321 (Lambaesis—quinto decimo anni mariti [read -ae] nomen accepit. 322 (*ib.*—marita an. xvi). 528 (*ib.*—d.m. Clodiae Ligose fecit Antonia filie a. v. mater v. a. an. xvii). 564 (*ib.*—d.m.s. Julia Fortunata v. a. xxviii m. x cum sponso suo an. xii). 727 (*ib.*—died at the age of 16 years and 2 days). 815 (*ib.*—vix. an. L—mecu[m] an. xxx). 2616 (Thibilis—matr[ona] v. a. xv h. s. e.). 3868 = *CIL*, viii, 9670 (Cartenna, a wife of 17 years, 3 months, 19 days, quae brevi ne quidem impleto biennii tempore crudo mortis interventu maritali vinculo disjuncta est). *Ephem. epigr.* (additamenta to *CIL*, viii), p. 568, 1323 (Ammaedera) : Lucilla vix. ann. xiiii m. v, ex quo tempore v(ix) ter senum mens(um) in diem mortis suae cum marito egit. A married couple of Eastern origin (Orelli, 4720 : Rome) : D. m. Harnes q. vix. an. xx Bariammas conjugii b. m. f. cum qua vix. an. viii et sibi. Of the Jewish inscriptions edited by Garrucci, mostly from the cemetery in Vigna Randanini (*Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei*, etc., Rome, 1862, and *Dissertazioni archeologiche*, ii [1865], p. 150) only three give the age of women at the time of their marriage. *Cimitero*, p. 32 : Βερερωσα ανρων (annorum) xvii εκου (? εἵχε) μαριτους μηνσις (menses) xv, *ib.*, p. 50 : Sabine cojugi benemerenti que vixit annis xviii dies iiii Germanus coiigi benemerenti fecit cum virginium sun<sup>2</sup> que vixit annis iiii dies iiii (Jerome on Joel, i, 8 : vir pubertatis, sive ut LXX transtulerunt παρθενικός, quem vulgo virgineum vocant, eo quod primus florem virginitatis abstulerit) ; *ib.*, p. 60 : ἐνθάδε κείτε Μαριαρίτα (sic : Margarita), ἥτις ἐξήσεν ἐτη ἰθ, μετὰ τοῦ συμβίου αὐτῆς ἐτη δ (?). ἐν ἱρήνῃ ἢ κοίμησιν σου. The following (*ib.*, p. 58) also

<sup>1</sup> On the marriage of Moorish, Berber, Arab, and Jewish women in north Africa (at the age of 12-15, sometimes earlier), see Schwarz, *Algerien* (1881), p. 361 ; Hesse-Wartegg, *Tunis*, pp. 101, 165 ; Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im Nordwesten von Afrika* (1868), i, 251 ; iii, 44, 240.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* fecit cum virginio suo = vixit in conjugio.

deserves mention : Μελιτίῳ μητρὶ γλυκυτάτῃ Δουλικιῖα θυγάτηρ ἀνέθηκα ἥτις ἔζησεν ἔτη κθ. (A Δουλικιῖα παρθένος μελλονύμφη occurs p. 69, without mention of age.)

We may assume the same age limits for Greece and Greek Asia as for Italy, without going counter to the earlier custom (in Xenophon, *Oecon.*, vii, 5, the young wife is not yet 15 years old; the recommendations of Hesiod, Plato, and Aristotle [Rein, *StRE*, iv, 1648] prove nothing as to the actual practice). In Longus' romance Daphnis and Chloe at the beginning of the narrative are respectively 15 and 13, at their marriage at most 16 and 14 years of age; there are special reasons why the daughters of the Messaliote Zenothemis (Lucian, *Toxaris*, 24) and of Germanos (Procopius, *Anecdota*, 5) were unmarried at eighteen. No doubt, however, marriages at this and even at a later age were by no means uncommon (a nineteen-year-old wife in Lebas-Waddington, v, 116 [Teos]; a maiden who died at 15, ii, 85 [Crommyon]). Greek physicians give 14 as the age at which menstruation begins. T. Gomperz (*Ein Brief Epicurs in Hermes*, v, 393, 1) quotes the following from Soranus of Ephesus, *De muliebribus affectibus*, 4, ed. Ermerins, p. 20, 10 : τὸ δὲ ἔμμηνον ἐπιφαίνεται τὸ πρῶτον περὶ τὸ τεσσαρεςκαιδέκατον ἔτος κατὰ τὸ πλείστον ὅτε καὶ τὸ ἡβᾶν καὶ τὸ διογκοῦσθαι τοὺς μαστοὺς : cp. p. 41, 15 and a very similar passage from Paulus Aegineta (reign of Constantine Pogonatus, 668–685) : ταῖς πλείσταις ἡ κάθαρσις γίνεται περὶ τεσσαρεςκαιδέκατον ἔτος, ὀλίγαις δὲ θᾶσσον, κατὰ τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον ἢ δωδέκατον, οὐκ ὀλίγαις δὲ βράδιον τῶν δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν (iii, sect. 60, Basle edition, p. 113, 44). The statement of Soranus, who practised at Rome under Trajan and Hadrian (Ermerins' *praef.* v) : εὐφυνῶς δὴ πρὸς σύλληψιν διακεῖσθαι σημειωτέον τὰς ἀπὸ πεντεκαϊδεκαετοῦς ἡλικίας ἕως τεσσαρακονταετοῦς κατὰ τὸ πλείστον (p. 43, 4), would certainly have applied to other women besides Greek. Yet, from inscriptional and other evidence, we may assume that they were frequently married a considerable time (often two years) before puberty, just as the Roman women, of whom Macrobius expressly says (*Comm. in Somn. Scip.*, i, 6, 70) : post annos bis septem—purgatio feminarum—de (tutela) tamen propter votorum festinationem maturius biennio absolvuntur. Girls in modern Greece frequently marry at an equally early age. Fahrenheid (*Reise durch Griechenland* [1841], p. 24) saw young wives of 13 with children at the breast. The following are the age specifications known to me. *CIG*, 3118 = Kaibel, *Epigr.* 227 (epitaph on a 14-year-old maiden at Teos) : ἐν δὴ ἔλαχον σῆμα τόδ' ἀντὶ γάμου. *Anthol. Graeca*, ed. Jacobs, ii, 5 (epigram of Perses, VI—older than Meleager—on the death of a girl of 14 before her marriage); ii, p. 175 (Leonidas Alexandrinus, under Nero, VII) : γρῆν ἐγήμε Φιλίνος, ὅτ' ἦν νέος ἡνίκά πρέσβυς, Δωδεκέτιν. ii, p. 182 (*ib.*, XXXVIII, a father mourning for his daughter) : κατέστενε δ' οὐχ Ὑμεναῖω, ἀλλ' Αἰδα νύμφαν δωδεκέτιν κατάγων. According to Phlegon, *Mirabilia* (Müller, *FHG*, iii, 618) in the year 45 a maiden of 13 years, shortly before her marriage, changed into a man. *Ephem. epigr.*, v, p. 29, 51 (Ancyra in Galatia, second half of the second century) : conjugi b.m. ann. xv mens. v dieb. xviii quae partu primo post diem xvi relicto filio decessit. *Oester. Mitth.*, viii (1884), p. 11, 24 (near Kustondje) :



ἐγάμησα δὲ ἐτῶν ιγ. In Greek epitaphs the years of marriage are never given, except in the case of a few Greek women who died in Rome; but for these instances we may draw conclusions as to Greece:—

|                                              |  |
|----------------------------------------------|--|
| Age at marriage, 12 years, <i>CIG</i> , 6631 |  |
| ” ” 13 ” ” 6252                              |  |
| ” ” ” ” ” 6263                               |  |
| ” ” ” ” ” 6462                               |  |
| ” ” 15 ” ” 6437                              |  |

In northern and north-western countries girls of course married later (Tacitus, *Germ.*, 20: nec virgines festinantur). I can only cite two inscriptions from Lugdunum: Orelli, 4803 = Boissieu, *Inscr. d. L.*, 429 (age at marriage over 13) and Henzen, 7376 (age 16); one from Arelate (Henzen, 5223 = *CIL*, xii, 690: died at the age of 14 years, 2 months, 5 days); *CIL*, xii, 2398 (Augustum): died at the age of 34, quae mecum vixit ann. xx m. x d. xii; one from Celeia (Gruter, 839, 12: thirty-year-old mother of a fifteen-year-old daughter); from Siscia (*CIL*, iii, 1, 3989: a woman who died at the age of 39, who had been married 19 years, 9 months); from Carnuntum (*Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 155, no. 532: twenty-four-year old mother of a ten-year-old son); from Brigetio (*CIL*, iii, 1, 4314: over 17 years); and two from Dacia (*CIL*, iii, 1, 866 [Napoca]: D. m. Aurelia Marina vix. ann. xvii Aur. Marinianus, fil. ejus vix. anno i; *CIL*, iii, 1, 1315: vixit annis xxvi efecit (*sic*) in matrimonio ann. xi m. x). The British sepulchral inscriptions contain no age specifications. Further, Weinhold (*Die deutschen Frauen*, p. 91) observes: ‘Amongst the Lombards marriages of twelve-year-old boys and girls were perfectly valid, and similarly according to Saxon and Frisian law; also in the French feudal law twelve was a regular age for the marriage of a girl’. ‘In general, fifteen appears to have been the usual age for marriage according to Norwegian law’. Moldavo-Wallachian girls as a rule are already married at thirteen (*Land und Leute in Rumänien in Preuss. Jahrbücher*, July, 1866, p. 72); the princess of Montenegro was married at thirteen and a half (S. Kapper, *Montenegrinische Skizzen in Deutsche Rundschau*, December, 1876, iii, 363). The Saxon girls in Transylvania (according to Bergner, *Siebenbürgen*, 1884) often marry between fourteen and fifteen.

Cavedoni, in *Dell' età consulta nelle nozze degli antichi Cristiani* (from which I have here borrowed something; cp. *Acad. Alb.*, ii, 1864), exhaustively proves that the custom of girls marrying at or soon after the age of puberty continued to exist in Christian times. 1 Corinthians, vii, 36: εἰ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει, ἐὰν ἡ ὑπέρρακος καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι, ὃ θέλει ποιεῖτω, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει· γαμήτωσαν, leads to no conclusion. Canon law fixes female puberty at 12, male at 15 years, and the inscriptions in the catacombs confirm the continuance of early marriages in the case of females. Cavedoni found mention of 8 females who were married between 12 and 13, 9 at 13, 11 at 14, 16 at 15, 13 at 16, 11 at 17, 9 at 18, 8 at 19, 9 at 20, 6 at 21, 5 at 22; a few married later. Some of the older of the above may have been married before. *CIL*, v, 1, 4850 (Christian inscription at Brixia; age at marriage 15): *ib.*, 1620, 1636, 1647,

1678, 1710 (Christian inscriptions at Aquileia ; age at marriage 16 to 21). A number of Christian inscriptions (Boldetti, p. 385, 417, 461 ; Fabretti, 269, 130) show that girls under 12 married, but of course were not regarded as legitimate wives until after the completion of their twelfth year. Here may be mentioned the inscription from De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.*, 107, wrongly doubted by Cavendon (p. 18) : Constantiae benemerenti Birginus castae conpari cum qua fecit annis viii que vicsit annis xviii menses viii dies xvii, ibit in pace vi kal. Decembres Limenio et Catullino cons. (A.D. 349) ; cp. the editor's note. Augustine, *Confessions*, vi, 13, 23 : jam petebam (uxorem—Mediolani), jam promittebatur, maxime matre dante operam, quo me jam conjugatum baptismus salutaris acciperet—puella petebatur cujus aetas ferme biennio minor quam nubilis erat ; et quia ea placebat, exspectabatur ; *ib.*, ix, 9, 19 : (Monnica) ubi plenis annis nubilis facta est tradita viro servivit velut domino. St. Agnes is said to have suffered martyrdom at the age of 12 (Ambrose, *De Virginibus*, 2, 7) or 13 (Augustine, *Serm. de diversis*, 101).

I append two epigrams by Agathias and Paullus Silentarius (both under Justinian), which give the same results for the Eastern Roman empire.

Agathias, 94 (*Anth. Pal.*, iii, p. 68) :—

Ἐπτά με δὲς λυκάβαντας ἔχουσιν ἀφήρπασε δαίμων,  
ἦν μούνην Διδύμῳ πατρὶ Θάλεια τέκεν.

οἱ μὲν γὰρ γονέες με γαμήλιον εἰς Ὑμέναιον  
μέλλον ἄγειν, στυγεροῦ δ' εἰς Ἀχέροντος ἔβην.

Paullus Silentarius, 83 (*ib.*, p. 102 : ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ θυγατρὶ, ἧς ὄνομα Μακηδονία) :

Λέκτρα σοι ἀντὶ γάμων ἐπιτύμβια, πάρθενε κούρη,  
ἐστόρεσαν παλάμαις πενθαλέαις γενέται.

δωδεκέτην γὰρ μοῖρα, Μακηδονίη, σε καλύπτει,  
κάλλεσιν ὀπλοτέρην, ἥθεσι γηραλέην.

*Anth. Pal.*, iv, 278 ep. 729<sup>a</sup> (of uncertain date) :—

Μαρκέλλης τάφος εἰμὶ· τίς αὐτῇ, γράμματα λέξει.  
ἀρτίγαμος κούρη εἴκοσιν οὖσ' ἔτεων.

I may further mention that in Petrarch's *De obedientia et fide uxoria mythologia* (a translation of the 100th novella in Boccaccio's *Decamerone*), the daughter of Griseldis, whom the margrave Walter allows to come as his supposed bride, is 12 years old (*Opera*, Basle edition, p. 604). Charlemagne's wife Hildegard, mother of Rotrud, had been married to him in her thirteenth year (Dahn, *Paulus Diaconus*, p. 47). Lucrezia Borgia, born 1480, married Giovanni Sforza in 1493 (Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, i, 36, 49). Sixtus the Fifth married the twelve-year-old Mar' Antonio Colonna to the ten-year-old Orsina Peretti (Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, ii, 176). According to Galateo de Lecce (a friend of Pontanus) girls in Terra di Otranto used to be married at 12 (Gothein, *Culturentwicklung Süditaliens*, p. 390). Anna Melanchthon married Georg Sabinus, the first rector of the university of Königsberg, at 14 (*Programm der Universität*

*Königsberg*, 1874, p. 6). Madame de Caylus, born 1673, married in 1686 (Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du lundi*, third ed., Paris, 1858, iii, 58); Henriette Herz, born 1764, married in 1779 (Fürst, *Henriette Herz*, p. 25). By the law of the 20th of September, 1792, every lad of 15 and every girl of 13 in France were empowered to contract marriage (Sybel, *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit*, iv, 10). Sadler (*Law of Population*, ii, 281 in Quetelet's *Physique sociale* (1869, i, 181), in a survey of the marriages of English peeresses, gives 32 marriages concluded at the age of 12 to 15, from which 141 children were born; in a survey of the births in the principal charitable institutions of London, 74 marriages between 13 and 16 years, and 376 children. Quetelet himself remarks (p. 381): en Belgique les femmes se marient déjà entre 14 et 16 ans.

# XIX. THE USE OF HOMERIC PERSONAL NAMES FOR APPELLATIVES.

(Vol. I, p. 248, l. 17.)

*Menelaus, Helena, Paris* for husband, wife, and lover. Cicero, *Ad Att.*, i, 18, 5: Nam M. Luculli uxorem Memmius suis sacris initiavit. Menelaus aegre id passus divortium fecit. Quamquam ille pastor Idaeus Menelaum solum contempserat, hic noster Paris tam Menelaum quam Agamemnonem liberum non putavit. Martial, i, 62, 5: juvenemque secuta relicto conjuge Penelope venit, abit Helene. Lucillus, *epig.* 9 (*Anthol.*, ed. Jacobs, iii, 30 (ἐἰς γραμματικὸν κερασφόρον):

Ἐξω παιδεύεις Πάριδος κακὰ καὶ Μενελάου,  
ἐνδον ἔχων πολλοὺς σῆς Ἑλένης Πάριδας.

(*Penelope*. Martial, xi, 7, 5: Penelope licet esse tibi sub principe Nerva.)

*Deiphobus*. *Ib.*, iii, 85:—

Quis tibi persuasit nares abscindere moeche?  
non hac peccatum est parte, marite, tibi.  
stulte, quid egisti? nihil hic tibi perdidit uxor,  
cum sit salva tui mentula Deiphobi.

(cp. Virgil, *Aen.*, vi, 494, where also the deceived husband is imagined as Menelaus). (*Cassandra*. Cicero, *De Orat.*, ii, 265: cum S. Titius se Cassandram esse diceret, multos, inquit Antonius, possum tuos Ajaces Oileos nominare.) *Atrides*. Of Domitian: Juv., iv, 65: itur ad Atriden; of the husband, who murdered his wife, *ib.*, vi, 660: si praegustabit Atrides Pontica ter victi cautus medicamina regis. *Talthybius*. Seneca, *Apocol.* 13: inicit illi manum Talthybius deorum. *Automedon*. Cicero, *Pro Roscio Amer.*, 35, 98: non suis manibus in curru collocat Automedontem illum, sui sceleris acerbissimi nefariaeque victoriae nuntium; Varro, *Sat. Menip.*, 257 Bücheler: Automedo meus, quod apud Plotium rhetorem bubulcitarat, erili dolori non defuit; Juvenal, i, 60: dum pervolat axe citato Flaminiam puer Automedon, nam lora tenebat ipse; Ovid, *A. am.*, i, 8: Tiphys et Automedon dicar amoris ego; cp. i, 5, ii, 738. *Machaon*. Martial, ii, 16, 5: Quid tibi cum medicis? dimitte Machaonas omnes. *Podalirius*. Ovid, *Remed. Am.*,

313: Curabar propriis aeger Podalirius herbis; Martial, x, 56, 7: Enterocelarum fertur Podalirius Hermes; Firmicus Maternus, *De Math.*, vii, 24: Medicorum Podaliriorum geniturae; *ib.*, 25; Callioporum musicorum geniturae. *Irus*. Ovid, *Tristia*, iii, 7, 42: Irus et est subito, qui modo Croesus erat; Martial, xii, 32, 9, Irus tuorum temporum; so in *Vita Gordianorum*, 19: Priamus sui temporis. *Nestor*. Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, ix, 14: non alienum est dignitate tua, quod ipsi Agamemnoni, regum regi, fuit honestum, habere aliquem in consiliis capiendis Nestorem. Although as in some of the other cases the following use of the name is not purely appellative, I may mention its use in the sense of 'old man', although it was probably usual: cp. Juvenal, xii, 128: vivat Pacuvius, quaesio, vel Nestora totum. *Prometheus*. Juvenal, iv, 133: debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus. *Lynceus*. Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, ix, 2, 2: quis est tam Lynceus, qui in tantis tenebris nihil offendat, nusquam incurrat? *Endymion*. Juv., x, 318: Sed tuus Endymion dilectae fiet adulter matronae. *Ucalegon*. *Ib.*, iii, 198: jam poscit aquam, jam frivola transfert Ucalegon (Virgil, *Aen.*, ii, 311).

## XX. ROMAN FINDS IN THE NORTH.

(Vol. I, p. 310, l. 7.)

By Dr. Otto Tischler, of Königsberg.

A VERY brisk trade was carried on between the Romans and northern Europe (north Germany, Denmark, south Sweden, and the southernmost part of Norway). Numerous manufactures of Roman origin, especially metallic vessels,<sup>1</sup> and, less frequently, statuettes are to be found throughout this region from Hanover to the Vistula, whereas in East Prussia up to the present only a Roman stewpan and fragments of two tin-plated silver dishes have been discovered. Some of the ornaments, such as dress-pins, buckles, and, later, various enamelled articles point to a direct importation, that is to say, from the frontier provinces of the Roman empire on the Rhine and the Danube. The majority, however, have been manufactured in imitation of Roman models in the north itself, and different districts show different local types. Therefore, in addition to direct importation we must also take into consideration the Roman influence implied by these models, which certainly was all important throughout the north and materially encouraged the artistic skill of the northern barbarians, which is generally rated far too low. We can accurately distinguish the vessels of the early empire (to about the end of the second century) from those of later date. The former are partly far more artistically decorated and often bear trade-marks, which recur in Italy, especially at Pompeii.<sup>2</sup> While glass vessels

<sup>1</sup> These finds (up to 1880) are described in I. Undset, *Das erste Auftreten des Eisens in Nordeuropa* (German edition, Hamburg, 1882).

<sup>2</sup> On the Roman stamps and inscriptions on metal vessels and other articles in the north, see Undset, *Iscrizioni latine ritrovate nella Scandinavia* in *Bullettino dell' Istituto di Correspondenza archeologica* (Roma, 1883, pp. 234-236). The difference was first clearly pointed out by Sophus Müller: *En Tidsadskillelse mellem fundene fra den ældre Jernalder i Danmark* in *Aarboeger for nordisk Oldkyndighed* (Copenhagen, 1874).



of the earlier centuries of the empire occur, though rarely, in the north, glass beads of this period are found in abundance, and in forms which can be accurately classified as to date, but occur, absolutely identical, in the Caucasus and from Egypt to France. In the north they are certainly imported articles, as they were in the greatest part of the world as known to the ancients; in the south also they have been imported from a central source, probably in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Hence they afford us little information as to the commercial routes, especially as they could easily be transported into the most distant countries, as at the present day to the savage peoples of Central Africa.

But it is not yet clear what kind of productions the Romans received in exchange from the north.

On the trade between the peoples of the south and the north works have been written by Wiberg,<sup>2</sup> Genthe,<sup>3</sup> and v. Sadowski,<sup>4</sup> the second of which is especially concerned with Etruscan trade. At the time when these publications appeared (1867, 1874, 1877), the archaeological relations of northern Europe and the pre-classical age of Italy were not so well understood as now; hence many articles found in the north were entered in the catalogues as Etruscan importations, which are now recognized beyond doubt as native, or at least northern productions. On finds thus incorrectly judged, on unsafe linguistic and historical foundations, a system of commercial routes has been constructed, which in many respects is opposed to the results of modern research. Sadowski, in particular, has in many cases assumed the roads for eastern Europe only on *a priori* grounds; he goes much into details, but bases his conclusions on foundations that are all uncertain, and sometimes absolutely false. In all three works far too much importance is attached to amber in reference to trade. For in the north undoubtedly imported articles, particularly metal vessels, are frequently found, but not so much in the amber countries as in other regions (*e.g.* the west coast of Jutland); while on the other hand they are hardly met with at all in East Prussian Samland, the chief modern centre of the amber production. We must accordingly assume productions of another kind, as return gifts for the metal articles so common in the north, which we can trace not only radially to the coast, but over extensive tracts of northern Germany.

There is no doubt, however, that amber at different times was greatly in request (see the evidence collected by von Helbig).<sup>5</sup> Yet we find that the Greeks during the classical period and the Italian peoples (Etruscans, Romans) from about 400 onwards showed

<sup>1</sup> O. Tischler, *Abriss einer Geschichte des Emails*, reprinted from *Schriften der physikalisch-ökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg*, xxvii (1886), *Verhandlungen*, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> C. F. Wiberg, *Der Einfluss der klassischen Völker auf den Norden durch den Handelsverkehr* (German edition, Hamburg, 1882).

<sup>3</sup> H. Genthe, *Über den etruskischen Tauschhandel nach dem Norden* (new ed., Erlangen, 1874).

<sup>4</sup> J. N. von Sadowski, *Die Handelsstrassen der Griechen und Römer* (German edition, Jena, 1877), with which F. Waldmann, *Der Bernstein im Alterthum* (Stettin, 1883) is in complete agreement. For the imported articles in north Germany, see Undset, p. 521.

<sup>5</sup> W. von Helbig, *Osservazioni sopra il commercio dell' ambra* in *Atti dell' Acc. dei Lincei*, 3rd ser., *Memorie*, classe stor., i (1877), pp. 415-435.

little desire for it, although northern gold was much sought after, even before that date, both north and south of the Apennines, where it is found in graves in enormous, though somewhat varying, quantities. The jugs with spouts from Etruria proper belong to the fourth century; they are extraordinarily numerous in southern Germany as far as central Germany and Champagne, but not on the Baltic coast, so that they cannot have reached the north in exchange for amber, but are rather evidences of brisk commercial relations. In the last four centuries B.C., amber is found throughout Germany and France much less frequently than before, so that we cannot assume an increased market for it during this period. It was not till the beginning of the imperial period that north European gold again came greatly into favour in Italy. But while in earlier times only the west coast of Jutland <sup>1</sup> had furnished the south with this valuable material, it was now chiefly supplied from East Prussian Samland, which in the pre-Christian era imported hardly anything from Italy. During the reign of Nero a Roman knight of Carnuntum was sent to these eastern shores to investigate the newly discovered Eldorado,<sup>2</sup> whence he brought home enormous quantities of amber. But it reached the Romans not so much directly as through the trade between various tribes, being brought by the Germans themselves as far as Pannonia. Nothing has been found to show how far Roman merchants penetrated to the north by way of Bohemia; a cinerary urn with a Roman inscription, said to have been found at Massel in Silesia, which has frequently been regarded as the cinerary urn of a Roman knight, is more than doubtful.<sup>3</sup> The most important Roman trade route ran from Carnuntum up the March valley into the district of the Oder, where it branched off to the Elbe and the Vistula. The Rhine route cannot have been nearly so important for east Germany and the amber trade. Wide depressions between mountain ranges and river valleys, large navigable rivers or dry, gently sloping rising ground, leading round the marshes, the risks of which have often been somewhat exaggerated, had been from time immemorial the most natural channels of communication and trade between different peoples. Hence in such districts the inhabitants are more numerous and more prosperous.

The manner in which Sadowski has conjectured the chronological development of trade from the coins occurring in eastern Europe is incorrect. For the period before the empire a supposed find of 40 Greek coins at Schubin (in Posen) was the cause of much confusion, until the investigations of Julius Friedlaender proved the absolute unimportance of this find and the baselessness of the hypothesis <sup>4</sup> of commercial relations between the Baltic east coast and Greece, especially the Greek colonies on the Black Sea.

<sup>1</sup> C. V. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, ii (Berlin, 1870-1883), p. 476.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii, 45.

<sup>3</sup> Undset, p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> First put forward by C. von Levezow in *Abhandlungen d. Berliner Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1833, p. 181. J. Friedlaender's refutation in *Märkische Forschungen*, iii; *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, v, p. 213; *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiii (Berlin, 1881), p. 234; where he shows that these coins are an artificial mixture of different finds, and that their provenance is probably northern Greece. He further shows that they are for the most part Athenian coins, while Sadowski derives them from Olbia (*Handelsstrassen*, p. 72) and regards them

For the imperial period also, the Roman coins, both silver and bronze, found in such enormous quantities throughout northern Europe, especially East Prussia, must be accounted for quite differently; above all, they appear to have had no connexion with the amber trade. Consequently, at this period amber must have played only a subordinate part, as one of the many articles of exchange. For it is just in the modern amber district that the better Roman articles are scarcely found at all, with the exception of the glass beads which occur everywhere, while they appear in ever increasing quantities from the Vistula to Mecklenburg and Denmark.<sup>1</sup> Now these articles, in conformity with the nature of the carrying trade, might certainly have been kept back amongst the tribes living nearer to the centre; but their occurrence just in the districts lying between both amber coasts would be difficult to explain, unless we are to assume a general trade, comprehending the whole of northern Germany, not however restricted to that limit, but also extending to Sweden and especially to the island of Gotland.

The finds of Roman coins in large numbers in northern Germany,<sup>2</sup> as already mentioned, play quite a different part from that formerly ascribed to them; in East Prussia, especially, the amber country, which, as regards the first four Christian centuries, has been more thoroughly investigated than any other district of Europe outside the Roman empire, their presence can be most clearly explained;<sup>3</sup> it has been proved that they arrived in the district at a tolerably late date, long after the beginning of the amber trade. The single coins found here and there, the majority of them of bronze, are for the most part sepulchral,<sup>4</sup> and are extremely numerous, even far from the coast. But they only occur in a certain class of graves, mostly of the third century (some at the end of the second at the earliest). For although in the graves of this period coins of the earlier emperors (Trajan, Hadrian) are found, as a rule they are those of the Antonines and the two Faustinas, and in addition, amid precisely similar

as the chief argument for trade relations between Olbia and the lowlands of the Vistula. Similar forgeries (*i.e.* admixtures of native and foreign articles) are a Greek statuette and Greek coins from the chapel of St. Peter at Koltzen on the gulf of Riga, published in F. C. H. Kruse, *Necrolivonica* (heft 21) and elsewhere. Their spuriousness is established almost beyond doubt by C. A. Berkholz, *Des Grafen Ludwig August Mellin bisher unbekannter Originalbericht über das angebliche Griechengrab an der livländischen Meeresküste* (Riga, 1875). Greek coins seem really to have been found here and there in the north (Lissauer, p. 57). But their number is extremely small.

<sup>1</sup> In Undset, as above; cp. the contents of the several chapters.

<sup>2</sup> The relation of these coins to Sweden is clearly explained in O. Montelius, *Die Cultur Schwedens in vorchristlicher Zeit* (German tr. by Appel, Berlin, 1885). On the Roman coins occurring in Scandinavia, especially in Gotland, see O. Montelius, *Remains from the iron age of Scandinavia* (Stockholm, 1869). For West Prussia: A. Lissauer, *Die prähistorischen Denkmäler der Provinz Westpreussen* (Leipzig, 1887), p. 134. For Pomerania: Kühne, *Die in Pommern gemachten römischen u.s.w. Münzfunde*, in *Baltische Studien*, 27 (Stettin, 1877), p. 203. On the finds in other districts of northern Germany: Veltmann, *Funde von Römermünzen im freien Germanien* (Osnabrück, 1886). For East Prussia, a brief summary in Bender, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des preussischen Geld- und Münzwesens* (Braunsberg, 1878; reprinted from *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde des Ermlands*, v, 521).

<sup>3</sup> O. Tischler, *Das Gräberfeld von Oberhof: Schriften der physikalischökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg*, xxix (1888), *Verhandlungen*, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> [Various objects, such as clothes, jewellery, arms, agricultural implements and tools, toilet articles, food and drink, and coins were placed in the tomb for the use of the deceased in another world. Tr.]



objects, coins of Alexander Severus and Gordianus Pius, down to Philip the Arab ; and it is these later coins, which although not so frequent are yet fairly common, that show by their particularly well-preserved stamp, that they were most recently in circulation. Hence we must take them as the basis of our reckoning, especially as finds in the south establish the fact that during a considerable part of the preceding period coins were not placed in graves. By the side of such sepulchral coins, found in smaller numbers or isolated, large finds have been discovered of bronze, but chiefly silver coins (more than 1000 in one place), which may be regarded as directly imported. Although older coins from the time of Nero onwards are found in these hoards, the latter all extend to the end of the second, but mostly to the beginning of the third century ; hence we see that in addition to the more recent coins quite a number of older ones entered the country, which makes it probable that none of the Roman coins found in East Prussia made their way thither till after 200 or at most shortly before. Hence it would be wrong to draw specific conclusions as to the shifting course of trade from the nature of the coins.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, these coins have no connexion with the east Baltic amber trade that began about the time of Nero, which is also confirmed by the fact that they are found in larger numbers in graves north of Memel than in Samland, the amber district proper, where, however, they are tolerably frequent.

In any case the coins did not reach the north till after the Marcomannic war, which may be looked upon as the beginning of the great migration of the nations. At that time the peoples of the north forced their way in greater numbers into the Roman empire and maintained permanent relations with the inhabitants who remained in the country. Hence, all the masses of coins now made their way to the north, as far as Sweden, especially Gotland (where certainly no amber was found) ; and a more or less complete alteration, pointing especially to the south-east of Europe as far as the Black Sea, took place in the form and decoration of ornamental wares, both those that were imported and those that were manufactured in the country. Splendid sepulchral finds of this period, with altered forms of metal vessels and numerous glass vessels of a new style, have been discovered in graves in Scandinavia as far as Seeland (Zealand) and Scania, further in Mecklenburg,<sup>2</sup> Thuringia, Silesia,<sup>3</sup> east Galicia, and north Hungary.<sup>4</sup> These graves were originally supposed to be genuine Roman graves, whereas the admixture of late Roman and barbaric articles clearly shows that we have to do with native graves. The most brilliant find of this kind is the grave at Sackrau

<sup>1</sup> Hence Sadowski's attempt must be regarded as unsuccessful, and in particular the chronological dating of brooches according to finds of coins (*Handelsstrassen*, p. 178) as absolutely false.

<sup>2</sup> G. C. F. Lisch, *Römergräber in Mecklenburg* (*Jahrb. d. Vereins für Mecklenburg. Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, Schwerin, 1870). The assumption is false ; they are not Roman, but German graves. Bibliography of these graves in Mecklenburg and Scandinavia in Undset.

<sup>3</sup> Grempler, *Der Fund von Sackrau* (Brandenburg-Berlin, 1887).

<sup>4</sup> Amongst other places, at Osztropataka in Hungary : J. Hampel, *Der Goldfund in Nagy Szent Miklos* (Buda-Pesth, 1885), in which work extremely important aspects of the middle and later Roman empire are elucidated.



near Breslau, containing beautiful bronze vessels, gold ornaments, splendid *millefiori* glass dishes, the date of which is shown by a coin of Claudius Gothicus (268-270).

In East Prussia the import of coins ceases almost entirely after the middle of the third century; only a few isolated specimens of the time of Constantine have been found. But several valuable fifth century finds have been made, consisting of East Roman gold coins, mostly as late as the reign of Anastasius (518), in addition to isolated gold coins, frequently found in the low-lying districts of the Vistula, to the north as far as the south of Sweden and the islands of the Baltic.<sup>1</sup> The most easterly find was made at Klein Tromp near Braunsberg, and was unjustifiably connected with an embassy, sent by the Aestyes to King Theodoric. But it is only one of many, which point to the connexion at this late date of north-east Germany and especially Scandinavia with the Eastern Roman empire.

Consequently, although the details still remain obscure, we find that trade was briskly carried on between the north and the Roman empire, and that after the Marcomannic war it took a more and more easterly direction.

## XXI. TOURISTS' INSCRIPTIONS ON THE PYRAMIDS.

(Vol. I, p. 362, l. 28.)

A GREEK inscription in the schol. Clem. Alex. ed. Klotz, iv, p. 113 (Osann, *Syll. inscr.*, p. 413):—

Μνήματα Καιφρῆνός τε καὶ ἀντιθέου Μυκερήνου  
καὶ Χέσπος κατιδὼν Μάξιμος ἡγασάμην.

The inscription given in Mommsen (*CIL*, iii, 21) as copied by the Lüneburg nobleman Otto von Neuhaus called Wilhelm of Boldensele, who in 1336 undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, was also copied by Felix Fabri, the preacher-monk of Ulm, who twice made the same pilgrimage (1480, 1483). In his *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Aegypti peregrinationem* (ed. C. D. Hassler in the *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. iii (bibl. vol. iv), p. 43, he says: Sunt autem duae pyramides valde eminentes, mirae magnitudinis et latitudinis, sicut montes, ita quod a longe visae apparent turres esse. In his invenimus diversas litteras et scripturas nobis ignotas, in uno tamen latere hos subscriptos invenimus versus, insculptos latinis litteris et scriptura. Then follows the inscription with the following deviations from the text of Boldensele: 1, *pyramides*; 3, *memoriam*; 4, *centanni*, *pyramis*; 5, *tyranne*; 6, *inter*. In addition, at the end of the lines the last letters of the words are repeated except in line 6, where, instead of E, S is written (no doubt by inadvertence). Cp. my 'programm' *De titulo latino in pyramide Aegyptiaca insculpto* (Acad. Alb. Regim. 1869, ii).

The only improvement in Fabri's copy is *pyramis* for *pyramide* (Boldensele) in line 4. For it is probable, as already conjectured by C. L. Grotefend, in *Zeitschrift des hist. Vereins für Niedersachsen*

<sup>1</sup> Collected in Lissauer, p. 134; Montelius, *Remains from the Iron Age*, p. 19; Kühne, p. 126.

an. 1852 (Hanover, 1885), p. 251, that the first word was not *sit*, but *scil*, so that the line ran :—

Scit nomen Decimi Gentiani pyramis alta.

Perhaps the name was carved above or below the inscription. Mommsen has shown (*CIL*, iii, p. 967) that it refers to Terentius Gentianus (from his inscription *CIL*, iii, 1463, from Sarmizegetusa) : . . . (Te)rentio Gentiano trib. militum quaestori trib. pl. pr. leg. Aug. consuli pontif. cens. provinc. Maced. colonia Ulpia Trajan. Aug. Dac. Sarmizegetusa patrono. From this it is clear that the alteration *censoris* (= censitoris) in line 6 (Mommsen, Hirschfeld, and myself) is correct. The following is the probable text of the inscription :—

Vidi pyramidas sine te, dulcissime frater,  
et tibi quod potui lacrimas hic maesta profudi,  
et nostri memorem luctus hanc sculpo querelam.  
Scit nomen Decimi Gentiani pyramis alta,  
pontificis comitisque tuis, Trajane, triumphis  
lustra sex intra censoris consulis esse.

Cp. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 577, 2. Line 3 is a reminiscence of Horace, *Odes*, iii, 11, 50 : i secundo Omine et nostri memorem sepulcro Scalpe querellam.

## XXII. THE USE OF THE WORD *ROMANTIC* AS APPLIED TO NATURAL SCENERY.

(Vol. I, p. 395, l. 19.)

I AM indebted to H. A. J. Munro (died 1886) for a communication, in which he points out that in England the word 'romantic' was used about the middle of the seventeenth century not only of persons (*e.g.* in Evelyn's *Diary*, 23rd of September, 1680, of Queen Christina of Sweden), but also of natural scenery, and in the modern sense : 'that which fills the mind with wonder and delight, by uniting the strange and uncommon with the beautiful or grand'. The very interesting passages which show the feeling of that age in regard to nature are the following :—

Pepys's *Diary*, 26th of February, 1665 (describing his first visit to Windsor Castle) : 'This being done, to the king's house and to observe the neatness and contrivance of the house and gates : it is the most romantique castle that is in the world. But Lord ! the prospect that is in the balcone in the queene's lodgings, and the terrace and walk are strange things to consider, beeing the best in the world, sure !' Evelyn's *Diary*, 27th of June, 1654 : 'But what appeared most stupendous to me was the rock of St. Vincent, a little distance from the town (Bristol), the precipice whereof is equal to anything of that nature I have seen in the most confragose cataracts of the Alps, the river gliding between them at an extraordinary depth. . . . There is also on the side of this horrid Alp a very romantic seat' ; *ib.*, 3rd of August, 1654 : 'Hence to Sir Guy's groat (near Warwick) where, they say, he did his penances and died. 'Tis a squalid den made in the rock, crowned yet with venerable

oaks and looking on a goodly stream, so as, were it improved as it might be, 'twere capable of being made a most romantiq and pleasant place'.

In his *Remarks on several parts of Italy*, etc., in 1701-1703, Addison says of the wild country near the little harbour of Cassis (between Marseilles and Genoa), where according to the legend Mary Magdalene spent the end of her life in sorrow amidst solitary rocks and mountains: 'It is so romantic a scene that it has always probably given occasion to such chimerical relations'. Here the word 'romantic' is used as an entirely objective designation of the wild and fantastic, without any idea of pleasure. On the other hand, the use of the word in Thomson's *Seasons* (1729) leaves no doubt that the poet feels attracted by the romantic nature of the scenery. In *Spring* (1025) the lover

restless runs  
To glimmering shades and sympathetic glooms  
Where the dun umbrage o'er the falling stream  
Romantic hangs;

*Autumn* (789):—

and here awhile the Muse  
High hovering o'er the broad cerulean scene  
Sees Caledonia in romantic view.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu is fond of the word 'romantic': to the quotations in vol. i, p. 404 add the letter to Pope (1st of April, 1717): 'I no longer look on Theocritus as a romantic writer; he has only given a plain image of the way of life amongst the peasants of his country'.

According to Bretinger, *Classisch und Romantisch in Gegenwart*, 1885, no. 5, p. 71, the English 'romantic' is derived from the form *romant* for *roman*. In Philips's *New World of Worlds* (London, 1706) 'romantick' is styled a neologism. Up to the eighteenth century the French only knew the word *romanesque* (*Dict. de l'Acad.*, 1694; *romanesque*: qui tient du roman, etc. Madame de Sévigné: je vous écris romanesquement au bord d'une rivière). Saussure and Diderot use the same word: c'est une vue romanesque, dont on suppose la réalité quelque part (Salon de l'année 1767: *Œuvres*, ed. Naigeon, xiv, 188). Marmontel and Rousseau have *romantique* from the English.

Evidently the form *romanisch* was the first that made its way into German. *Neues ausführliches Dictionarium oder Wörterbuch in drei Sprachen; Teutsch, Französisch, und Englisch* (Geneva, 1695); *Romanesque*: fabelhaft, romanisch (cp. Bretinger as above). Kant uses this form only. Although in Schubert and Rosenkranz's edition (xi, 1, 224) *romantisch* is given in a note on Cervantes, I am convinced by an examination of the original MS. that Kant undoubtedly wrote *romanisch*. In his *Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen* (1764) Kant speaks of the knights of the Middle Ages as 'eine seltsame Art heroischer Phantasten, welche Abenteuer aufsuchen, Turniere, Zweikämpfe und *romanische* Handlungen' (*Werke*, iv, 461-463); in a note to this treatise (iv, 407) he says: 'When sublimity or beauty exceeds the recognized mean,

it is usually called *romanisch*. Consequently, in the *Anthropologie* (vii<sup>b</sup>, 254): '(der Spanier ist) von romantischer Stimmung des Geistes, wie das Stiergefecht . . . beweist', we should read *romanischer*.

According to Ludwig Hirzel (*Romantisch*, in Haupt's *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alt.*, xxvi, 1882, p. 192) *romantisch* first occurs by the side of *romanisch* in the Berne *Spectateur* (to which Haller contributed) of 1734 in an anonymous essay called '*Historie*'. In this the writer says the *historici* are fond of introducing something *romantisches*, and that Curtius borrows *romanische* sentiments from others. In an essay *Romanes* by the same writer authors of romances are sometimes called *Romanisten*, sometimes *Romantisten*. In Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, xxxii, 1888, pp. 223-226) Hirzel also refers to Gotthard Heidegger's *Mythoscopia Romantica* (a discourse on the so-called romance; Zürich, 1698) in which the word *romantisch* (by the side of *romanisch* and *romanzisch*, though much more common than these) already occurs (but not applied to natural scenery). The time at which the word assumed its different forms appears in fact to have been the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.

That the form *romantisch* found its way from England 'to Germany through Switzerland' is also confirmed by the following communication from S. Hirzel (died 1877):—

'As far as I can ascertain with the help of Tobler and Hildebrand, the earliest passage (in German literature) in which the word *romantisch* occurs dates from 1740. In J. J. Breitinger's *Fortsetzung der Kritischen Dichtkunst*, we find (p. 283): "Je mehr dergleichen Beiwörter in einer Redensart sind, desto schöner und wahrhaftig *romantisch* ist sie auch." In Goethe the word occurs in a letter belonging to the Leipzig period: "Wenn Ihr kleines Stübgen, das so oft der Zeuge unsrer seeligen Trunkenheit war . . . wenn diese liebe *romantische* Höhle nun auch künftig den Schauplatz der Freuden eines neuen Liebhabers abgibt" (Schöll, *Briefe und Aufsätze*, 25).

'It is not improbable that Goethe became acquainted with the word from Tobler's translation of Thomson's *Seasons* (Zürich, 1765), where it first occurred to me to look for it. Thomson's "Where the dun umbrage o'er the falling stream romantic hangs" is translated by Tobler: "Wo die schwarz-braune Umlaubung *romantisch* über den fallenden Strom hängt". Brockes in his translation (1744) gives *romanisch*. In the passages in Thomson's *Summer* (459) and *Autumn* (880) Tobler also uses *romantisch*. The word occurs in Adelung (1777), although he does not seem to have known that the word was of English origin, but connects it with the French *romanesque*'.

But even if the word became naturalized in German literature mainly as the result of translations of Thomson, individual writers may have borrowed it directly from the English. One of these perhaps was Georg Forster, who is fond of the word, e.g. in his *Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1772-1775* (published 1777), i, 136 (ed. Brockhaus, 1843): 'Der bezaubernde Gesang (der Vögel) machte die Schönheit dieses wilden romantischen Flecks (in New Zealand) vollkommen'.



XXIII. ON THE MEANING OF THE NAMES *VIOLA* (τον),  
*ANEMONE*, *NARCISSUS*, *HYACINTHUS*.

(Vol. I, p. 425, l. 9 from bottom.)

By Prof. Ferdinand Cohn of Breslau.

APART from the incompleteness of the information that has come down to us, the chief reason why previous attempts to refer the names of plants in ancient writers have produced such unsatisfactory results, is the inaccurate use of words. Only the language of science endeavours to establish a special name for every kind of plant, which shall be exclusively appropriate to it and distinguish it from all others; and even the language of science did not attain this exactness until the time of Linnaeus. The language of ordinary life does not hesitate to give entirely different names to the same plant at different times, or in different countries, or, *vice versa*, to give the same name to entirely different plants. Thus, for example, the name chestnut (like the German *kastanie*) is given to two totally different trees, *Castanea vesca*, and *Aesculus Hippocastanum*; the Indian fig is a cactus; the sycamore is a fig, *Ficus Sycomorus*, or more commonly a maple, *Acer pseudo-platanus*; while the trees called by Americans and Australians oak, cedar, pine, etc., are quite different from those bearing these names in Europe. It was the same in ancient times, especially in the poets, who always abused their licence to perpetrate all kinds of inaccuracies; the botany of the poets has hardly anything in common with that of the natural philosophers. But, in antiquity, even the latter had no clear ideas of the relation of genus and species; still less did they trouble themselves about expressing this relation in nomenclature as in modern terminology; of Theophrastus and Dioscorides alone can we as a rule suppose that they attached to their plant-names definite conceptions of plants, with which they were themselves acquainted. Certainly, we must not be content, as is usually the case, to pick out single quotations at our own discretion, and to draw hasty conclusions from them; we must collect all the passages in ancient authors, which refer to a plant, arrange them systematically, and compare them with one another and with nature. If this be done, in numerous cases we shall be able to identify the plant in question. This is especially true of the much disputed *violae* (τον, *viola*).

1. Theophrastus discusses τον under the *ornamental plants* (στεφανώματα, plants used for making garlands), which as a rule are shrubby (φρυγανικά) and hence are treated of immediately after trees, since like them they are woody (ξυλώδεις, *Hist. Plant.*, vi).<sup>1</sup> Most shrubs grow wild, only a few being cultivated, such as roses and violets (vi, 1, 1); the latter are propagated from seeds (vi, 6, 11).

The shrubby violets are also called white (τον τὸ λευκόν); they have leaves on the stem (ἐπικανλόφυλλον), but no root leaves; the roots are woody (vi, 6, 11); they bloom for a considerable time (vi, 8, 3). There are many varieties of them; they vary especially in colour, although not so much as the lily (κρίνον), of which there

<sup>1</sup> [Unless otherwise specified, the references to Theophrastus are to the *Historia Plantarum*. Tr.]

are also said to be purple varieties (vi, 6, 3). The life of the violet plant (*βλος ἰωνιάς*) is three years; when old it produces smaller and paler (*λευκότερα*) flowers. The passages here quoted agree perfectly with the interpretation already given by the earliest commentators, that the *white* violet of Theophrastus is the stock, *Matthiola incana*, the *Leukoje* of the Germans.

But Theophrastus is also acquainted with a black violet (*ἰον τὸ μέλαν*). This is distinguished from the white by the fact that it is not shrubby (*οὐ φρυγανώδες*), but a herbaceous ornamental plant (*στεφανωτικὸν ποιῶδες*, vi, 6, 1); it has only root leaves (*προσριζύφυλλος*), but no stems or branches (*ἄκλων*); its leaves are broad (*πλατύφυλλον*), growing close to the ground (*ἐγγειόφυλλον*); the leaves are also alleged to be fleshy (*σαρκόφυλλον*, vi, 6, 7); this is unintelligible, but as Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxi, 27) in the parallel passage speaks of a fleshy *root*, probably *σαρκόρριζον* should be read. The roots of the black violet are numerous and bulbous (*πολλὴν ἔχουσα ῥίζαν, κεφαλόρριζα*), and enable it to survive; it grows wild and thrives on poor soil (*De Causis Plant.*, vi, 20, 2): as a rule it is not cultivated like the rose (*ἄγριον, οὐχ ἡμέρον καθάπερ τὸ ῥόδον, De Causis Pl.*, vi, 20, 1); if it is cultivated in a particular manner, it is said to bloom throughout the year (vi, 8, 2): *ὡς δέ τινες φασὶ καὶ δυναμένη δι' ὅλου φέρειν τὸ ἄνθος, ἐὰν τρόπῳ τινι θεραπεύηται, τοῦτο μὲν ἴδιον ἂν ἔχοι. τὸ δὲ δὴ μέλαν ἰον . . . δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ θεραπείας τυγχάνειν (διαμένει).*

In the black violet also the flowers alone are sweet smelling; there is, however, only *one* kind, not many varieties as in the case of the white (vi, 6, 3); yet double flowers are found, which contain one flower in the centre of the other (i, 15, 2).

There is no doubt that the *black* violet of Theophrastus is our 'violet', *Viola odorata* L.

But Theophrastus knows of yet a third violet, also white; he does not however call it *ἰον τὸ λευκόν*, like the stock, but *λευκόιον*; it is the first of the flowers of spring, in warmer climates it even blooms in winter; it has a little bulb, like *bolbine*, *kyi*, *sisyrinchion*. This is evidently a kind of snowflake or snowdrop, probably the *Leucojum vernum* which is found not only in Central, but also in Southern Europe. Elsewhere certainly Theophrastus states that the *λευκόιον* has leaves on the stem (vii, 8, 3), which can only refer to the stock. Perhaps the text is wrong, or he has not been consistent in distinguishing *λευκόιον* and *ἰον τὸ λευκόν*.

Theophrastus describes the smell of his violets at great length; he has devoted a whole book (vi) of his *Causae Plantarum* to the philosophy of perfumes. Only the blossoms of the violet have a sweet smell (vi, 2), the other parts have none (*Caus. Plant.*, vi, 11, 4); their smell is pleasanter at a distance than near (*C. Pl.*, vi, 17, 1); in time the smell becomes pungent and unpleasant; it does not last when the blossoms are dry, like that of the rose, which certainly when dry cannot be smelt so far off as when fresh (*C. Pl.*, vi, 14, 11). In mountainous districts the smell of violets and roses is not nearly so pleasant (vi, 8, 6). In a very dry and poor soil, and when the air is hot and dry, the violet loses its smell (*C. Pl.*, vi, 20, 2); violets from Cyrene smell the sweetest (vi, 6, 5), while the blossoms are

said as a rule to be scentless in Egypt (vi, 8, 5) ; in that country also roses and violets are said to blossom two months earlier than in Greece ; nevertheless, they last as long or longer (*ib.*).

Pliny's account of the *viola* is for the most part borrowed from Theophrastus ; he also distinguishes the *viola alba* ; it is reared from seeds (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 27) ; but he ascribes to the *viola* simply what Theophrastus says of the smell of the white violet ; and, on the other hand, the long period of bloom and the three years' duration to the *viola alba*, which consequently is to be understood as the stock.

Theophrastus' black violet is called *viola purpurea* by Pliny, *ῥορποφυροῦν* by his contemporary Dioscorides, which is not without interest for the history of the designation of colours. Violet-blue clothes are called *vestis ianthina* (xxi, 27 ; in xxi, 45 this chief colour is described as *amethystinus*, the undertone of which passes from violet into purple and violet-blue : *amethystinus qui a viola et ipse in purpureum (sc. trahitur), quemque ianthinum appellavimus*).

According to Pliny the purple violet grows wild (*silvestre*, xxi, 130) ; *sponte apricis et macris locis proveniunt*, xxi, 27). The ever-blooming and double violets of Theophrastus are unknown to him.

Dioscorides (cxvii) gives a good description of the purple violets, the leaves of which he compares with those of the ivy, and of the very pleasant smelling little blossoms that spring from the centre of the root on long stalks.

On the other hand Dioscorides (xxi) calls the white violet *λευκόιον* ; he says that it is a universally known shrub, which however does not always bear white, but also purple-red, blue, or yellow flowers.

Matthioli (1554) in his famous commentary on Dioscorides observes that the blue stock is not known in Italy and that the text is perhaps corrupt ; that the other kinds are very common in gardens, and that women are fond of keeping them outside the windows in pots. White and violet varieties of the stock are also generally known among us (in Germany) ; the yellow variety is perhaps the yellow stock (*Matthiola ochroleuca*), which is sometimes found in Italy.

Pliny also speaks of a yellow violet (*viola lutea*) unknown to Theophrastus ; it is reared from seed. Since Pliny and Dioscorides both state that the yellow violets are used especially in medicine (*e sativis maxima auctoritas luteis*, xxi, 27), we may assume that they are speaking of the same plant ; but from their statements we cannot gather with certainty what plant this is, nor the meaning of the other kinds of violets mentioned by Pliny—*maxima*, *Tusculana*, and the scentless *Calatiana* ; the latter flowers in autumn, the others in the spring (*munus autumni, ceterae veris*) ; perhaps the *viola Calatiana* is the same as the *viola serotina*, whose colour is said to be a deep red, the liveliest of the *conchylia* colours (xxi, 46).

The commentators usually identify the yellow *λευκόιον* of Dioscorides and the *viola lutea* of Pliny with the wall-flower,<sup>1</sup> *Cheiranthus Cheiri* of the botanists. It is nearly akin to the stock, and can be shown to have been cultivated since the fifteenth century in southern

<sup>1</sup> Ger. *Goldlack*, *Gelbviole*, *Gelbveilchen*.



Europe, and on the further side of the Alps as a common ornamental plant in gardens and in pots ; it is also frequently met with, *e.g.* in the Rhine valley, on old masonry, especially in ruined castles, apparently wild, but probably in reality a relic, run wild, of vanished castle gardens. It is also possible that the wall-flower was introduced into Rome at the beginning of the empire, while in Alexander's time it was not yet cultivated ; however, the name by which it was known to the physicians of the Middle Ages and which is concealed in the Linnaean *Cheiranthus*, is not Greek but Arabic, and points to its being an oriental importation. According to my late colleague Schmölder, *Cheiri* or rather *Chairi* is certainly used in Arabic, but is probably of Persian or rather of Sanskrit origin ; in the latter language it is written *Gairi* and means 'growing in the mountains' ; in the Persian lexicon, yellow, white, violet and black varieties of *Chairi* are mentioned, from which it is clear that *Chairi* is identical with *ιον* and *viola* ; the rocket or dame's violet (*Hesperis matronalis*) is also called *Chairi* or *Hairi*.

The ancient authorities contain interesting statements as to the flowering period of their *violae*. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 64) has translated the passage referring to it in Theophrastus almost word for word :—

Τῶν ἀνθῶν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκφαίνεται τὸ λευκκίον, ὅπου μὲν ὁ ἀήρ μαλακώτερος εὐθὺς τοῦ χειμῶνος . . . ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἴσῳ ἢ μικρόν τι ὕστερον καὶ τὸ φλόγιον καλοῦμενον τὸ ἄγριον· ταῦτα γὰρ ὧν οἱ στεφανηπλόκοι χρῶνται, πολὺ ἐκτρέχει τῶν ἄλλων.

Florum prima ver nuntiantium viola alba, tepidioribus vero locis etiam hieme emicat. postea quae ion appellatur et purpurea, proxime flammeum quod phlox vocatur, silvestre dumtaxat.

Consequently in this passage, Pliny by the *viola alba* does not, as elsewhere, mean the stock but the snowflake ; φλόγιον (= *flammeum*) cannot be identified ; it is certainly not the same as the φλόξ of Theophrastus, which is a *scentless*, cultivated ornamental flower (στεφανωτικὸν ἄοσμον, vi, 6, 2, 11 ; cp. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 59). Therefore *flammeum* or *phlox* is certainly not the wall-flower (*viola lutea*), which has a sweet smell.

Amongst the plants that bloom in the late spring, after the cyclamen, narcissus, lily, and oenanthē, Theophrastus again mentions the black violet (τὸ μέλαν Ἴον, vi, 8, 1). Here the text is evidently corrupt, since this flower is one of the earliest spring flowers after the snowflake. In Pliny (xxi, 65) the passage runs : sequitur oenanthē ac melanthium (Sillig, *melanion* ; *vv. ll.*, *melanthum*, *melanthium*) ; certainly some other flower is meant.

The following is the result of our investigations.

The meaning of *ιον* and *viola* by themselves is uncertain, and can only be determined from the context : among the Romans, however, according to Pliny *ιον* was applied to *Viola odorata* alone (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 27). On the other hand where *violaria* (violet gardens and beds) are mentioned, the stock is certainly meant, which alone (and not the purple violet) appears to have been cultivated in gardens amongst the Romans.

"Ἴον τὸ μέλαν of Theophrastus, *viola purpurea* of Pliny, Ἴον πορφυροῦν of Dioscorides, is the violet (*Viola odorata*).



\**Ἰὼν τὸ λευκόν*, *ἰωνίς* of Theophrastus, *viola alba* of Pliny, *λευκόϊον* of Dioscorides is the stock (*Matthiola incana*).

*Λευκόϊον* of Theophrastus is the snowflake (*Leucojum vernum*).

*Λευκόϊον* of Dioscorides, *viola lutea* of Pliny may be the wall-flower (*Cheiranthus Cheiri*), although this is not absolutely certain; the modern and mediaeval name points to a plant of oriental origin, introduced by Persians or Arabs.

It is a remarkable fact that, although the *violae* play a great part in the literature of the ancients, and according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 14, 27) are almost the only flowers (with the exception of roses) used for garlands, their characteristic forms, as far as I know, are not represented in art. In the very complete list of the plants figured at Pompeii (70 species) published by Prof. Comes (*Illustrazione delle piante rappresentati nei dipinti Pompeiani*, 1879), neither stocks nor violets are mentioned.

[To the above I add the following. In the *Lex Collegi Aesculapi et Hygiae* (Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 320, 43-46 = Orelli, 2417) the 22nd of March (xi kal. apr.) is indicated as *dies violaris*, the 11th of May (v Id. Mai.) as *dies rosae* (in Wilmanns 313, also from the city of Rome, the 21st of May is *dies rosationis*, the date of [*dies viola*]tionis has fallen out). No doubt, we cannot in this case decide with certainty whether the *viola*, from which the earlier day took its name, was the violet, or the stock (or the wall-flower). According to Herr Carl Köhler, gardener at the German embassy in Rome, the (uncultivated) violet chiefly flowers there in February<sup>1</sup> and March (also, particularly in gardens, in October and November); the wall-flower and the winter-stock bloom, according to the state of the weather, at the end of March and April, usually about Easter (hence the name *viola di pasqua*); yet in isolated instances there are flowers throughout the winter, especially in sheltered spots (the summer-stock, which is hardly ever cultivated, flowers according to sowing in June or July). But although on the *dies violaris* there were violets as well as stocks and wall-flowers, they were more probably named after the new than the old flowers. Where *violae* are mentioned together with roses and lilies, they can of course be only stocks (or wall-flowers), e.g. Martial, x, 32, 1: *haec mihi, quae colitur violis pictura rosisque*; Statius, *Silvae*, i, 2, 22: *tu modo fronte rosas, violis modo lilia mixta excipis*. The many-coloured violets can only be stocks: Juvenal, xii, 90: *tura dabo atque omnes violae jactabo colores*. L. F.]

On *Anemona* Theophrastus observes that there are several kinds, which grow wild on mountains and in meadows: the first (*τῶν ἀγρίων ἀνεμώνης γένος τὸ ὀρεῖνδον καλούμενον*) blooms very early, at the same time as the narcissus and the lily; the meadow-anemone (*ἡ λειμωνία καλουμένη*) later, shortly before the rose (vi, 8, 1). Elsewhere he mentions an anemone, which blooms in winter (vii, 10, 2); its leaves are on the ground (grow immediately from the

<sup>1</sup> The *violae* offered to the Manes (19th-21st of February) are consequently violets; cp. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 404, according to whom (p. 400) winter in Italy was colder than it is now. But cp. Olck, *Hat sich das Klima Italiens seit dem Alterthum geändert?* in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1887, pp. 465-475.

root ; vii, 8, 3) and sprout soon after the flowers (vii, 7, 3). He says nothing of an anemone cultivated in gardens.

On the other hand, Pliny and Dioscorides distinguish the wild and the cultivated anemone (*silvestris* et in *cultis nascens*) ; the wild has scarlet (*phoeniceus*) flowers and is mistaken for the wild poppies (*papaver*, *rhoeas*, *argemone*), from which, however, it is to be distinguished by its earlier flowering, the absence of milky juice and calyx ; the cultivated, which is used for garlands (*anemone coronaria*) has scarlet, purple, or milk-white flowers, the first being the commonest. It has smaller leaves than the wild variety, like *apium* or coriander, and rarely grows higher than half a foot (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 164, 165). Dioscorides (*C.*, clxxii) gives a more accurate and detailed explanation. However, it is difficult to say which of the many species of anemone are meant by the wild and cultivated anemones of the ancients ; certainly *Anemone coronaria* is included, probably also *A. hortensis* and *pavonina*, all of which adorn south European gardens.

*Νάρκισσος* in Theophrastus is the same as *λείριον* (vi, 6, 9 : *οἱ μὲν τοῦτο, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνον καλοῦσι*). The leaves are numerous, narrow, with an oily gloss (*λιπαροί*), similar to those of the asphodel, yet much broader, like those of the *κρινωνιά*—all bulbous plants have narrow leaves (vii, 13, 1). The leaves of the narcissus grow on the ground, the stem is leafless, grass-green (*πόωδης*), and bears only a single flower at the top (vi, 6, 9) ; only flower-stalks are produced from the fleshy, large, round root (bulb ; vi, 6, 9 ; vii, 13, 2 ; *C. Pl.*, i, 4, 1) ; first the flower-stalks are developed, and then later the leaves, the flower is monopetalous, united below, only divided above into angular segments (*ἀποφύσεις γωνιώδεις*) (i, 13, 2) ; it has a sweet smell ; it forms large black seeds in membranous capsules. There are two kinds of narcissus ; one flowers in spring soon after the violets (*μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* [*ἴα*] *ὁ νάρκισσος καὶ* [*? ἦ*] *τὸ λείριον* ; the other in autumn at the same time as the saffron (*κρόκος*) *μετόπωρον δὲ τὸ λείριον τὸ ἕτερον* (viii, 2, 3) *ἕψιον δὲ σφόδρα· μετὰ γὰρ ἄρκτουρον καὶ περὶ ἰσημερίαν* (vi, 6, 9).

It is highly probable that Theophrastus is here speaking of two species of the genus *Narcissus* ; the species, however, cannot be determined, since no colour is given ; the kind that flowers in the autumn may be *Narcissus serotinus* L., which flowers in the district of Naples and the neighbouring islands in September, or *Narcissus elegans*, which flowers from September to November in Tuscany, Naples, Sicily, and Corsica. In the *Flora Italiana* of Cesati, Passerini and Gibelli, among winter narcissi, which begin to flower in November and last till January, *Narcissus unicolor*, *siculus*, *Bioniae* and *Tazetta* (December–April) are mentioned ; on the other hand *N. poeticus* and *Pseudonarcissus* flower in the spring near Naples.

Pliny's account of the narcissus is confused, except where it is borrowed from Theophrastus ; according to him, it is a kind of purple lily, often with double stalk (Theophrastus mentions that of the *κρίνον*). *Alterum* genus flore candido calyce purpureo is certainly *Narcissus poeticus* ; *tertio generi cetera eadem*, calyx herbaceus (grass-green) may be *N. Tazetta* (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 25) ; *calyx* appears to mean the inner crown (tube or paracorolla) of the nar-

cissus. Pliny's statements as to its flowering period are contradictory ; in Greece they flower after the violets (*seriores supradictis narcissus et liliū trans maria*, in Italia post rosam (xxi, 64) ; in another passage : *omnes serotini, post arcturum florent et per æquinotium autumnum* (xxi, 25). In the parallel passages of Theophrastus different varieties are distinguished.

Dioscorides describes *N. poeticus* very distinctly : in the wall-paintings of Pompeii according to Comes (pp. 42, 43), *N. poeticus* and *Pseudonarcissus* are represented : Comes also identifies Pliny's narcissus with grass-green calyx with *N. Pseudonarcissus*.

In Theophrastus *ὑάκινθος* is the latest of the spring flowers used for garlands ; it flowers immediately before the rose, grows wild, is cultivated, blooms for a long time, its blooms are coloured, like the Phrygian *amaracus*, which is also called *pothos* (vii, 8, 1-3). This does not tell us much. Pliny, who in the parallel passage (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 67) distinguishes *pothos* from *amaracus*, gives the *hyacinthus* a bulb (xxi, 170) ; the veins on the flower show the Greek letters AI, according to the fable a sign of mourning for Ajax or Hyacinthus ; this description, like that of Dioscorides (iv, 63) suits a gladiolus ; yet the latter occurs in Pliny (xxv, 137) also under the name *xiphion* (*ξίφιον* or *φάσγανον* in Theophrastus, vi, 8 ; vii, 12, 13 ; Dioscorides, iv, 20). Bissinger, who has recently collected all the literature on *ὑάκινθος*, also thinks of an iris (*Programm der Studienanstalt zu Erlangen*, 1880). *Delphinium Ajacis* also appears to be called *hyacinthus* (Dioscorides, iii, 77). [*Hyacinthinus* of a colour (*hyacinthina laena*, Persius, i, 32) is to be derived from the precious stone called *hyacinthus* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii, 125.)

## VOL. II

### XXIV. THREE INSCRIPTIONS ON CHARIOTEERS.

(Vol. II, p. 23, l. 15.)

THE two most comprehensive inscriptions on charioteers (*CIL*, vi, 2, 10047 = Orelli, 2593 and 10048 = Gruter, 337) deserve detailed treatment for two reasons: (1) the numerous difficulties which they present, which, however, can nearly all be removed, although in part only by conjecture; (2) the manifold details of chariot-driving, which we learn from them. In the second inscription, some parts which I had understood wrongly or not at all, have been explained by a third, recently discovered: the inscription on the charioteer Crescens, published with commentary by the Countess Ersilia Lovatelli in the *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale*, iv (1878), p. 164, which has been used by Mommsen (*Ephem. epigr.*, iv, pp. 247-252), O. Hirschfeld (*Arch. epigr. Mitth.*, ii, 188) and myself (*Festschrift der Königsb. Universität zum fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum d. arch. Inst.*, p. 7) to elucidate Gruter, 337.

1. The inscription *CIL*, vi, 2, 10047 (= Orelli, 2593), is from the MS. of the Anonymus Einsiedlensis, fol. 75<sup>b</sup> and 76<sup>a</sup>. Cp. Wilmanns, *Exempla inscr. lat.*, 2600 (ii, p. 181):—

Anon. Einsiedl. fol. 75<sup>b</sup>.

In Ipsa Via Flaminea.

1. P. aelius mari

rogati fil. gutta calpurnianus equis his vici in  
factione veneta geminatore<sup>1</sup> n. af. lxxxxii  
silvano r. af. cv nitid. gil. af. lii saxone n. af. lx

5. et vici praemia m. I. i. xl ix xxx xvii

Item Ibidem In Ipso Monumento.

3. Ex numero palmarū supra scriptarū ∞ cxxvii  
vici in factione albata cii remissus ii xxx i xl i  
a pompa iiii equor. anagonū i singularū lxxxiii  
binarū vii Ternarū ii. In factione russata vici

10. lxxiix. Remissus semel xxx i [quaternarū  
i] singularū xlii Binarū xxxii Ternarū iii  
quaternarū semel. In factione veneta vici  
dlxxxiii xxx xviii sejuge i xl viii l i  
a pompa xxxv Trigas xv ii Triga

15. xx vi.<sup>2</sup> Equor. anagonū i sacro,

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has *germinatore*, which appears to me an error or a corruption, the name Geminator being so exactly suited to a circus horse.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen, *l.c.*, p. 251\*: xxv i.



fol. 76<sup>a</sup>.

- quinquennalis certaminis i Remissus semel. singularū cccxxxiiii Binarū clxxxiv Ternarū lxxv in factione prasina vici xxxlxiv xxx i xl ii pedibus ad quadrigā lx i<sup>1</sup> a pompa vi  
 20. singularū cxvi Binarū clxxxiiii Ternarū lxiiii. Hoc monumentum vivvs feci.

Item In Ipso Monumento

2. P. aelius mari

- rogati fil. gutta calpurnianus milli (*sic*) palmas cōplevi. in factione prasina equis his danao  
 25. b. af. xix oceano n. ccviii victore r. cccxxix vindice b. clvii et vici pmia  
 maiora xl iii xxx iii.

The mention of the palmae supra scriptae (6) shows that the Einsiedeln monk has not copied all the inscriptions on the memorial; probably he has even omitted the most important. It is doubtful whether the memorial contained lists of the victories of the Whites and Reds, as well as those of the Blues and Greens. Perhaps, as Mommsen thinks, the former were omitted, since at the time only the latter were valued. In addition, on the site of the memorial, fragments of a large circus relief have recently been discovered, which appears to have belonged to it (Visconti e Vespignani, *Dalle scoperte avvenute per la demolizione della Porta Flaminia*, in *Bull. d. commiss. archeol. comun.*, iii [1877], p. 201).

Mommsen had published some remarks on the inscription (*Ber. d. sächs. Gesch.*, 1850, p. 312); I had discussed it in the *Programm Acad. Albert. Regimont.*, 1886, ii, where however I was mistaken on some essential points.

The memorial is a sepulchral monument (21), erected to himself during his lifetime by Publius Aelius Gutta Calpurnianus, son of Marius Rogatus, on the Via Flaminia, probably after his retirement from his career as a charioteer. The inscription cannot be earlier than the second century, as is shown by the name Publius Aelius, which appears to have been equally common in the time of the Severi (cp. Aelia gens in *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 339). From the horse's name Saxo we should rather ascribe it to the third or fourth century. The earliest mention of the Saxons is in Ptolemy, ii, 11, 11 and 31; but they must have been long known, and intercourse with them must have been considerable, for horses to have been imported from them or named after them (Saxo was an African horse).

Gutta was one of the charioteers, who had gained more than a thousand victories (a so-called *miliarius*: 5, 6, 23, 24). According to 6, he had gained 1127 prizes (not identical with the *praemia* of 5).

From 6 to 21 the 1127 victories are classified; although those enumerated apparently amount to 10 short of the total, this may be accounted for by the omission of a figure (in a place which, as will be seen, can be specified).

The 1127 victories are classified according to the four factions, subdivided again according as they were gained in contests of four,

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *l.c.*, p. 250: lxi.

eight, twelve, or sixteen chariots, in ordinary races, or in certain unusual contests specially named. I will deal with the subdivisions first, as offering least difficulty. It is clear from the inscriptions that, as was to be expected, the contest of four chariots, *i.e.* one from each faction (*certamina singularum sc. quadrigarum*) was by far the most common; according to the inscription on Diocles (*CIL*, vi, 10048) the victory in this must have been considered one of the most honourable. Contests of two chariots from each faction, that is, eight in all (*certamina binarum*) were tolerably frequent; of three from each, that is, twelve in all (*ternarum*), rare; of four from each, that is, sixteen in all (*quaternarum*), extremely rare. Of the 1127 victories of Gutta only one, of the 47 of Crescens and the 1462 of Diocles not one was gained in the last named (*cp.* Marquardt, *StV*, iii, 513, 1). Now, according to the text of the *Anonymus Einsiedlensis*, Gutta gained the following victories:—

|                             | Whites. | Reds. | Blues. | Greens. |
|-----------------------------|---------|-------|--------|---------|
| In contests of 1 chariot .. | 83      | 42    | 334    | 116     |
| „ „ 2 chariots ..           | 7       | 32    | 184    | 184     |
| „ „ 3 chariots ..           | 2       | 3     | 65     | 64      |
| „ „ 4 chariots ..           | 0       | 1     | 0      | 0       |
|                             | 92      | 78    | 583    | 364     |

The above totals give a grand total of 1117. The difference between this and the grand total 1127 given above, shows that x has fallen out somewhere. It can be shown that it has done so in the first total.

A glance at the numbers which in 7, 10, 13, 18 follow immediately upon the names of the four factions shows that they are arrived at by addition; and doubtful or incorrect figures can be checked by comparison. Since, in 7, in *factione albata cii* (prizes) are mentioned, the 10 wanted to make up the total must have fallen out in the list of the White victories, where addition only gives 92: probably we should read xvii for vii in 9. According to the same enumeration, the Red victories are 78; consequently, in 10, lxxix should be read instead of lxxii x.

The numbers following these four sums are consequently not to be added together with them; they are only intended to bring into prominence victories in exceptional kinds of races, which are already included in those sums.

This makes it probable that the numbers xxx, xl, l and lx, which in 7, 10, 13, 18, 19 follow the totals in the enumeration of the special classes, also indicate classes of contests. This conjecture is rendered certain by other inscriptions. In the inscription of Diocles, it is said of another charioteer (line 17): *primus omnium urbis conditae ad HS l vicit vii*: of three others (18): *[qui] ad HS l vicissent xi*; of Diocles himself (21): *l vicit x, lx, i*. It is clear that the amounts xxx, xl, l, lx denote the value of the prizes contested. No doubt *sestertia* is to be supplied, so that *e.g.* *vicit xxx i* = *vicit ad triginta HS (i.e. in a race for a stake of 30,000 sesterces) semel*. It may be supposed that only the most experienced drivers were allowed to take part in these contests, which probably presented special difficulties.

Similarly, in the inscription on Marcus Aurelius Polynices (*Hen-*

zen, 6179 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10049), after the classification of his 739 victories according to factions (Red, 655; Green, 55; Blue, 12; White, 17): *praemia* xxxx n. iii xxx xxvi pura n. xi octojug. n. viii dec. n. viiii sejug. n. iii, *i.e.* three prizes of 40,000 sesterces, 26 of 30,000, 11 pure (*i.e.* simple, perhaps also those of 15,000 in the inscriptions of Diocles and Gutta). The six, eight, and ten in hand races were perhaps always such prize races, the amount of the prize being perhaps fixed once for all, so that they were not specially stated. Probably such races brought the largest income to the victors, although part of the prize money went to the faction funds. Such a victory is no doubt referred to in Martial, x, 74, 5:—

Cum Scorpus una quindecim graves hora  
ferventis auri victor auferat saccos.

If now the inscription of Polynices shows that in that of Gutta figures written together must in many cases be separated (*e.g.* in 7, xxx i (ad xxx HS semel), xl i must be written for xxxi and xli); it is further clear that in 5 and 25 f. the numbers of the *praemia* of 30,000, 40,000, and 50,000 sesterces won in the Blues and Greens are stated. The *m* in 5 is probably nothing but *majora*, possibly *milia* (HS).

The *praemia majora* in 5 and 25, won by Gutta for the Greens and Blues, are at variance with the corresponding figures in the central section. But as it is impossible to ascertain where the error lies, all emendations of individual figures are worthless, and the amount of the *praemia majora* won by Gutta must remain doubtful.

The other varieties mentioned offer no difficulty. *Remissus* evidently = *revocatus* (Orelli, 2594 = *CIL*, vi, 10,055: *vicit ii, revocatus ii*). The meaning is clear from Ovid (*Amores*, iii, 2, 73), where the poet, despairing of the victory of the charioteer in whom he is interested, exclaims:—

favimus ignavo. sed enim revocate, Quirites,  
et date jactatis undique signa togis.

75 en revocant.

77 jamque patent iterum reserato carcere postes.  
evolat admissis discolor agmen equis.

nunc saltem supera, spatioque insurge patenti;  
sint mea, sint dominae fac rata vota meae.  
sunt dominae rata vota meae; mea vota supersunt.  
ille tenet palmam, palma petenda mihi est.

Evidently a race, which had been undecided or interrupted, was run again at the wish of the people, signified by napkins or togas; the victor in this repeated contest was *revocatus* or *remissus*. Seneca, *Controv.*, i, 3, 10: Varus Quintilius . . . dixit . . . : (dii) incestam, ne cito supplicium transcurreret, revocaverunt. Cestius multa contumeliose dixit in hanc sententiam: sic, inquit, quomodo quadrigas revocaverunt? nam et ante posuisti similitudinem, quia et haec de carcere exierat. The figures show, that such repetitions were rare at that time.

A *pompa*. Bianconi (*Descr. de' cerchi*, p. xxxviii) conjectures that a *pompa* denotes a victory in which the charioteer started from the door near the central or processional gate. But (to say nothing

of the singularity of such nomenclature) this is improbable, since this was evidently an advantage, while in other cases only obstacles and difficulties are stated, the overcoming of which enhanced the glory of the victory. Perhaps a *pompa* denotes the first race, which directly followed the procession, permission to enter for which may have been an honour granted only to experienced charioteers. This race also 'put both horses and drivers to the severest test, especially if they had been exposed for hours to the fatigues of the procession.' G(ustav) F(reytag), *Sportbericht eines römischen Jockeys*, in *Grenzboten* (1869), ii, p. 451.

*Equorum anagonum*. Of course a victory with horses which had never run before, was especially honourable.

*Sejuge* and *triga* or *trigas* need no explanation. Consequently, while victory with the *biga* was only an honour for novices, experts competed for that with the *triga*; of course the prizes were smaller than in the six-in-hand races. Whether the prize in 15 was 20,000 or 25,000 sesterces (in the former case Gutta received it six times, in the latter once) cannot be decided.

*Sacro quinquennalis certaminis*. No doubt victory in the *agon Capitolinus* is meant (see last section). When the monument was erected, it must have been the only *quinquennale certamen* in Rome.

*Pedibus ad quadrigam*. According to this specification, which, as far as I know, only occurs here, the kind of racing described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (vii, 73) was still common: ὅταν γὰρ τέλος αἱ τῶν ἵππων ἀμιλλαι λάβωνται, ἀποπηδῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων οἱ παροχούμενοι τοῖς ἡνίοχοις—τὸν σταδιαῖον ἀμιλλῶνται δρόμον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Thus in this case there was a double victory (by the runner and the charioteer) to be won. *Pedibus ad quadrigam*, therefore, does not mean that Gutta gained a victory in this manner (*i.e.* running), but it indicates the variety of the race, in which as in the rest he gained a victory by chariot-driving. I do not agree with Mommsen in referring the number lxi to the number of victories won in this class of contest, since it must have been very rare, to judge from the total absence of further mention of it. I believe that the copyist has wrongly combined the value of the prize (60,000 sesterces) with the number of victories won (i, *i.e.* semel): accordingly I read l̄x i.

The list of Gutta's victories was accordingly as follows:—

|                               | Whites. | Reds. | Blues. | Greens: |
|-------------------------------|---------|-------|--------|---------|
| Class of contest . . . . .    | 102     | 78    | 583    | 364     |
| Remissus . . . . .            | 2       | 1     | 1      | 0 times |
| ad xxx HS . . . . .           | 1       | 1     | 17     | 1 "     |
| ad xl HS . . . . .            | 1       | 0     | 0      | 2 "     |
| a pompa . . . . .             | 4       | 0     | 35     | 6 "     |
| equorum anagonum . . . . .    | 1       | 0     | 1      | 0 "     |
| sejuge ad xl HS . . . . .     | 0       | 0     | 1      | 0 "     |
| sejuge ad l HS . . . . .      | 0       | 0     | 9      | 0 "     |
| sejuge (ad lx HS ?) . . . . . | 0       | 0     | 1      | 0 "     |
| trigas ad xv HS . . . . .     | 0       | 0     | 2      | 0 "     |
| triga ad xx HS . . . . .      | 0       | 0     | 6      | 0 "     |
| sacro. quinq. cert.. . . .    | 0       | 0     | 1      | 0 "     |
| pedibus ad quadr. ad lx HS. . | 0       | 0     | 0      | 1 "     |



Although the middle section can thus be almost completely explained, the figures in the first and third are so corrupt that no certain restoration is possible. Two lists are here given: one of the prizes which Gutta won in the Blues and the Greens, the other of the number of times he was victorious for both parties with the same horses. I have already observed that the amounts of the former cannot be ascertained with certainty. But even in the numbers of the latter those of the victories with the Greens (23-25 in the third section) must be wrong. Gutta had won in all 583 victories for the Blues, 364 for the Greens. Consequently, the totals of the victories won for these two parties with the same horses could at most equal these two totals; we should expect the number to be considerably smaller. For it is hardly conceivable that so many victories should have been won for the Blues and Greens with the same four principal horses<sup>1</sup> (3, 4 and 23-25). It was especially honourable to have gained a large number of victories with *one* principal horse, but of course almost impossible always to win with one and the same. Now Gutta had won most victories for the two parties whom he chiefly served with four principal horses in each case, and therefore the numbers of these victories are only fractions of all his victories for the Greens and the Blues. Of the 583 victories for the Blues he had won:—

|       |                |                                           |
|-------|----------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 92    | with Geminator | } as principal horse of the four-in-hand. |
| 105   | „ Silvanus     |                                           |
| 52    | „ Nitidus      |                                           |
| 60    | „ Saxo         |                                           |
| <hr/> |                |                                           |
| 309   |                |                                           |

The remaining 274 victories for the Blues had evidently been distributed among so many different principal horses, that it did not seem worth while to give the individual figures. There is no reason to doubt the correctness of the numbers.

For the Greens Gutta had won 364 victories, but the numbers of the victories won give a far larger total:—

|       |             |                                           |
|-------|-------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 19    | with Danaus | } as principal horse of the four-in-hand. |
| 209   | „ Oceanus   |                                           |
| 429   | „ Victor    |                                           |
| 157   | „ Vindex    |                                           |
| <hr/> |             |                                           |
| 814   |             |                                           |

There is consequently no doubt that C has been written at least five times too often owing to a misunderstanding. Perhaps the total number of victories with these four horses was 314.

The totals 309 and 814 added together give 1123, that is to say, a number almost identical with the grand total of Gutta's victories (1127). At first sight this might lead us to suppose that all the victories (only differently distributed) are again enumerated here, those for the Whites and Reds being reckoned in with those of the two chief factions, and that the inscription belongs to a period when the union of the former with the latter had already taken place. But,

<sup>1</sup> The left outside horses.

apart from all other considerations, this conjecture is shown to be quite erroneous by the addition of the undoubtedly correct totals.

Victories for the Whites and Greens, 102 + 364 = 466

„ „ Reds „ Blues, 78 + 583 = 661

The numbers 309 and 814 vary so greatly from these figures, which are required if the union be supposed to have taken place, that this fact alone would be sufficient to exclude any such idea. Freytag (as above, p. 455), who takes the 1123 victories to include all Gutta's victories except four which were not gained by the two four-in-hands named, assumes that 'in factione veneta' (3) and 'in factione prasina' (24) only mean 'that the first four horses belong to his earlier, the latter to his later period'. I cannot admit this assumption.

2. The charioteer Diocles of Gruter, 327 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,048 is further known from an inscription of Praeneste (Gruter, 76, 4 = *CIL*, xiv, 2884):—

C. Appuleio Diocli  
agitatori primo fact.  
russat. natione Hispano  
Fortunae Primigeniae  
d. d.

C. Appuleius Nymphidianus  
et Nymphidia filii.

This inscription may refer to the later lifetime of Diocles, who, having realized a considerable fortune, had abandoned the dangers and exertions of the Circus for the retirement of Praeneste.

The monument Gruter, 337 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,048) was perhaps also erected by his admirers or supporters, after he had given up his career as a chariot-driver, while still in the prime of life. The stone has long been lost, but we possess the text of the inscription in an admirable copy by Smetius, whose accuracy is shown by the fact that all the figures which can be checked by comparison with each other are correct. Although the text of Smetius may contain some trifling errors, it is a perfectly satisfactory foundation for elucidation. With the exception of the insertions to supply the gaps and a few unimportant emendations mentioned in their place, I give it as it stands, only that the figures indicating the amounts of the prizes are in all cases marked with a stroke above (frequently omitted in Gruter): cp. Wilmanns, *Ex. Inscr.*, 2601.

1. C. Appu]leius Diocles agitator factionis russatae.

2. nat]ione Hispanus Lusitanus annorum xxxxi mens. vii d. xxiii.

3. pri]mum agitavit in factione alb. Acilio Aviola et Corellio Pansa cos. (A.D. 122).

4. primu]m vicit in factione eadem M'. Acilio Glabrione C. Bellicio Torquato cos. (A.D. 124).

5. p]rimum agitavit in factione prasina Torquato Asprenate ii et Annio Libone cos. (A.D. 128) primum vicit

6. in faction]e russata Laenate Pontiano et Antonio <sup>1</sup> Rufino cos. (A.D. 131) summa: quadriga agitavit annis xxiii. missus ostio <sup>iiii</sup> cclvii

<sup>1</sup> Smetius: Annio; cp. Wilmanns, *Ex.*, ii, p. 185, 5; Henzen, 6996.

7. vicit  $\infty$  ccc]clxii. a pompa cx. singularum vicit  $\infty$  lxxiii. inde praemia majora vicit lxxxxii  $\overline{\text{xxx}}$  xxxii, ex his sejuges iii;  $\overline{\text{xxxx}}$  xxviii,

8. ex his sejuge]s? ii;  $\overline{\text{I}}$ xxviii, inde septejuge i;  $\overline{\text{I}}$ x iii binarum vicit cccxxxxvii. trigas ad HS  $\overline{\text{xv}}$  iii. ternarum vicit li. ad honorem venit  $\infty$ .

9. tulit s]ecundas dccc]lxi. tertias dlxxvi. quartas ad HS  $\infty$  i. frustra exit  $\infty$  cccli. ad venetum vicit x. ad albatum vicit lxxxxi. inde ad HS xxxii ( $\overline{\text{xxx}}$  ii?)

10. retulit quaest]um HS cccclviii  $\overline{\text{I}}$ xiii cxx. praeterea bigas. M. vicit iii, ad albatu i, ad prasinu ii. occupavit et vicit dccc]xv. successit et vicit lxvii.

11. praemisit et vici]t? xxxvi. variis generibus vic. xxxxxii. eripuit et vicit dii. prasinis ccxvi. venetis ccv. albatis lxxxxi. equos centenarios fecit  $\overline{\text{n}}$ . viiii et ducenar. i

12. insignia ejus.

13. . . . . to <sup>1</sup> sibi, quo anno primum quadrigis victor exstitit bis, eripuit bis. actis continetur, Avilium Teren factionis suae primum omnium vicisse  $\infty$  xi, ex quibus anno uno plurimum vincendo vicit

14. . . . . singularum . . . . at Diocles quo an]no primum centum victorias consecutus est, victor ciii, singularum vicit lxxxiii. adhuc augens gloriam tituli sui praecessit Thallum factionis suae, qui primus in factione russata

15. . . . at Dio]cles omnium agitatorum eminentissimus, quo anno alieno principio victor cxxxiii, singularum vicit cxviii; quo titulo praecessit omnium factionum agitatores, qui umquam

16. certaminibus ludorum ci]rcensium interfuerunt. omnium adurbatione merito notatum est, quod uno anno alieno principio duobus introjugis Cotyno et Pompeiano, vicit lxxxxviii  $\overline{\text{I}}$  x i  $\overline{\text{I}}$  iii  $\overline{\text{x}}$  i  $\overline{\text{xxx}}$  ii.

17. nn. fact]ionis prasinae, victor  $\infty$  xxv, primus omnium urbis conditae ad HS  $\overline{\text{I}}$  vicit vii. Diocles praecedens eum introjugis tribus Abigeio Lucido Parato  $\overline{\text{I}}$  vicit viii.

18. praecedens C]omnunem (*sic*) Venustum Epaphroditum, tres agitatores miliarios factionis venetae, [qui] ad HS  $\overline{\text{I}}$  vicissent xi, Diocles Pompeiano et Lucido duobus introjugis  $\overline{\text{I}}$  vicit

19. xii? nn.]factionis prasinae victor  $\infty$  xxv et Flavius Scopus, victor  $\overline{\text{ii}}$  xlviii et Pompeius Musclosus victor  $\overline{\text{iii}}$  dlviiii, tres agitatores victores  $\overline{\text{vi}}$  dcxxxii, ad HS  $\overline{\text{I}}$  vicerunt xxviii,

20. at Diocles omnium agitatorum emi]nentissimus, victor  $\infty$  ccclxii,  $\overline{\text{I}}$  vicit xxviii. nobilissimo titulo Diocles nitet, cum Fortunatus factionis prasinae, in victore Tusco victor ccllxxxvi.  $\overline{\text{I}}$  vicit ix. Diocles

21. in Pompeiano victore victo]r clii,  $\overline{\text{I}}$  vicit x,  $\overline{\text{I}}$ x i. novis coactionibus et numquam ante titulis scriptis Diocles eminet, quod una die sejuges ad HS  $\overline{\text{x}}$  missus bis, utrasque victor eminuit atque amplius

22. . . . . suisque septem equis in se junctis, numquam ante

<sup>1</sup> Bormann: [praemio dato annos . . . na]to sibi,

hoc numero equorum spectato, certamine ad HS  $\overline{\Gamma}$  in Abigeio victor eminuit, et sine flagello alis certaminibus ad HS  $\overline{\text{xxx}}$

23. vicit; adque? cum prim]um<sup>1</sup> visus esset his novitatibus duplici ornatus est gloria. inter miliarios agitadores primum locum obtinere videtur Pontius Epaphroditus factionis venetae,

24. qui temporibus imp. nostri Anto]nini Aug. Pii solus victor  $\infty$  cccclxvii, singularum vicit dcccxi. ad Diocles praecedens eum, victor  $\infty$  cccclxii inter singulares (read: inter has singularum)<sup>2</sup> vicit  $\infty$  lxiii. isdem temporibus

25. Pontius Epaphroditus eripuit] et vicit cccclxvii: Diocles eripuit et vicit dii. Diocles agitator quo anno vicit cxxvii (Abigeio Lucido Pompeiano introjugis tribus victor ciii) inter

26. . . . inter em]inentes agit res introjugis Afris plurimum vicerunt Pontius Epaphroditus factionis venetae (in Bubalo vicit cxxxiii) Pompeius Musclosus factionis prasiniae

27. (in . . . vicit] cxv). Diocles superatis eis, in Pompeiano victor clii, singularum vicit cxxxxiii. ampliatis titulis suis, Cotyno Galata Abigeio Lucido Pompeiano introjugis quinque

28. victor cccxxxxv, singularum vicit cclxxxxvii.

#### NOTES.

1-6. In the year 122 Diocles, probably while still very young, appeared for the first time in the Whites (3), gained a victory for them in 124 (line 4), drove for the Greens for the first time in 128 (line 5), won a victory for the Reds (probably at his first appearance) in 131 (line 6), to whom he appears to have remained attached from that time. According to 11 he had won 216 victories for the Greens, 205 for the Blues, 81 for the Whites; the remaining 960 victories were consequently won for the Reds.<sup>3</sup> When the monument was erected, he was 42 years, 7 months, 23 days old (2) and had won 1462 victories (20). Now, since 100 victories in a year were considered very glorious (14) and, in addition, Diocles in his first years of driving cannot of course have won nearly as many victories as at a later date, his last 1400 victories were probably distributed over the years 130-146. He drove the four-in-hand for 24 years (6); as he began his career in 122, the memorial, as Hirschfeld observes, must have been erected after 146, or at the earliest in that year. Then Diocles was born in 104 and began driving four-in-hands at the age of 18, whereas Crescens did the same when only 13.

6. Summa: quadriga agitavit annis xxiiii. missus ostio  $\overline{\text{iiii}}$ . cclvii.

7. vicit  $\infty$  ccc]clxii. a pompa cx.

Summa, as Hirschfeld observes, stands for *summa summarum*; cp. Wilmanns, 2599, l. 16: sum(ma) sum(marum) quadri(ga) vic(it) vii. The meaning of *missus ostio* is shown by the inscription on Crescens, 13: miss(us) ost(io) dclxxxvi vicit xxxvii. *Ostio missus* being equivalent to taking part in the racing,  $\overline{\text{iiii}}$  cclvii is the number

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen: duabus autem q]um; Hirschfeld: cum primus omni]um.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps inter singulares (*i.e.* missus) is correct, or inter singularum, as in the inscription of Crescens (15).

<sup>3</sup> A charioteer named Musclosus had gained 682 victories: 672 for the Reds, 3 for the Whites, 5 for the Greens, 2 for the Blues: *CIL*, vi, 2, 10063.



of all the races in which Diocles took part ; this was followed by the number of victories won (1462), the last figures of which are still preserved, so that the restoration of line 7 is certain. On a *pompa* see above. Here it is only stated how often Diocles took part in these difficult and honourable races, the number of which (110) is consequently included in that of the total number of his races (4257) ; but there is no indication how many times he was successful.

The enumeration of the victories begins with :—

7. singularum vicit ∞ lxiiii ; inde praemia majora vicit lxxxxii. xxx xxxii, ex his sejuges iii ; xxxx xxviii,

8. ex his sejuge]s ? ii ; lxxviii, inde septejuge i ; lxx iii. binarum vicit cccxxxxxvii. trigas ad HS xv iiii. ternarum vicit li.

The total number of Diocles' victories was 1462 ; and the addition of the three first numbers gives this total.

|                   |            |               |       |       |
|-------------------|------------|---------------|-------|-------|
| (in certaminibus) | singularum | (quadrigarum) | 1064  | times |
| „                 | binarum    | „             | 347   | „     |
| „                 | ternarum   | „             | 51    | „     |
|                   |            |               | <hr/> |       |
|                   |            |               | 1462  |       |

These figures, which can be proved correct, again show the preponderance of races of one team at a time, and also that races of more than three teams at a time were extremely rare (cp. also line 9) ; and finally, that the remaining victories mentioned here must already be included in the larger sums. In the 1064 victories in races of one team at a time Diocles also won *praemia majora* to the number of 92. Of these there were :—

|                                                          |                                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 32 prizes of 30,000 sesterces =                          | 960,000 sesterces                |
| (amongst them three for races with six-in-hands).        |                                  |
| 28 prizes of 40,000 sesterces =                          | 1,120,000 sesterces              |
| (amongst them two for races with six or seven-in-hands). |                                  |
| 29 prizes of 50,000 sesterces =                          | 1,450,000 <sup>1</sup> sesterces |
| (amongst them one for a race with a seven-in-hand).      |                                  |
| 3 prizes of 60,000 sesterces =                           | 180,000 sesterces                |
| <hr/>                                                    |                                  |

92 3,710,000 sesterces.

Also, 4 prizes of 15,000 in races of  
two three-in-hands at a time 60,000 „

Grand total of the *praemia majora* 3,770,000 sesterces.

It is easy to understand that it was in the *certamina binarum* that the races with *trigae* took place, in which 24 horses (in 8 chariots) had not much less room in the course than 16 horses (in 4 chariots) in the *certamina singularum* ; also, that the prizes for these victories were much lower (ad HS xv), than those with six and seven-in-hands.

As Diocles (according to line 10) had won on the whole 35,863,120 sesterces, after deducting the amount of the extraordinary prizes (3,770,000), we obtain 32,093,120 sesterces as the amount of the ordinary prizes. In accordance with this, Mommsen has attempted to ascertain the prizes for the different classes of ordinary races. From

<sup>1</sup> These are also mentioned in line 20.

the passage of Martial quoted above (p. 151) he assumes that the ordinary first prizes in races of a four-in-hand at a time (which were certainly smaller than the lowest extraordinary prize of 30,000 sesterces) amounted to 15,000 sesterces. This is not improbable, but, as Mommsen himself observes, there are so many possibilities that such calculations cannot be made with any degree of certainty.

8. ad honorem venit ∞<sup>7</sup>. 9. tulit s̄secundas d̄ccclxi. tertias dlxxvi. quartas ad HS ∞ i. frustra exit ∞ cccli. ad venetum vicit x. ad albatum vicit lxxxxi. inde ad HS xxxii (xxx ii?). 10. retulit quæst]um<sup>1</sup> HS ccclviii l̄xiii cxx. praeterea bigas M vicit iii, ad albatu i, ad prasinu ii.

With the exception of certain victories (line 9), which in any case are already included in the larger numbers, the races here enumerated are those in which Diocles had received only second, third and fourth prizes, or none at all. Hence the addition of these totals to the total of the victories (1462) must give the number (4257) of all the races in which Diocles took part. The following sum gives 4251 to start with:—

|                  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |                |
|------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----------------|
| Victories ..     | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,462          |
| Second prizes .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 861            |
| Third prizes ..  | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 576            |
| Fourth prize ..  | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 <sup>2</sup> |
| No prizes ..     | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,351          |
|                  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | <hr/>          |
|                  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 4,251          |

The question now is, which are the 6 missing races. Hirschfeld thought of reading 'ad honorem venit vi' in 8, against which Bormann observes (*CIL*, vi, 10,048): at titulo infra 10,055 videtur probari, agitorem dictum ad honorem venisse, quotienscumque non frustra exierit, sed vel vicerit vel tertias vel secundas tulerit. The inscription 10,055 (Orelli, 2594) contains the following list: vic. quadri. xlvii secund. cxx . . . tertias cxlvi. bigas vic. viii secundas iix terti(as) iix adgente quadrig. (pedibus ad quadrigam?) vicit ii revocatus ii instauratiam (instauratio die?) tertias i ad honore(m) veni(t) cccli.iii. If the figure of the second prizes be restored by the addition of xi, the addition of all the prizes won actually gives the total 354. If then 'ad honorem venit' means 'gained prizes of some kind or other', in line 8 (of the Diocles inscription) these words must have been followed by ∞ ∞ dccc, since Diocles had only failed in 1351 races, and 6 are apparently specially included in line 10. The only objection to Bormann's proposal to place the required number after 'ad honorem venit' is, that the assumption of so serious an error in the copy at the end of a line where there is no vacant space is suspicious.

Mommsen and Bormann are right in looking for the six missing races in line 10: praeterea bigas M̄ vicit iii, ad albatu i, ad prasinu ii. We may, with Mommsen, take M̄ to mean *miliarias*, i.e. races in which the prize was 1000 sesterces. Mommsen understands 'ad albatum

<sup>1</sup> This restoration is shown to be correct by the Crescens inscription (line 19).

<sup>2</sup> Unless the last of four chariots exceptionally obtained a prize, there must have been races, although of very rare occurrence, in which five chariots took part. Philo, *De Animal.*, 58, mentions a seven-chariot race in Alexandria.

vicit' of a race in which Diocles defeated two charioteers, but was himself defeated by the White. It seems better to understand a race in which he ran a dead heat with the White, otherwise 'vicit' would hardly have been admissible. It is uncertain whether in such a case the two victorious charioteers received first or second prizes; the latter is more probable. In any case, the 10 races, in which Diocles (with the four-in-hand) 'ad venetum vicit', and the 91, in which 'ad albatum vicit' (9) with the same, are included in one of the earlier totals. If all the figures in 10 are correct, after 3 full victories with the two-in-hand, an equal number of incomplete victories are enumerated—in all, 6 races in which he was not unsuccessful.

The number of races in which Diocles took part (4257) in 24 years gives about 177 a year, while on the whole in each year, reckoning only 50 circus days with 16 races on each, 800 took place, consequently in reality certainly much more. In ten years Crescens only took part in 686 races with the four-in-hand.

|     |                               |    |    |    |    |    |       |
|-----|-------------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|-------|
| 10. | occupavit et vicit dcccxv.    | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 815   |
|     | successit et vicit lxxvii     | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 67    |
| 11. | praemisit et vicit ? xxxvi    | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 36    |
|     | variis generibus vic. xxxxiii | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 42    |
|     | eripuit et vicit dii          |    |    |    |    |    |       |
|     | prasinis ccxvi,               |    |    |    |    |    |       |
|     | venetis ccv                   |    |    |    |    |    |       |
|     | albatis lxxxi                 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 502   |
|     |                               |    |    |    |    |    | <hr/> |
|     |                               |    |    |    |    |    | 1,462 |

The total shows that here again all Diocles' victories with *quadrigae* etc., are enumerated, and that they are classified according to the various issues of the races. The sums 'in prasinis albatis venetis' are parts of the total in 'eripuit et vicit' (502), as the addition shows. This has already been observed by Anton Elter (*Die Gladiatoren-tesseren*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, xli [1886], p. 537), who on this ground has rightly corrected my interpretation of the passage: as *eripuit* implies some one from whom the victory was 'snatched', the one who at the critical moment was next, *eripuit* must mean 'won with difficulty, after a hard struggle'. From 25 this appears to have been the most honourable victory of all. Elter's explanation of 'occupavit et vicit', 'easily gained' agrees in the main with my own: a victory, in which the victor took the lead from the outset and kept it. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 160: excusso in carceribus auriga albati (equi) Corace (equo) *occupavere*, primatum (Jan: *prima tum*, Sillig) optinuerunt, opposcentes, effundentes, omniaque contra aemulos quae debuissent peritissimo auriga insistente facientes. On the other hand, the meaning of 'praemisit et vicit', and of 'successit et vicit' (probably 'was second at first'; Elter's 'kept the lead brilliantly' is improbable) is doubtful. I had explained the former of a victory, in which the victor had allowed his competitors a considerable start (a handicap); to this Elter rightly objects 'that such exceptional cases, which alter the character of the competition, if they occurred, could not lead to a terminology, which adapted itself to the rest'. 'Praemisit,' therefore, probably

means: 'at first (purposely dropping behind) let the others get ahead'. But Elter's explanation—'a victory resulting from the others coming to grief, refusing to race, or otherwise retiring from the contest', appears to me quite untenable. For admitting that 'allowed to come in front' would be a suitable expression for a victory in which the victor 'drives alone over the course', it by no means follows from 'praemissus vicit' (15) in the Crescens inscription (*CIL*, vi, 2, 10,050) that 'praemissus vicit' was the original form. Rather, on the analogy of the other expressions and the fully written 'praemissit et vicit' (*CIL*, vi, 2, 10,053), *praemissit* should be supplied (missit, *CIL*, vi, 2, 14,338 = i, 1012; cp. Quintilian, i, 20, 7; Corssen, *Aussprache und Vocalismus*, i, 2, p. 282). But that *praemisit* 'in the language of the turf is the same as and derived from *praemissus*', can only be believed by one who believes the *spectavit* of the gladiatorial *tesserae* to be derived from *spectatus*, which I look upon as not only not proved, but as absolutely impossible. A transference of *praemissit* from the falling charioteer to his follower who was allowed to get ahead (so Meier, *Die Gladiatoren-entlesseren*, p. 6, 6) appears to me as incredible as an 'abrupt change' of *praemissus* into *praemisit*.

II. equos centenarios fecit n̄. viiii et ducenar. i. equos centenarios, ducenarios fecit of course means: he won 100, 200 victories with them. Two *centenarii* in Gruter, 338, 5: Aquilo n. k. Aquilonis. vicit cxxx. secund. tulit lxxxviii ter. tul. xxxvii. Hirpinus n. Aquilonis vicit cxiii. secundas tulit lvi tert. tul. xxxvi.

Insignia ejus.

.....]to sibi, quo anno primum quadrigis victor exstitit bis, eripuit bis.

The restoration of the beginning of the line is uncertain (see above). The two first victories of Diocles with four-in-hands were also the most difficult to obtain (eripuit et vicit).

13. actis continetur Avil. Teren factionis suae primum omnium vicisse ∞ xi ex quibus anno uno plurimum vincendo vicit.

14. . . . singularum . . . at Diocles quo an]no primum centum victorias consecutus est (victor ciii), singularum vicit lxxxiii.

Avilius Teres is no doubt identical with the Teres whose name occurs in the very fragmentary inscription *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,054 (whether the words 'temporibus Neronis' refer to him, is at least doubtful). He was a freedman, if not of the same man, at least of the same family, one of whose slaves was 'Thallus agitator L. Avilli Plantae ser(vus)', mentioned below. The patron of Teres and the master of Thallus was a 'dominus factionis russatae', to which Thallus belonged. This is shown by the inscription *CIL*, vi, 10,077: D. m. L. Avilio Galatae fact. russ. lib. item Juliae C. l. Ampliatae, etc., and 10,069: L. Avill(io) Dionysio cond(itori) gr(egis) russatae. Diocles is thus compared first with previous charioteers of his own party, then from line 17 with those of the other. We cannot say for certain in what *acta* the 1011 victories of Teres were recorded, since evidently the factions also kept *acta*, from which the precise statements made here and in the Teres inscription as to the performances of former charioteers are no doubt derived. But considering the importance attached to circus affairs, it is at least possible that the



*acta diurna* are meant.<sup>1</sup> Even Cassius Dio gives the number (certainly incorrectly recorded) of the victories of a charioteer murdered by Caracalla: καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ αὐτῇ ἄνδρα μὲν ἄλλως οὐκ ἐλλόγιμον, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν ἐπιφανέστατον ἐξειργάσατο. τὸν γὰρ Εὐπρεπὴ τὸν ἄρματηλάτην, ἐπειδὴ τοῦναντία αὐτῷ ἐσπούδαζεν, ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐν γῆρᾳ ἀπέθανε, πλείστοις ἀγῶσιν ἵππων στεφανωθείς. δύο γὰρ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους ἀνέλειτο, ὅσους οὐδεὶς ἄλλος. (lxxvii, 1). Dio must have been well aware that 782 was not a large number of victories, especially for an old charioteer; unless the number is wrongly given (according to line 19 it might have been 3782), he perhaps had before him a similar list to ours, and erroneously substituted the total of a certain class of victories for the grand total. The grand total of the victories of Musclosus mentioned above (p. 156, n. 3) is 682, those of a certain Scorpionian 700 (Hirschfeld, *Arch. epigr. Mitth.*, ii, 187), of Avilius Teres 1011. M. Aurelius Polynicus who died in his thirtieth year had won 739 victories: M. Aurelius Mollicius Tatianus who died in his twenty-first year, 125 (*CIL*, vi, 2, 10,049); yet Scopus, who died at the age of twenty-seven (Martial, x, 53) had won 2048, and Pompeius Musclosus mentioned with him in line 19, 3559. Consequently, Mommsen was wrong in believing (*CIL*, vi, 2, 10,058: M. Aurelio Libero—agitatori factionis prasinæ nn. ob iii palmarum hoc donum vovit), that 3000 was an improbable number of victories for a charioteer.

Of course it was particularly honourable to have won 100 victories in a year; but we see from 14, that the larger the number of victories in *certamina singularum*, the greater the honour; so that victories of this kind must have been the most highly prized (cp. also 27 and 28).

15. Adhuc augens gloriam tituli sui praecessit Thallum factionis suae, qui primus in factione russata (15) . . . at Dio]cles omnium agitatorum eminentissimus, quo anno alieno principio victor cxxxiii, singularum vicit cxviii; quo titulo praecessit omnium factionum agitadores, qui unquam (16) [certaminibus ludorum ci]rcensium interfuerunt.

Here again it is emphasized as particularly honourable, that of the 134 victories of Diocles in one year 118 were *singularum*, a figure which neither Thallus (who obviously was able to show the proportionally largest number of *singularum*) nor any other charioteer had reached. The 134 victories were no ordinary ones, but *alieno principio*, the meaning of which can only be conjectured. It is said that 'alieno principio, Cotyno et Pompeiano vicit'. Hence I should be inclined to believe that, since Cotynus and Pompeianus are the names of the two middle horses in harness (*introjugi*), *principium* is the chief horse on the left (qui demonstrabat quadrigam). Now charioteers sometimes showed their prowess by winning with the horses of another faction. Flavius Caper, *De Orthographia*, GL, vii, p. 104, 12: inversis armis gladiatores pugnasse non est dicendum, sed versis, h. e. transmutatis, sed nec inversis pannis agitasse aurigas, sed versis. The description (appendix xxv) of the variety of race called *diversium* in Constantinople shows that the charioteers, when they changed their colours, also changed the chariots and

<sup>1</sup> *CIL*, vi, 2, 10054, line 6: . . . [actis ?] script(um) fuit: grex prasinus vic(it) ∞ clv,

horses, which carried the colours. But it must have been evidence of the highest excellence to win with a strange near-horse. Thallus (14) is no doubt the charioteer mentioned by Martial, iv, 67, 5 (praetor ait: 'scis me Scorpo Thalloque daturum'). According to the inscription set up by Thallus himself in A.D. 90 and quoted on line 14, Scorpus (whose name occurs in 19) was a slave of L. Avilius Planta.

16. omnium admiratione merito notatum est, quod uno anno alieno principio, duobus introjugis Cotyno et Pompeiano vicit lxxxviii  $\bar{\text{I}}$  x i  $\bar{\text{I}}$  iii  $\bar{\text{x}}$  l i  $\bar{\text{xxx}}$  ii, i.e. he was victorious in the manner specified 99 times in one year—in one race for a prize of 60,000 sesterces, in four for 50,000, in one for 40,000, in two for 30,000.

17. nn. fact[i]onis prasinae, victor  $\infty$  xxv, primus omnium urbis conditae ad HS  $\bar{\text{I}}$  vicit vii. Diocles praecedens eum, introjugis tribus, Abigeio Lucido Parato  $\bar{\text{I}}$  vicit viii. See above, p. 158. Consequently, in these difficult contests Diocles had won more victories than the unknown rival, with the same three horses, two of which on each occasion ran as *introjugi*.

18. praecedens C[om]munem (read Communem) Venustum Epaphroditum, tres agitadores miliarios factionis venetae, [qui] ad HS  $\bar{\text{I}}$  visissent xi, Diocles Pompeiano et Lucido duobus introjugis  $\bar{\text{I}}$  vicit (19) [xii?].

The need for the restorations qui and xii (or a larger number) is obvious.

19. nn.] factionis prasinae, victor  $\infty$  xxv, et Flavius Scorpus victor  $\bar{\text{ii}}$  xlviii et Pompeius Musclosus, victor  $\bar{\text{iii}}$  dlvi, tres agitadores victores  $\bar{\text{vi}}$  dcxxxii, ad HS  $\bar{\text{I}}$  vicerunt xxviii; (20) [at Diocles omnium agitatorum emi]nentissimus, victor  $\infty$  cccclxii,  $\bar{\text{I}}$  vicit xxviii.

Consequently, Diocles was inferior to the two last-named chariot-eers in the number of his victories, but was superior in that he alone in racing had won 29 times for 50,000 sesterces, while they had only been victorious on the whole 28 times together with a third *miliarius*. The unknown driver of the Greens (in line 17) cannot be the Fortunatus of line 20, who with his horse Tuscus had already gained 9 victories for 50,000 sesterces alone in racing, whereas the driver whose name is missing had only won 7 times (according to 17). Addition shows the correctness of the numbers of the victories.

|                                   |    |    |    |    |    |             |
|-----------------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|-------------|
| Victories of the unknown          | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,025       |
| „ of Flavius Scorpus <sup>1</sup> | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2,048       |
| „ of Pompeius Musclosus           | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3,559       |
|                                   |    |    |    |    |    | <hr/> 6,632 |

20. nobilissimo titulo Diocles nitet, cum Fortunatus factionis prasinae in victore Tusco victor cccclxxxvi,  $\bar{\text{I}}$  vicit ix, Diocles (21) in [Pompeiano victore victo]r clii,  $\bar{\text{I}}$  vicit x,  $\bar{\text{ix}}$  i. Thus, while Fortunatus, with 386 victories had only won 9 times for 50,000 sesterces with the victorious racer Tuscus, Diocles, with 152 victories, had

<sup>1</sup> Martial (x, 53, 3) says of Scorpus:—

invida quem Lachesis raptum trieteride nona,  
dum numerat palmas, credidit esse senem.

won 10 times for 50,000, once for 60,000 sesterces with Pompeianus (the restoration is clear from line 21).

21. novis coactionibus et numquam ante titulis scriptis Diocles eminet, quod una die sejuges ad HS  $\overline{\text{xI}}$  missus bis, utrasque victor eminuit, adque amplius (22) . . . . . suisque septem equis in se junctis, numquam ante hoc numero equorum spectato, certamine ad HS  $\overline{\text{I}}$  eminuit, et sine flagello alis certaminibus ad HS  $\overline{\text{xxx}}$  (23) [vicit, adque? cum prim]um visus esset his novitatibus, duplici ornatus est gloria.

Although the restorations are not certain, the general sense is clear. The only word of doubtful meaning is *coactiones* (*coactor* a theatro Marcelliano (?): *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, p. 310, 1336); I believe, however, that it can mean 'receipts, revenues', so far as the victors collected them from the factions, which furnished the stakes for such prize-contests. Certainly we have no information as to such stakes, but Mommsen's assertion that the 'factions' would never have given money for prizes, seems to me very hazardous, considering the little we know about the circus games. I certainly do not believe that the passage he quotes from Gaius (iv, 15: *causae coniectio quasi causae suae in breve coactio*) proves that *coactiones* can mean *comparationes victoriarum*. Further, of the successes of Diocles here recorded, it was not the prize of 40,000 sesterces that could be described as 'new', but only the fact that *two* such prizes were offered for two races with six-in-hands on *one* day; Diocles conquered in both. Nor could the number of seven horses to one chariot be anything new; the novelty was that they were put to *in se juncti*, i.e. without a yoke.

23. inter miliarios agitadores primum locum obtinere videtur Pontius Epaphroditus factionis venetae, (24) [qui temporibus imp. nostri Anto]nini Aug. Pii solus victor  $\infty$  cccclxvii, singularum vicit dccccxi. ad Diocles praecedens eum victor  $\infty$  cccclxii, inter singulares (*read* inter has singularum) vicit  $\infty$  lxiv. isdem temporibus (25) [Pontius Epaphroditus eripuit] et vicit cccclxvii; Diocles eripuit et vicit dii.

Here, after the greatest charioteers of the past, the greatest of the present is compared with Diocles. Although he had gained five more victories than Diocles, the latter gained a far greater number of those that were most highly prized (singularum and eripuit et vicit). The figures in these two classes are the same as in lines 7 and 11.

25. Diocles agitator quo anno vicit cxxvii (Abigeio Lucido Pompeiano introjugis tribus victor ciii) inter (26) . . . . . [inter em]inentes agitadores introjugis Afris plurimum vicerunt Pontius Epaphroditus factionis venetae (in Bubalo vicit cxxxiii) Pompeius Musclosus factionis prasiniae (27) [in . . . . . vicit] cxv. Diocles superatis eis in Pompeiano, victor clii, singularum vicit cxxxxxiii. ampliatis titulis suis, Cotyno Galata Abigeio Lucido Pompeiano introjugis quinque (28) victor cccxxxxxv, singularum vicit cccclxxxxvii.

In the main there is no doubt as to the sense of what has fallen out. In 25 the number of a certain class of victories amongst the 127 in a certain year must have been given, e.g. 'inter [has singu-

larum vicit cx] '. In 27 the name of the horse was mentioned, with which Pompeius had gained 115 victories, possibly also a third charioteer with the number of his victories with one horse. The length of the part that has fallen out cannot be accurately determined.

As for the matter of this last section, this much is clear, that it was considered as great an honour to have gained a large number of victories with the same *introjugi*, as with one chief horse. Only the last named five *introjugi* were evidently not always put to at the same time, since so large a number of races with six or seven-in-hands is inconceivable; it is much more probable that Diocles won the 445 victories with these five *introjugi* alternately. The same may be said of the three *introjugi* in 24.

3. The frequently mentioned Crescens inscription, like others of the same kind, was found near the stadium of Domitian, and is hence rightly interpreted as an honorary inscription by its editress, Countess Lovatelli. It is as follows:—

Crescens agit(ator)  
factionis ven(etae)  
natione Maurus  
annorum xxii.

5. quadriga primum  
vicit L. Vipstano (8th of November, 115)

Messalla cos. natale  
divi Nervae miss(u) xxiii  
equis his: Circio, Accep-

10. tore, Delicato, Cotyno. (10th of May, 124)

ex Messalla in Glabri-  
onem cos. in natale  
divi Claudii miss(us) ost(io)  
dclxxxvi vicit xxxvii.

15. inter sing(ularum) vic(it) xix binar(um)  
xxiii, tern(arum) v; praemiss(it) i,  
occup(avit) viii, eripuit xxxviii.  
secund(as) tulit cxxx; tert(ias) cxi.  
quaest(um) ret(ulit) HS  $\overline{xv}$   $\overline{lviii}$

20. cccxxxvi.

The only mistake made by the editress is in the restoration praemiss(us) in 16. Mommsen gives praemiss(u), *i.e.* alius aurigae, but the following perfects and the standing form in expressions of this kind lead us to expect praemisit. Consequently, there is little doubt that we should read praemiss(it); see above, p. 160.

## XXV. *DIVERSIUM.*

(Vol. II, p. 31, line 7.)

(See the *Programm Acad. Alb. Regimont.*, 1872, ii.)

THE kind of race mentioned by Flavius Caper (*De Orthographia*, GL, vii, p. 104, 12; cp. above p. 161) in which the charioteers strove to outdo each other *versis pannis*, was evidently the same as, or very similar to, the *diversium* of Constantinople. It has been



shown by G. Kaibel (*De monumentorum aliquot Graecorum carminibus*, *Bonner Doctordissertation*, 1871, p. 18; *Epigr. Gr.*, p. 388) that the epigram on the famous charioteer (φακτιονάριος), Porphyrius (*Anth. Plan.*, v, 340 = Jacobs, *Anthol. Gr.*, iii, p. 239 vi),<sup>1</sup> partly preserved on the base of his statue at Constantinople, refers to it. The horses of the four-in-hands of Porphyrius there represented are : Nicopolemus, Radiatus, Pyrrhus, Euthynicus; Halieus, Anthypatus, Cynagus, Pelorius; Aristides, Palaestiniarches, Pyrrhus, Radiatus. The epigram is as follows :—

Ἄλλοις παυσαμένοισιν, ἀεθλεύοντι δὲ μούνῳ  
Πορφυρίῳ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο δέδωκε γέρας.  
πολλάκι νικήσας γὰρ ἑοὺς πόρεν ὠκέας ἵππους,  
λάζετο δ' ἀντιπάλων καὶ πάλιν ἐστέφετο.  
ἔνθεν ἔην Πρασίνοις ἔρις ἄσπετος, ἔνθεν αὖτ' ἡ  
ὥς Βενέτους, τέρψῃ, κοίρανε, καὶ Πρασίνους.

That this epigram refers to the *diversium* (διβέρσιον) is clear from the passage quoted by Kaibel from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, i, 69, p. 336 Bonn edition.<sup>2</sup> From this somewhat obscure passage<sup>3</sup> it appears that at that time the exchange of colours and teams, although not greatly in vogue, took place between Greens and Blues, on the one hand, and Whites and Reds, on the other. I do not understand what is meant by the *σκεύη* which were not exchanged. There were two kinds of *diversia*. In the one the servants and assistants remained with the charioteers of their party, in the other with the team, that is to say, they went over to the charioteer of the other party. In the latter case the victorious charioteers received the prizes in the faction with whose team they had won; in the former, in their own. At the end of the passage a third kind appears to be mentioned, in which the teams ran without the charioteers (who had gone over to the opposite party), probably urged on by the shouts and whips of the assistants. The victory won in this manner by the horses alone was put down to the party, by whose charioteers they were trained. Although in the time of Claudius<sup>4</sup> a victory won by a team without a driver was still regarded as wonderful, it is quite conceivable that in later times circus horses were trained for this kind of race, as is suggested by the following

<sup>1</sup> Mordtmann, *Das Denkmal des Porphyrius*, in *Mith. d. deutschen archäol. Instituts in Athen*, v, 1880, pp. 295–308, Taf. xvi. He places the erection of the memorial shortly before the accession of Anastasius or the beginning of his reign (491–518): Porphyrius received the title ὁ εὐδόκιμος, which was given to charioteers at Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> The so-called χορευτικοί on the N.W. side of the pedestal of the statue of Porphyrius is as follows (Mordtmann, p. 304): ὅλους ᾤδε, ὅλους ἐκεῖ καὶ διβέρσια δεύτερον Μόρος ἐνίκησε Πόρφυρις ὁ εὐδόκιμος Σὺ βίγκας Πόρφυρι.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in full in the German text (ed. 6).

<sup>4</sup> Claudii Caesaris saecularium ludorum circensibus excusso in carceribus auriga albat i equo Corace occupavere, primatum obtinere opposcentes, effundentes omniaque contra aemulos quae debuissent peritissimo auriga insistente facientes, cum puderet hominum artes ab equis vinci, peracto legitimo cursu ad cretam steteri (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 166); equi destituti ab auriga—tendebant—in cursus sollicitationem—ita ut—quasi per lineam directe currentes expedit medium tenerent stadii, ne forte post se qui sequebantur, praevenientes praecederent excederentque circulum; eo vero loco ubi multi gyri aguntur apte commodeque sese vertentes obviabant aliis; perpendendo illud quoque ut circulum propius contingeret temo cum equo a sinistra existente, ne videlicet gyrys majoris periodi longitudinem relinqueret ei qui post veniebat et ceteris (Philo, *De Animalibus*, 58).

anecdote told by Libanius (ed. Reiske, iv, p. 150, repeated in Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, vii, 23): παράσιτος ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κληθεὶς βουλόμενος θάπτον ἀπαντῆσαι, ἵππον λαβὼν ἐξ ἵπποδρόμου ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ κεκληκός. βωμὸς δὲ ἦν πρὸ τῆς αὐλείας θύρας. νομίσας δὲ καμπτὸν εἶναι τὸν βωμὸν ὁ ἵππος ἔκαμψε καὶ συναρπάσας τὸν παράσιτον ἀπήγαγε καὶ μείνας ἀδειπνος τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἑαυτὸν προσαγγέλλει. *ib.* p. 154: τὸ σύννηθες δὲ οἶμαι τοῦτοις τοῖς περὶ τὰς ἀμίλλας καὶ τοὺς δρόμους ἀσκουμένοις, ἐπειδὴν θορυβούντων τῶν θεατῶν ἀκούωσι, πάσῃ δυνάμει συντείνειν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τάχος.

The *πανία* (*panni*) exchanged by the charioteers are no doubt the *tunicae* themselves; cp. the tenth epigram on Porphyrius (*Anthol. Graeca*, ed. Jacobs, iii, 240)—χρῶμασι καὶ πέπλοις συμμετέβαλλε τύχας, which Kaibel (p. 25) rightly refers to the *diversium*. The agreement between the charioteers who made the exchange (*e.g.* not to damage the other party's chariot wilfully) is alluded to in the third epigram on Porphyrius:—

ὃς καὶ ἐοὺς ἵππους καὶ ὁμόφρονος ἡμιοχῆος  
ἐξ ἐτέρων ἐτέρουσ αἰὲν ἀμειβόμενος.

It is uncertain whether the forms of the *diversium* in vogue at Constantinople existed in the Roman circus-games of the early empire. It is not clear whether the younger Pliny in the following passage (*Epp.*, ix, 6, 2) is speaking of a fact or only assuming a possible case: si tamen aut velocitate equorum aut hominum arte traherentur, esset ratio nonnulla; nunc favent panno, pannum amant, et si in ipso cursu medioque certamine hic color illuc, ille huc transferatur, studium favorque transibit et repente agitadores illos, equos illos, quos procul noscitant, quorum clamitant nomina, relinquunt.

According to the passage from Constantine Porphyrogenitus the *diversium* took place in the afternoon; cp. also the 50th epigram on the charioteer Constantinus (*Anthol. Graeca*, ed. Jacobs, iii, p. 250), who gained 25 victories in the morning, and afterwards 21 with exchanged horses. In the Roman circus also the show had probably been for a long time divided into an *antemeridianum* and a *pomeridianum spectaculum* (Augustine, *Conf.*, viii, 6) by an interval at noon, after the first ten or twelve races; the passage in Cicero (*Orator*, 47, 137: et 'posmeridianas quadrigas' quam 'postmeridianas' libentius dixerim, already read by Velius Longus, *De Orthographia* in *GL.*, vii, 79 refers to this. Hence there is no difficulty, and the alteration of Döderlein (cp. Fleckeisen, *Krit. Miscellen*, progr. des Vitzthumschen Gymn., 1864, p. 48), who inserts *quadrijugas* after *postmeridianas* is no improvement.<sup>1</sup>

## XXVI. REPRESENTATIONS OF GLADIATORS (AND VENATORES) IN WORKS OF ART.

(Vol. II, p. 51, line 17.)

I HAVE no idea of giving a complete list of such monuments; my only intention is to illustrate the different classes of them by the aid of the most important examples known to me.

<sup>1</sup> [See also article by Pollak in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterumswissenschaft*, v, pt. 1 (1905). TR.]

*Lamps.* On these, as is well known, representations of gladiators, owing to their being intended for graves, are very frequent: Henzen, *Expl. mus. Borgh.*, p. 82. Cp. *Bull. Nap.*, ii, p. 139; *Lucerne Ercolanesi*, tav. 8; Jahn, *Alterthümer von Vindonissa*, p. 16, taf. 2; *Revue archéol.*, xvi, 371 (lamp from Constantine); Hübner, *Antiken von Madrid*, p. 621 (lamp; a *venator* fighting with four boars; inscribed SAECUL; for similar lamps, intended for illuminations at the secular festival of 248, cp. De Rossi, *Bull. di archeol. crist.*, ii, serie 1, 1870, p. 87). Lamps, resembling a gladiator's helmet in form, are frequent (P. J. Meier, *Gladiatorendarstellungen*, etc., in *Westdeutsche Zeitschr. f. G. u. K.*, i, p. 165).

*Earthen vessels.* On red ones, according to Leemans (*Rev. arch.*, ix, p. 71) *retiarii*, and shows generally, are frequently represented in the Leyden museum; cp. Janssen, *Monuments grecs étrusques et rom.*, ii, 2056, 2099; *Sammlung röm. Denkm. in Baiern*, ed. by the Academy (1888, heft ii, taf. 5 and 7). An earthen vase at Colchester with a bear-baiting, tame deer, a hare and a dog, and pictures of a *secutor* and a *retiarius*, together with the inscriptions: Memnon sacviii (?) and Valentinu(s) legionis xxx (erected in lower Germany by Trajan; the writing is of the end of the first or beginning of the second century); Hübner, *Monatsber. der Berl. Akad.*, Feb. 3, 1868.

*Glasses.* See Henzen as above and *Vetri raccolti dal cav. Bartoldi*, tav. i. Trimalchio (Petronius, 52) had 'in poculis Hermerotis pugnas et Petraitis' (so cod. Tragar.). From the Pompeian *graffito*, representing a gladiatorial combat with the names Prudes and Tetrates inscribed (Avellino, *Atti di soc. Pontan.*, iii, p. 194 = *CIL*, iv, 538), I had conjectured 'Tetratus' for 'Petraitus'. The same names recur on a green glass vessel in the Vienna museum (Arneth, *Kameen*, taf. 22, 5), also on a gladiatorial scene: (Tetr)aites Prudes Calamus (*CIL*, iii, 2, 6014, 2), and on two glass vessels, found near Chambéry (Tetrates, Prudes, Spiculus, Columbu(s), Gamus, Merops, Calamus, Hermes: F. Lenormant, *Rev. archéol.*, 1865, pp. 305-310, taf. xx = *CIL*, xii, 5696, 32) and in La Vendée (Hübner, *Eph. Epigr.*, iv, p. 209; cp. Allmer and Terrebasse, *Inscr. de Vienne*, iii, p. 220). But at Lillebonne, in the *Cimetière romain du Catillon* a vessel of greenish glass has been found, with a gladiatorial combat in relief, on which are the names Petrahes and Prudes (Cochet, *Rev. archéol.*, xvi, 1867, p. 151); and the epitaph of a *retiarius* at Makri (Telmissus) in Lycia runs: 'Ερμεί Πατράειτς μετὰ τῶν συγκελλαρίων (Benndorf-Niemann, *Reise in Lykien*, i, 41, 157). This confirms the form Petraitēs (Πετράειτς as cognomen of the god Men: Lebas-Waddington, 668, 676; cp. *CIA*, iii, 73), of which Petrahites and Petrahes may have been vulgar by-forms: cp. Bücheler, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1872, p. 474.

*Gems.* See e.g. Lippert's *Dactyliotheek*; cp. also *Impr. gemm. dell' Inst.*, vi, 79; *BdI*, 1839, p. 112.

*Reliefs.* At Pompeii, of stucco, on the monument usually called the monument of Scaurus (Nissen, *Pomp. Stud.*, 392; *Mus. Borb.*, xv, tav. 27). Another of marble (16 palms wide, 5½ high) from the *necropoli marittima* (*Bull. Nap.*, iv, tav. 1). Near Aeclanum (memorial of a certain Celsus): *IRN.*, 1194 = *CIL*, ix, 1037. At Abella:

*IRN*, 1952 = *CIL*, x, 1211. At Venafrum (6 pairs, belonging to a Cassius and a Julius, the combatants indicated by V and M: *IRN*, 4649 = *CIL*, x, 4920. In regard to the Roman Torlonia relief with contests with wild beasts (*Mon. d. Inst.*, iii, tav. 38), Henzen (*AdI*, xiv, p. 12) conjectures with probability that it comes from the theatre of Marcellus; cp. *BdI*, 1853, p. 130; 163, p. 67 (terracotta relief, bronze figurettes, lamp).

The custom of exhibiting in public *pictures* of gladiatorial shows dates from the time of the republic; the first who did so being a certain L. (? C.) Terentius Lucanus, who set up his picture in the 'nemus Dianae' (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv, 52: Henzen, as above, p. 15). Perhaps this is the same person whose name appears in a group of frequently occurring silver and copper coins, which according to Mommsen (*Gesch. d. r. Münzw.*, p. 554, 164) belong to the seventh century rather than the sixth. During the empire, when large paintings of remarkable events were generally in favour, it was evidently very common; cp. O. Müller as above, 211, 2. In *IRN*, 1439 = *CIL*, ix, 1666, the picture of a *munus* is mentioned, which was exhibited in a *porticus* at Beneventum. The paintings in the amphitheatre at Pompeii are well known (Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeii*, ed. 4, p. 181).

*Mosaics.* The *Musaico Massimi* (cp. Marini, *Atti fr. Arv.*, p. 165) edited by Winckelmann (*Mon. In.*, i, 197) is now at Barcelona (Hübner, *Antiken von Madrid*, p. 196); De Rossi (*Bull. crist.*, v, 87) assigns it to the fourth century, since the *editor* (the giver of the show) is a certain Symmachus. The most important is the Borghese, from the floor of a Tusculan villa (Canina, *BdI*, 1834, pp. 9-96), ed. by Henzen (*Diss. dell' Acad. pontef. di Roma*, xii, 1852); according to De Rossi, it is also a fourth century work. In Germany a mosaic at Augsburg, on which there are also circus games (Gruter, 336). Further, that at Nennig (von Wilmowsky, *Die röm. Villa zu Nennig und ihr Mosaik*, i, 1864, ii, 1865), which the editor (i, 13) endeavours without sufficient reason to put back to the time of Hadrian; cp. also Gerhard, *Denkm. u. Forsch.* (1854), p. 434 and *Revue archéol.*, xii (p. 106) with illustrations. In England, at Bignor in Sussex (*Archaeol. Britan.*, xviii, 1, p. 203). In France, discovered at Rheims in 1860: Desjardins, *BdI*, 1861, no. 6 (chiefly *venationes*; between Caracalla and Constantine); Loriquet, *Mosaïque de Reims*, 1861 (not procurable). See further appendix xxix.

## XXVII. THE GLADIATORIAL *TESSERAE*.<sup>1</sup>

(Vol. II, p. 57.)

RITSCHL, in his treatise *Die Tesserae gladiatoriae der Römer* (1864), expressed the opinion that these *tesserae* were medals for bravery, which also at the same time served as documentary evidence in claims for pensions. His solution of SP as *spectatus* was proved untenable by the discovery of six genuine *tesserae* on which *spectavit* was written in full, which has been explained in various ways

<sup>1</sup> See my discussion on the games in Marquardt's *StV*, iii, 560, 6-8.



(cp. Haug, *Die tesserae gladiatoriae. Bericht über römische Epigraphik* in Bursian's *Jahresber.*, lvi, 1888, pp. 103-107).

1. Bücheler (*Jen. Litt. Z.*, 1877, p. 736) has (after Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 195) again disputed the necessity of identifying these *tesserae* as gladiatorial. He regards them as 'mementos, hung up in temples on the images of the gods' by slaves, who, exceptionally admitted to the performance of certain sacred acts from which they were usually excluded, had been allowed for once to enjoy the sight of the divinity.

2. Mommsen (in Hübner, *Tesserae gladiatoriae* in *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, p. 163) assumes, with Hübner's approval, that the possessor of the *tessera* had been removed from the arena to the spectators (*i.e.*, had been free from the obligation of fighting) on the day whose date it bore. Similarly Henzen and De Rossi (*BdI*, 1882, p. 8), the latter of whom remarks that the SP occurring in the list of gladiators (*CIL*, vi, 631) together with VET and TIR might mean *spectator*.

3. P. J. Meier (*De gladiatura Romana*, 1881, p. 53, 1) supplies *populus* as the subject of *spectavit*, 'ita ut tesseris indicetur, quando primum spectavit populus gladiatorem, *i.e.* tiro in ordinem gladiatorum sit receptus.

4. Mommsen (*Die Gladiatorentesseren*, in *Hermes*, xxi, 1886, p. 266). The *tesserae* (an institution of the private gladiatorial schools) entitled the gladiator to look on as a spectator at the exercises of the school, in which he had hitherto been obliged to take part. With this was perhaps combined the right of superintending and examining the others by the presentation of the *rudis* (the wooden sword presented to gladiators on their discharge). Every gladiator who possessed the *rudis* was *spectator*, but not *vice versa*. The reason why the calends and ides are the favourite dates on the *tesserae* is, that the owners of gladiators were in the habit of striking out the names of combatants at the beginning or in the middle of the month (p. 271). Perhaps freedom from service also brought with it a certain retiring pension (p. 275).

5. A. Elter (*Die Gladiatorentesseren*, in *Rheinisches Museum*, xli, 1886, pp. 517-548) thinks *spectavit* must be identical with *spectatus est*, and consequently means, 'he has made his *spectatio*, is *spectatus*, can at any time appear as a qualified gladiator'. The *tesserae* are the diplomas, examination certificates of the *tirones* (for the issue of which the calends and ides seemed the most suitable times) or rather extracts from them (p. 526). They constituted the most important first step, the first official document in this career, the necessary certificate of qualification for the profession. They were a kind of passport or proof of identity, especially needed in private institutions with their frequently changing staff of qualified gladiators, officially issued by the authorities who superintended the games and exercised a sort of control over such institutions. On the other hand, they were superfluous in the imperial gladiatorial schools (p. 524). Consequently, in *spectare* we have to recognize the specific meaning 'to test, examine' (p. 530). Lebas (on Morcelli, *Delle Tessere*, p. 52) had already assumed the identity of *spectavit* and *spectatus*.

6. P. J. Meier (*Die Gladiatorentesseren*, in *Rheinisches Museum*,

xlii, 1886, p. 122) thinks that Elter's conjecture is only tenable if combined with his own. The sentence 'X (in this case *populus*) spectavit gladiatorem', the object being strongly emphasized and gradually becoming logically the grammatical subject, gave rise to the sentence 'gladiator spectavit'. The dates of the *tesserae* are those of the first public appearance of the recruits.

7. F. Haug (*Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 1888, p. 763): *spectavit* means 'he has tested, examined', and the gladiator previously standing in the nominative is not the examinee, but the examiner (against this Meier, p. 1004). Cp. also Haug, *Bericht über röm. Epigraphik*, in *Bursian*, lvi, 1888, p. 106, where he refers to *CIL*, ii, 4963 = Wilmanns, 2823 (Celer... Borea[e]... muneris tessera[m] dedit) in support of his view.

These various explanations are proof that our data are insufficient to solve the problem. I confess that they all seem to me to be based upon more or less hazardous suppositions. The assumption that an examination was necessary to acquire the right of practising the gladiatorial profession, is impossible for more reasons than one. At a time when the most important posts were obtained without examination (officials, teachers, physicians, advocates), the right to practise a dishonourable calling could not have been dependent upon an examination, if voluntarily entered upon. But it is well known that the combatants were slaves or little better, and no officials had the right to instruct their owners (or the contractors) as to the use they should make of them, provided that no breach of the law was committed.

Is it to be believed that all the owners of gladiators and contractors for the combats (at least in Italy) had agreed to allow only 'approved' gladiators to appear (in which case we should have to assume equally unanimous rules of examination)? For the gladiators, spoken of by Petronius (*Cena*, 45) would have owed their certificates to an excessive leniency on the part of the 'examination commissary'. Nor can I believe, with Meier (p. 16) that there ever existed a 'guild' of gladiators.

## XXVIII. *SUMMA* AND *SECUNDA RUDIS*; *PRIMUS* AND *SECUNDUS PALUS*.

(Vol. II, p. 57, line 15.)

MOMMSEN (*Hermes*, xxi, 269) understands *summa* and *secunda rudis* of those gladiators who had been exempted from service by the bestowal of the *rudis*; they acted as first and second inspectors in a division or troop, and like the *lanistae* (*Passio Perpet. et Felic.*, 10: 'ferens virgam quasi lanista') carried as a badge a staff also called *rudis* (Gloss. Lab.: *rudis* ῥάβδος ἢ τῶν ἐπιστατῶν τῶν μονομάχων), which always appears on monuments (Meier, *Rhein. Mus.*, xlii, 134: cp. also the inscription on the tomb of Flavius Sigerius: *summa rudis*, vixit annis sexaginta: *CIL*, viii, 10,983). Of course only a few of those who were freed from service (*rudiarum*, Suetonius, *Tiber.*, 7; ἀποταξάμενοι Gloss. Lab.) became inspectors. They might

also be instructors (*doctores*), although this can hardly have been the rule.

On the other hand, *primus* and *secundus palus* can only refer to gladiators on active service. The former is clearly formed on the analogy of *primus pilus* (πρωτόπαλος in Dio, lxxii, 23 supposes a by-form *primopalus* as well as *primopilus*), the latter being of later origin. As the analogous formation implies an analogous meaning, *primus palus* can only mean the gladiator who was the best, at the head of his class; the combination with the genitive plural (*Vita Commodi*, 15, 8: 'palus primus secutorum') is the original one, and that with the nom. sing. an abbreviation. The origin of the expression is obscure. Although the combatants who had become masters of their class of course continued their exercises, they certainly did not make use of the *palus*, which was only suitable for beginners. Hence it is inconceivable, that *primus* and *secundus palus* should have been names for the two 'exercise classes', into which all the gladiators (except recruits) were divided; and the assumption that *primus palus* = *veteranus* and *secundus palus* = *spectatus* (Meier, *Glad. Rom.*, p. 54; *Rhein. Mus.*, xlii, 136) is equally improbable and arbitrary.

## XXIX. COSTUME AND ARMS OF THE GLADIATORS.

(Vol. II, p. 60.)

THE very numerous figured representations that have been discovered in modern times have greatly increased our knowledge of this subject, to which Henzen's admirable elucidation of the Borghesi mosaic is a special contribution. I have been unable to obtain Olenine's treatise *Sur le costume des gladiateurs*. Lastly, P. J. Meier has discussed the subject in a number of writings: *De gladiatura romana quaestiones selectae* (Bonn, 1881, pp. 13-46: *de gladiatorum armaturis*); *Gladiatorendarstellungen auf rheinischen Monumenten in Westdeutsche Zeitschr. f. Gesch. u. Kunst*, i, 153-177; *Gladiatorenreliefs des Berliner Museums in Archäol. Zeit.*, xl (1882), p. 147, taf. 6, 1; *Dei monumenti rappresentanti gladiatori in BdI*, 1884, pp. 157-160. Of the monuments known to me I shall only mention those which are in any respect remarkable or informing.

1. **Retiarii.** Since this class of gladiators cannot possibly be confused with any other, our information in regard to it is most exact. Caylus (*Rec. d'ant.*, iii, pl. 24, 2 and 2: clay-figure, remarkable for the *galerus*). The mosaics referred to above (p. 168): Winckelmann, *Monum. ined.*, i, 197 (musaico Massimi). *Arch. Britan.* xi, p. 49 (cp. *Rev. archéol.*, ix, p. 183); xviii, p. 203 (mosaic from Bignor; cp. *Rev. arch.*, v, p. 562); *Atti dell' accademia ponteficia*, 1852, xii (the Borghese mosaic); *Archaeol. Brit.*, xix, p. 70 (relief of the *malus oculus*, repeated by Jahn in *Ber. d. sächs. G.*, 1855, taf. iii, 1); *Mus. Borb.*, xv, tav. 27 (so-called monument of Scaurus; cp. Mazois, *Ruines de Pompéi*, pl. 32); *Bull. Nap. n. s.* (1853), i, t. 7 (*Dipinti graffiti e bassirilievi pompejani*), ii (1854), t. 9, 20 and 21 (bone statuette); *Rev. archéol.*, viii, pl. 169 (gladiatorial weapons; cp. p. 147); ix, pl. 183 (reliefs of *retiarii*); Garrucci,

*Graffiti di Pompei*, tav. xii (combat between a *retarius* and a *Samnis*); Stevenson, *BdI*, 1883, p. 102 (the same); Benndorff-Niemann, *Reise in Lykien*, i (grave of a *retarius*).

The *retarii* were the only gladiators who appeared without a covering for the head (Suetonius, *Claud.*, 34; Juvenal, viii, 200–206). They wore a short tunic (Suetonius, *Calig.*, 30; Juvenal, ii, 142; vii, 207) or a simple *subligaculum* (a short apron above the hips), as usually on monuments (in the Mus. Borgh. white). With the exception of some bandages round the legs, their defensive arms were limited to the broad belly-band (*balteus*) and a sleeve on the left arm, with a kind of leather or metal shoulder-piece, rising above the left shoulder, to supply the place of the shield. This shoulder-piece (which is especially large on the Bignor mosaic and looks like a wing) was called *galerus*, as Henzen (*Mus. Borgh.*, p. 113) has recognized from the scholiast on Juvenal, viii, 208 (ed. Jahn): ‘*galerus est umero impositus gladiatoris*’ (cp. *BdI*, 1853, p. 130). So unsuitable a name would certainly arouse suspicion, if it were not evidently a technical expression. Garrucci also in later times has recognized the *galerus* in the shoulder-pieces (*Bull. Nap.*, n. s., i, p. 101, 103 tav. 7, where such *galeri* found in Pompeii are represented; cp. *Rev. Archéol.*, v, 8, pl. 165). On the grave-stone of a *retarius* named Glaucus (*CIL*, v, 1, 3466) found at Verona the third object by the side of the dagger and trident, which Mommsen was unable to explain, is in all probability the *galerus*. In the passage of Juvenal, viii, 207:

Credamus tunicae, de faucibus aurea cum se  
porrigat et longo jactetur spira galero,

Garrucci explains *spira* as a string fastened on one side to the *galerus*, on the other to the rope of the net, so that it fell from the former round the breast of the *retarius*. Scholiast: [SPIRA] hujusmodi aliquid, quo citius sparsum funem vel jactatum retium colligerent. According to Meier (*De gladiatura romana*, p. 30) the *spira* is rather the circular coiled up (Festus, p. 330 M: ‘*spira—funis nauticus in orbem convolutus*’) rope of the net, which the *retarius*, when he wishes to throw, must guide to the left shoulder on which is the *galerus*; probably the *spira* was fastened to the *balteus*, but in such a manner that in case of need it could be detached.

A head-band, described by Galen, may also have been especially or exclusively used by *retarii*, who wore no helmet. Galen, *De fasciis*, 32, xviii a, 797: τὸ ἡμιρρόμβιον προσλαβὼν τὰ καλούμενα ὦτα οὕτως ὀνομάζεται. ἐπιδέεται δ’ ἥτοι εὐπρεπείας χάριν ἐν μονομαχίαις ἢ χάριν τοῦ κράτημα γίγνεσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ προσώπου τινὸς συμπτώματος μεθοδευομένων· ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν εὐπρεπείας ἕνεκα ἐπιδέοιτο βραχέα εἶναι δεῖ ταῦτα καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ μετώπῳ τετάχθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τὴν ἐμφέρειαν πρὸς τὸ ζῶον ἀποσώζοι. The *retarius* on a Pompeian relief (*Bull. Nap.*, iv, tav. 1; Meier, *Glad. rom.*, p. 29) wears such a band.

The offensive weapons of the *retarius* were in the first place the net (*jaculum*), which in Winckelmann (*Mon. ined.*, 197) appears so large as almost entirely to cover the figure of his opponent. It also appears in *Rev. arch.*, vol. ix. pl. 183, 2; *Archaeol. Brit.*, xviii, p. 203, and Gori, *Inscr.*, iii, p. 99, represented in *Bull. Nap.*, 1853,



tav. vii, 12). The reason of its rare occurrence on monuments is probably that the *retiarii* carried it folded together, before they flung it (Isidorus, *Origines*, xviii, 54: ferebat occulte rete). It is not probable, as assumed by Meier (p. 32) and Henzen, that the *retiarii* did not always carry the weapon after which they were named and the clever handling of which must have constituted the chief interest of the combats in which they took part. If they missed their aim they retired, until they had made the net ready for another throw and were in a position to attack again; hence the *retiarius* is likened by Artemidorus (*Oneirocritica*, ii, 3) to a woman *καὶ φυνγάδα καὶ ῥᾶστα τῷ βουλομένῳ πησιάζουσιν*: cp. Juvenal, viii, 204; *Gloss. Lab.*, RETIARIUS: δικτυοφόρος c. δικτυοβόλος.

His other weapons were the trident, the tunny-fish harpoon (*fuscina*) and the dagger (Valerius Maximus, i, 7, 8 and most of the monuments). The figure in *Rev. arch.*, v, 562, taken by Letronne for a *dimachaerus* is correctly explained by Chabouillet in *Rev. arch.*, viii, 416, as a *retiarius* with dagger and trident: cp. Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.*, 1865, p. 134.

The throwing of the net may have been an old method of fighting, represented on an antique paste (Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, 2, tafel 16, 32) and occurring in the duel between Phrynon and Pittacus (Diog. Laërt., i, 74; Polyænus, i, 25; cp. also Diod. Sic., xvii, 43, according to whom the Tyrians used tridents and fishing nets against their Macedonian besiegers). Strabo (xiii, 1, 38, p. 600: see Welcker above) has evidently added the trident in his account of the duel in order, like the Roman archaeologists (Festus, s.v. *retiarius*), to make this engagement the prototype of the *retiarii* combats. Whether the gladiatorial net and harpoon were really borrowed from fishing or not, such weapons were bound to suggest the idea of fishing. (Arnobius, *Adv. gentes*, vi, 12: cum fuscina rex maris, tamquam illi pugnasit gladiatorii obeunda certaminis; Martial, v, 24, 12: aequoreus tridens; Aequoreus, name of a *retiarius*, *CIL*, x, 1927. One of the *galeri* found at Pompeii, *Bull. Nap.*, 1853, n. s. 1, tav. vii, 2, contains a crab, a dolphin, and an anchor). In the joke told by Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.*, vi, 3, 61: *Pedo de mirmillone qui retiarium consequbatur nec feriebat, Vivom, inquit, capere volt*), the only possible method of making sense seems to be the conjecture of Leemans (*Rev. arch.*, ix, p. 82: de *retiario qui mirmillonem*, etc.), although even then the joke is very poor. The fish, which is said to have been attached to the helmets of the *Galli* and *mirmillones*, who fought with the *retiarii*, is also found on those of other gladiators (Meier, p. 36, 3). The satirical song of the *retiarii* to the *mirmillones*: *non te peto, piscem peto, quid me fugi*, Galle? consists, as observed by Meineke (*Progr. des Joachimsth. Gymn.*, 1851), of *Ionici a majore*. From a similar (perhaps even the same) poem may be derived the mode of address (—○○—○○—) 'mortue Galle' mentioned by Martial, viii, 75, 16:

hic mihi de multis unus, Lucane, videtur,  
cui merito dici 'mortue Galle' potest.

These satirical songs were probably sung with appropriate rhythmic movement and to the accompaniment of music. It has been

observed that music was played during the combats. But of course they could not fight according to time; this would only be possible in sham fights. Of these Petronius (36) says: 'processit statim scissor et ad symphoniam ita gesticulatus laceravit obsonium, ut putares essedarium hydraule cantante pugnare (on the *essedarii* see below).

From the fact that the *retiarii* had no covering for the face (Juvenal, viii, 200) and were most lightly armed, Henzen (p. 113) concludes that they were the most despised of all the gladiators. Similar to them were the

2. **Laquearii**, who were armed with a noose instead of a casting-net. They are only mentioned in Isidorus, *Origines*, xviii, 56: 'quorum pugna erat, fugientes in ludo homines injecto laqueo impeditos consecutosque prosternere, amictos umbone pelliceo'. According to representations (on a gem and a clay-relief in Meier, p. 44) they also wore the *galerus*, but had no other defensive weapons.

The *retiarii* also fought in troops (*gregatim*; Suetonius, *Calig.*, 30), but evidently never against one another, but against the *Galli*,<sup>1</sup> *murmillones* (Valerius Maximus, i, 7, 8; Pedo Albinovanus in Quintilian, vi, 3, 61), *Samnites* (who occur as opponents of the *retiarii* especially on the Bignor and Borghese mosaics, and also on that of Nennig, whose editor erroneously takes the *Samnis* for a *murmillon*) and *secutores*. The combats of the *retiarii* with the latter continued to a very late date (Meier, p. 22). The opponents of the *retiarii* are also represented by the term (originating in gladiatorial circles) *contravete* [*i.e. contravetarius*] (Henzen, 6174 = Wilmanns, 2616 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 180); this is also the meaning of >RET written by the side of six names of gladiators in *CIL*, vi, 1, 636 (A.D. 177).

3. **Secutores**. First mentioned in Suetonius, *Calig.*, 30; on Victorius' conjecture in Cicero, *ad Att.*, vii, 14, 2—*secutorum* for *scutorum*, cp. Meier, p. 19. They were the chief opponents of the *retiarii* (Isidorus, *Orig.*, xviii, 56: 'secutor ab insequendo retiarium dictus, αἰ δὲ γὰρ διώκει, says Artemidorus, *Oνειροcr.* as above). Their arms were sword, shield, visored helmet, and a greave. The latter is evident from Philogelos (ed. Eberhard, 87): σχολαστικὸς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας σεκούτωρος σχῆμα λαβὼν ἐπαιζειν. ἀφνω δὲ τινος ἀπαγγείλαντος αὐτῷ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς, ῥίψας τὸ ὄπλον, ἔλκε τὴν κνημίδα. φθάσαντος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ ἐπιστῆναι, ἔχων τὴν περικεφαλαίαν βιβλίον ἀνεγίνωσκε. Dio, lxxii, 19, says of Commodus when fighting as a *secutor*: οὗς ἐφίλει ὥσπερ εἶχε διὰ τοῦ κράνους; schol. Juv. vi, 108: ATTRITUS GALEA: apparatus eum secutorem fuisse; on the shape of the helmet, see Meier, p. 25. With this agrees the monument of a certain Urbicus *secutor*, poorly reproduced in Muratori, 617, 1, more accurately described by Cavedoni (*BdI*, 1846, p. 190) and Meier (*Gl. rom.*, p. 21); cp. also *AdI*, 1850, p. 125 (lamp from Salona). Isidorus (*l.c.*) gives them 'cuspidem et massam plumbeam', which is unintelligible; Leemans' conjecture 'cassidem et magnum clypeum' (*Rev. arch.*, ix, p. 80) cannot be supported.

The *secutores* were armed in exactly the same manner as the

4. **Samnites** (according to Meier, p. 14, the oldest class). As

<sup>1</sup> It is hazardous to conclude (with Meier, *Westd. Ztschr.*, i, 161), from lack of evidence that the combats between *retiarii* and *murmillones* ceased in the second century.

they are last mentioned by Horace, Meier (pp. 19–25) conjectures that later, as the opponents of the *retiarii*, they received the name of *secutores*, which first occurs under Caligula (Suetonius, *Calig.*, 30); as opponents of the *Thraeces*, that of *oplomachi*. The equipment of the Samnite soldiers as described by Livy (ix, 40) was somewhat modified in the case of the gladiators named after them. Their characteristic weapons were: the large oblong shield, often somewhat concave (Winckelmann, *Mon. ined.*, 199), but which on the monuments is only exceptionally (as in Livy's description) narrower at the bottom than at the top (so according to O. Hirschfeld's communication in the relief from Cavillargues mentioned in the note on ii, 61, 1, and in the gravestone described by Gurlitt in *Antike Denkmäler, Epigr. archäol. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, i, 7; cp. the same i, 100); the sleeve on the right arm common to all gladiators, the greave on the left leg, the girdle, the visored helmet (worn also by other classes, Meier, p. 18), with crest and very long plume (Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, ii, 11), and a short sword. These arms are called by Juvenal, vi, 256: *balteus et manicae et cristae crurisque sinistri dimidium tegimen*. According to Cicero (*De Orat.*, ii, 325: *prolusio . . . Samnitium, qui vibrant hastas ante pugnam, quibus in pugnando nihil utuntur*) they carried lances only in sham fights; later, according to the monuments, perhaps also in serious combat (Meier, p. 34). The '*spongia pectori tegumentum*' (Livy) was dispensed with, since as a rule the gladiator's breast was left unprotected (Meier, p. 17). Cp. Henzen (p. 107) and the particularly instructive representation of the figure of a Samnite from the Campana collection (tav. 7, 1). According to this Henzen has shown the Samnites on the Borghese mosaic as opponents of the *retiarii* (*secutores*), just as they appear on the Bignor mosaic; on the other hand, contending with *Thraeces* (*oplomachi*) in Bartoli, *Lucernae sepp.*, i, 22, Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*<sup>4</sup>, p. 182 (picture on the breastwall of the arena) and Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 464 (terracotta vase). Other representations of Samnites: Guattani, *Mon. ined.*, 1787, tav. 3 (repeated in Clarac, *Mus. de Sculpt.*, pl. 866); *BdI*, 1850, p. 167; Bursian, *Zwei Bronzestatuetten aus Avenches in Anzeiger für schweizerische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, 1865, no. 1.

5. **Thraeces.** First mentioned in Cicero, *Phil.*, vi, 13; vii, 17; *Prov. Cons.*, 9; last in Ausonius, *Technopaeg.*, p. 488 Toll.; schol. Juvenal, viii, 201; Meier, p. 33. They carried the small shield (*parma*), with which they were opposed to the Samnites, who were armed with the large shield (*scutum*). According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii, 129) the *parma* was round and somewhat concave: '*plurimumque refert concava sint (specula) et poculi modo, an parmae Thraecidicae*'; and so it appears on the monument of Scaurus. More frequently, however, it is not round, but square, like the *scutum*; see e.g. the monuments of the *Thraex* Priscus (*Mus. Veron.*, 444, 2) and of M. Antonius Exochus (Fabretti, *Col. Traj.*, 256 = *CIL*, vi, 10, 194). On the monument of a *Thraex*, described by Borghesi (*Bull. Nap.*, i, p. 95) the shield is '*grande e ricurvo*' (large and bent round). The *parma* must also have been square, otherwise Martial (xiv, 213) could not have spoken of it as capable of being used as a *scutum* by a dwarf. Their characteristic



offensive weapon was the *sica* (the national weapon of the Thracians, Val. Max., iii, 2, 12), a short curved sword. *Corp. Glossar. Latin.*, ed. Goetz and Gundermann, ii, p. 183<sup>b</sup>: *sica* Θρακικὸν ξίφος ἐπικαρπές. It is called 'falx supina' by Juvenal (viii, 201), and boars' tusks, 'dentium sicae,' by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xviii, 2). This is the shape of the *sica* on a relief in the amphitheatre of Nîmes, representing a combat between a *Thraex* and a *Samnis* (Pelet, *Descr. de l'amph. de N.*, pl. iii, f. 1). But more frequently the blade is not curved, but forms an angle about halfway down, as on the monument of Exochus (Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeii*<sup>4</sup>, p. 182), on the trophies of gladiatorial weapons in the gladiators' school at Pompeii (*Bull. Nap.*, 1853, tav. vii, 13 and 14; cp. also p. 114). The want of the large shield was compensated by a more complete equipment; hence Artemidorus attributes to them τὸ ἐσκεπάσθαι τοῖς ὄπλοις. Like other gladiators, particularly the *Samnites* (from whom, however, they are distinguished by having, in addition to the *parma* and *sica*, greaves on both legs), they wear the visor and the sleeve on the right arm; cp. Henzen, *Mus. Borgh.*, p. 112, *Bull. Nap.*, i, p. 95. By this the *Thraeces* on the monument of Scaurus, whom Mazois (*Ruines de Pompéi*, pl. 32) takes from *Samnites*, may be identified. In Seneca (*Quaest. Nat.*, iv, praef. 8) Haase's emendation 'quamvis staturam habeas [Thraecis cum] Thraece compositi' is impossible; the sense requires something like 'staturam—nani cum Thraece compositi'. It was natural that these heavily-armed combatants should generally be recruited from men of great stature; but in Petronius (45): 'unus alicujus flaturae fuit Thraex', Scheffer's conjecture *staturae* is to be rejected. On monuments *parmati* are also seen with lances and straight swords (Meier, p. 34; Pacho, *Voyage dans le Cyrénaique*, p. 53); on the other hand, a *scutatus* with a *sica* in a Pompeian graffito (Avellino, *Osservazioni*). In regard to this it must be observed that it would be idle to attempt to distribute all the representations of gladiators amongst the classes known to us. For in the first place they had no regular uniforms, but their equipments were undoubtedly subject to countless modifications that varied according to time and place; and in the second place the representations are certainly not always true. The *Thraeces* also fought with one another (according to the monuments), and with the *murmillones* (Meier, p. 33). But their chief opponents were the

6. **Oplomachi** (the usual form in inscriptions and good MSS.; Meier, p. 22, 4). Lipsius supposed that it was a later name for the *Samnites* (taken from their *scutum* [ὄπλον]). The occurrence of *Samnis* together with *oplomachus* in the list *IRN*, 737 (= *CIL*, ix, 466) may be explained by the assumption that the former name for the opponents of the *retiarii* had not yet been superseded by the later *secutor*, whereas the opponents of the *Thraeces* were already called *oplomachi* (see above). In the Pompeian list (*CIL*, vi, 2508) they appear not only as opponents of the *Thraeces*, but also of the *murmillones* and *dimachaeri* (Meier, pp. 22–25).

7. **Galli** and 8. **Murmillones** (apparently the only inscriptional form; Meier, p. 35, 1). According to Festus, p. 285 M (*murmilonicus* genus armaturae Gallicum est ipsique *murmillones* ante



Galli appellabantur in quorum galeis piscis effigies inerat) the second name (derived from the fish *μορμύρος* or *μορμύλος*) also denoted the Gallic combatants; both names, however, occur together in the list *IRN*, 737 (= *CIL*, ix, 466). Certainly, the only other place where the *Galli* are mentioned is the satirical song of the *retiarii* (see above), whereas the *murmillones* are frequently referred to down to the latest times. Their chief opponents were the *retiarii*, also the *Thraeces* (Meier, p. 37); it cannot be concluded with certainty from *CIG*, 2164 (Meier, p. 41) that they fought against each other. The passages in Ammianus Marcellinus (xvi, 12, 49: seque in modum murmillonum opperiens; xxiii, 6, 83: pedites in speciem murmillonum contexti) throw no light upon their equipment. Lipsius, who concluded from them that they were heavily armed, identified them with the *cruppellarii* of the Aeduans, slaves intended to serve as gladiators, 'quibus more gentico continuum ferri tegimen' (Tacitus, *Ann.*, iii, 43). Meier, on the other hand, thinks that they were lightly armed, and identifies them on a number of monuments (pp. 38-42).

9. **Dimachaeri.** Artemidorus, *Oneirocr.*, ii, 32 ed. Reif.: *διμάχαιρος δὲ καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος ὀρβήλας*. For the last word (so in V [Marcianus 268], in L [Laurentianus 87, 8] *ὀρβήλας*) which is evidently corrupted, Hercher gives *μορμύλλων*; but this is very improbable, since the two classes have nothing in common. I conjecture that *βήλης* (*velis*) is the true reading, and that the corruption may have arisen from *ὁ καὶ βήλης* (*καὶ* in an abbreviated form) being written in the margin. Dymachero sive assidario in Orelli, 2584 = Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 469). The figure in *Mus. Borb.*, viii, pp. 7, 8 has been wrongly explained as a *dimachaerus* (see p. 173).

10. **Velites.** Isidorus, *Origines*, xviii, 57: *velitum pugna erat ut ultro citroque tela objectarent*; according to Cicero (*Brutus*, 78, 271) they had 'hastae amentatae' (spears with straps or thongs attached); 'hasta velitaris evolsa corpori hominis' (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxviii, 134). In Nonius Marcellus, *De Propr. Serm.*, i, p. 56 M, ed. Quicherat, p. 57, 1: *PETAURISTAE*: idem (Varro) de Vita Populi Romani lib. ii: 'nec minus in alio genere sunt ludii vellites (ludi velitis, Kraner, Varro *De v. p. R.*, ii, 21, p. 33) Galli, Germani, petauristae'. It is clear from Seneca, *Apocol.*, 6: 'ad xvi lapidem natus est a Vienna, Gallus germanus) that in this obscure passage we should write 'Galligermani'. Can 'Galli germani', no doubt a popular expression, mean real Gallic tumblers as opposed to the gladiators called *Galli*? (cp. the *Programm Acad. Alb. Regiment*, 1873, v, p. 3). Ovid, *Ibis*, 45: *utque petit primo plenum flaventis harenae nondum calfacti velitis hasta solum*; cp. Cicero, *Orator*, ii, 78, 316 and Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 562, 2. Perhaps also the 'veles bonu' sub vitem qui subicit hastas (Lucilius, ed. Gerlach, fr. inc. 44; cp. Festus, p. 310, Paul., p. 328 ed. O. M.) is a gladiator. Spears are to be seen on the gladiatorial trophies of Pompeii (*Bull. Nap.*, 1853, p. 115) and on *graffiti*.

11. **Provocatores** (Cicero, *Pro Sextio*, 64). The monument of a certain Anicetus provocator (Henzen, 6173 = *CIL*, vi, 10, 183) exhibits, according to Meier's description (*BdI*, 1884, p. 158) a gla-

diator equipped with *scutum*, sword, and greave (the Samnite accoutrement). On the other hand, in Garrucci (p. 13) there is an inscription: *Mansuetus provocator victor Veneri parmam feret* (unless we should read *palmam*; cp. Garrucci, *BdI*, 1865, p. 79). From the inscription of a provocator spat(arius) (= *CIL*, vi, 7659) Garrucci assumes a special class of *provocatores*, who were armed with the 'gladii minores, quos spatas vocant' (Vegetius, *De re mil.*, ii, 15). Wilmanns (*E. I.*, 2609, 1) and Meier (*BdI*, 1884, p. 158 note) consider 'spat.' to be a mistake for 'spect'.

12. **Essedarii** (Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, vii, 10), probably introduced by Caesar. No doubt they imitated as closely as possible the British fighters in chariots, thus described by Caesar (*De Bell. Gall.*, iv, 33): *mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in praeliis praestant; ac tantum usu quotidiano et exercitio efficiunt ut in declivi ac praecipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere, et brevi moderari ac flectere, et per temonem percurrere et in iugo insistere et inde se in currus citissime recipere consueverint*. Burmann quotes this passage and Seneca, *Epp.*, 29, on Petronius, 36: *ita gesticulatus laceravit obsonium, ut putares essedarium hydraule cantante pugnare*, from which it is clear that the *essedarii* sometimes carried out their artistic movements in musical time. Lipsius (*Saturn.*, ii, 12) rightly concluded from Suetonius (*Calig.*, 35), where the *essedarius* Porius sets his slaves free 'ob prosperam pugnam', that on every chariot (as amongst the Britons) there was a driver as well as the combatant. The mention of a 'mulier essedaria' in Petronius (45) cannot be accidental. The *essedarii* may have come especially into vogue as the result of the wars in Britain under Claudius and Nero; British women appear to have frequently taken part in battle (Tacitus, *Ann.*, xiv, 35): *Boudicca, curra filias prae se vehens—solum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare testabatur*. *Esse(darius)* in the list *CIL*, ix, 466. Inscription on an *essedarius* named M. Bostorius in Garrucci, *Graffiti*, p. 66; *CIL*, vi, 631; cp. Meier, *Gl. rom.*, p. 43.

13. **Equites**. 'Equi gladiatorum' are mentioned in Cicero (*Pro Sestio*, 59, 126); *IRN*, 736 = *CIL*, ix, 465; eq. vet. lud. mag. (*CIL*, vi, 10, 167); Artemidorus, *l.c.*; Galen, *De Comp. med. p. gen.*, iii, 2 ed. Kuehn, xiii, p. 601: *θεασάμενος γὰρ τινα μονομάχων τῶν καλουμένων ιππέων*. Isidorus (*Origines*, xviii, 53): *genera gladiatorum plura, quorum primus ludus equestrium. duo enim equites praecedentibus prius signis militaribus, unus a porta orientis alter ab occidentis procedebant in equis albis cum aureis galeis minoribus et habilioribus armis, sicque atroci perseverantia pro virtute sua inibant pugnam*. The horsemen fighting with one another on the monument of Scarus have long coats of mail, small round shields, brassards on the right arm, tunics, visor-helmets, and spears; cp. also Meier in *Westd. Zeitschrift*, i, 165.

14. **Andabatae**. Occurs in Cicero (*Ad Fam.*, vii, 10); also the title of one of Varro's satires (Petronius, ed. Bücheler<sup>3</sup>, p. 165). From the gloss in Mai (*Class. Auct.*, vii, 551): *andabetae gens quaedam* and the mention of *ἀνδραβάται* (*ἀνδαβάται*?) amongst the legionary soldiers in Lydas (*De Magistratibus*, i, 46) Meier conjectures that they were gladiators who, like the *Samnites*, *Galli*, and *Thraeces*

appeared in their national armour. Nothing further is known of them except that they fought without being able to see, *i.e.* they probably wore a visor without eye-holes (Jerome, *Adv. Jovin.*, i, 37, *Adv. Helvid.*, 3, p. 3A, *Contra Rufin.*, 3, p. 101A; cp. the 'combat à l'aveuglette' in Lacroix, *Mœurs*, etc., *au moyen âge*, p. 236). Lipsius (*Sat.*, ii, 12) without reason took them for horsemen, chiefly because, according to Artemidorus (*l.c.*) the ἵππεύς means γυναικα . . . φρένας οὐκ ἔχουσιν; but it is quite inadmissible to conclude from this, not only that the horsemen could not see, but that the *andabatae* and *equites* were identical. Turnebus (*Adv.*, ii, 20) with as little reason identified *andabates* with the Greek ἀναβάτης, according to which he fought from a chariot. What Orelli (2569) says is correct. They are rarely mentioned on inscriptions or monuments, and by no writer of the imperial period (Jerome probably only draws from Varro); so perhaps this method of fighting fell into disuse at the end of the republic.

15. **Paegniarii.** Orelli, 2566 = *CIL*, vi, 631 (inscription of the colleg. *Silvani*) and Henzen, 6176 = *CIL*, vi, 10,168 (a 'paegniarius ludi magni', who lived to nearly 100); Wilmanns, *E.I.*, 2617; *CIL*, vi, 10,182. Suetonius, *Calig.*, 26, ed. Roth: tabidis feris vilissimos senioque confectos gladiatores, \*quoque paegniaris patres familiarum notos sed insignis debilitate aliqua obiciebat (*cod. Mem. pegniaries*, other *codd.* pegmares, for which Scutilli [*De coll. glad.*] and Marini [*Iscr. alb.*, p. 12] had already conjectured *paegniarios*). That they were dwarfs, as conjectured by Cavedoni (*BdI*, 1846, p. 191) is improbable. Perhaps they carried *arma lusoria* (arms incapable of causing death). The mosaic found at Nennig represents a fight between two *paegniarii*; they are protecting themselves with small shields, and carry in the left hand a staff bent round at the top with a large knob, in the right a whip. Meier (*Westd. Ztschr.*, i, 157) believes that they appeared at the midday interval, according to Seneca (*Epp.*, 7): casu in meridianum spectaculum incidi lusus exspectans et sales et aliquid laxamenti, and Tertullian (*Ad Nat.*, i, 10 = *Apolog.*, 15) risimus et meridiani ludi de deis lusus (? a pantomime). The assumption of Henzen (*Mus. Borgh.*, p. 117) that *meridiani* was the name of a special class of gladiators, is based on an inscription (Orelli, 2587 = Gruter, 335, 4) which is not genuine. Other classes of gladiators are erroneously assumed or at least cannot be certainly shown to have existed. The *manicarii* in the colleg. *Silvani* (*CIL*, vi, 631) are not gladiators but makers of brassards, which is the less remarkable, as an *uncior* was also a member of this *collegium*. The *velarii* who drew up and pulled to the awning of the amphitheatre may also have belonged to the gladiatorial 'families' (the whole troop of gladiators under one trainer was often called *familia*): Orelli, 2569, *Ind.* p. 189; Herzog, *Gall. Narb. App.* 315 (Antipolis = *CIG*, 6776): Ἀντίπολις καὶ οἱ πολλῆται τὸ γενικὸν μον[ομάχων] καὶ οὐελαρί[ων] . . .

16. **Scissores.** Only in the list *IRN*, 737 = *CIL*, ix, 466, where a Marcus Caecilius scisso(r) is mentioned, as a *tiro*, killed or dead (Meier, p. 43, 2).

17. **Sagittarii.** *IRN*, 737 = *CIL*, ix, 466. Meier concludes from the following passages that not only those who fought with wild



beasts, but also gladiators proper used bow and arrows: Persius (iv, 42): *caedimus inque vicem praebeamus crura sagittis*—ilia subter caecum vulnus habes, sed lato balteus auro praetegit; cp. schol. *Nux*,<sup>1</sup> 171: corpora praebeamus plagis, ut saepe sagittis, quem (*codd. cum*) populus manicas deposuisse vetat (*i.e.*, quem populus non mittit). In the latter passage gladiators may be meant, whose death was demanded by the people, and who were obliged to serve as targets for archers. In the former *caedimus* leads to the assumption that gladiators differently equipped (? horsemen) were matched with the archers.

Gladiators might be skilled in more than one mode of fighting. Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 469 = Muratori, 613, 3: *dymachaero sive assidario p. vii rv(di)i*; Martial, v, 25, 11:—

Hermes belligera superbus hasta,  
Hermes aequoreo minax tridente,  
Hermes casside languida timendus.

Hermes was a *velox* and a *retiarius*: the third class cannot be defined with certainty.

*Venatores*. To these belonged the *taurocentae* and *taurarii* (*IRN*, 2378 = *CIL*, x, 1074); the same inscription mentions *succursores* and *pontarii* (? *contarii* from *κοῦτος*; cp. *κοιτροκυνηγέσιον*, *CIG*, 3422). *Succursores* probably, like *successores* (a successor Augusti in *IRN*, 4785 = *CIL*, ix, 2369), appear to have been persons who irritated the bull and then took to flight (Henzen, *Mon. Borgh.*, p. 151). On monuments the figures of men badly armed or quite unarmed are probably condemned criminals (*bestiarii*), the well-equipped trained *venatores*, whose chief armament was the *manica*. Fronto, *Ad M. Caesarem epp.*, v, 23: *consul populi Romani posita praetexta manicam induit, leonem inter juvenes quinquatribus percussit populo Romano spectante*. Whereupon Marcus inquires: *quando id factum et an Romae? num illud dicis in Albano factum sub Domitiano?* In Juvenal, iv, 99: *cominus ursos figebat—nudus arena venator*, *nudus* = wearing nothing but the simple *tunica*. Well-armed *venatores* may be seen in Bartoli, *Pitt. antiche*, ii, 27, especially on the Torlonia relief (see above, p. 168), where Henzen's (*Mus. Borgh.*, p. 117; cp. *AdI*, 1841, p. 15) recognition of a Parthian equipment receives additional support from the fact that the Parthians were experts at shooting wild animals with arrows: Tiridates distinguished himself in this manner (Dio, lxiii, 3), and Commodus took lessons in archery from Parthians, in javelin-throwing from Moors (Herodian, i, 15). A *venator* on horseback, pursuing a deer in flight, already wounded by a spear, in Garrucci, *Graff.*, pl. xiv, 5 (cp. p. 74); mounted *venatores* on contorniates (Sabatier, *Descr. gén. des c.*, pl. iv, 1 and pl. ix). Slings as weapons of *venatores* (P. J. Meier, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxi, p. 111). On the whole they appeared variously equipped, sometimes without any defensive weapons, only armed with a hunting spear (*Bull. Nap.*, iv, tav. 1). Yet *venatores* appears to have been the general name for all who

<sup>1</sup> [An elegy on a 'nut-tree' sometimes ascribed to Ovid (printed in Bährens, *Poetae Latini minores*, i, 90). It is probably not by him, but at any rate belongs to the Augustan age. Tr.]



fought with wild beasts (except condemned criminals); P. J. Meier's conjecture (*BdI*, 1884, p. 159) that only those were so called 'che facevano uso di brache ed erano muniti completamente d'arnesi da caccia', the heavily (in Samnite fashion) armed *provocatores*, is at once arbitrary and improbable.

### XXX. ON THE ANIMALS USED FOR THE ROMAN *VENATIONES*

(Vol. II, p. 62.)

OF the treatises on this subject with which I am acquainted the most complete, the best arranged and most instructive (in spite of errors in detail) is that of Mongez, *Mémoire sur les animaux promenés ou tués dans les cirques* in *Mémoires de l'Institut*, tom. x (1833), pp. 360-460. In the following survey I have as far as possible preserved the chronological order and discussed the animals in the order in which they became known at Rome or are mentioned by ancient writers. Three periods may be distinguished.

a. From the introduction of the *venationes* to the games of Scaurus (186-58 B.C.).

*Elephants*. The Romans first became acquainted with elephants in the war in Lucania against Pyrrhus, whence they were popularly called 'Lucanian oxen', an expression first occurring in Plautus (Marcellinus, *Chronic.* ad a. 496 p. C.: India Anastasio principi elephantem, quem Plautus poeta noster *Lucam bovem* nomine dicit, duasque camelopardales pro munere misit; L. Müller in *Rhein. Mus.*, xxi, p. 299), and last used by the Christian writer Claudianus Mamertus in the fifth century (*ib.* in *N. Jahrb. f. Phil.*, 1886, p. 391). They were first exhibited in Rome at the triumph of Manius Curius Dentatus (275 B.C.; Seneca, *De Brevitate Vitae*, xiii, 3). Lucius Caecilius Metellus, the victor over the Carthaginians, who triumphed 250 B.C., caused 120 (or 140 or 142) elephants to be driven into the circus; according to Verrius they were killed, according to other authorities, not (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 16; Seneca, *De Brev. Vit.*, 13, 8). A coin of the *gens Caecilia* (Ursini, *Fam. rom.*, p. 37) exhibits, in commemoration of this triumph, an elephant with a bell round its neck. They were first made to fight in Rome 99 and 79 B.C. against bulls (Pliny, *l.c.*; Gran. Licinian., xxxi). Pompey, who first rode in a chariot drawn by elephants, at his African triumph in 81 B.C. (Pliny, *ib.*, viii, 4; according to Plutarch, *Vit. Pomp.*, 14, 3, however, the gate being too narrow, he was obliged to use horses), was also the first to set them fighting (20, 17, or 18 of them) with men (at the dedication of his theatre, 55 B.C., Seneca, *ib.*; Pliny, *ib.*; Dio, xxxix, 38; Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, vii, 1).

Under the empire, when elephants were chiefly used for drawing imperial triumphal and processional chariots (also for heavy loads, e.g. the colossus of Nero in Hadrian's reign was drawn from its place by 24 elephants; *Vit. Hadr.*, 19), their appearance in the circus was generally limited to the performance of tricks; they were only rarely given up to the *venationes*. Even at the dedication of the Flavian amphitheatre only four fought (Dio, lxvi, 25; one with a

bull, *Lib. Spect.*, 17) ; one (against a rhinoceros) in A.D. 5 (Dio, iv, 27) ; Commodus killed two (Dio, lxxii, 10) ; one was killed in 202 (Dio, lxxvi, 1) ; one in 212 (Dio, lxxvii, 16) ; one in 218 (Dio, lxxix, 9). On coins of Titus, Antoninus Pius, Commodus, Severus, of the years 80, 149, 183, 197 the elephant appears dressed in a coat of mail resembling net-work. A coin of Gordian, representing an elephant (accompanied by a mahout) fighting against a bull in the amphitheatre, is repeated on a contorniate (Sabatier, *Descr. gén.*, t. viii, 11).

*African wild animals* (Africanae, Ἰνδία Λιβυκά, i.e. various species of the genus *Felis*, especially spotted, such as *panthers* and *leopards*, which the Romans, according to Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, i, 257, rightly regarded as two distinct species ; the name *leopardus* first occurs in the *Scriptores historiae Augustae* ; see Mongez, p. 379, and cf. Keller, *Thiere d. kl. Alterth.*, p. 144) were seen at Rome as early as the first *venatio*, 186 B.C. (Livy, xxxix, 22), and (63 in number) at a second in 169 B.C. (Livy, xxiv, 18). The tribune Gnaeus Aufidius (according to Pighi, *Ann.*, iii, p. 106, probably in 140 B.C.) contrary to an old decree of the senate, exceptionally allowed their introduction. During his aedileship Scaurus exhibited 150, all spotted ; Pompey 410 ; Publius Servilius, when praetor in 25 B.C., 300 (Dio, xiii, 27) ; Augustus 420 (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 64), according to Dio, at the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus (13 B.C.), as many as 600 at once (Dio, liv, 26), altogether some 3500 during his reign (*Mon. Ancyr.*) ; Caligula 400 at the dedication of the temple of Augustus A.D. 37 (Dio, lix, 7) ; Claudius, A.D. 41, 300 (Dio, lx, 7). These were the most commonly used of the non-European animals at *venationes*, in Rome and in the *municipia* (at Verona, Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 34 ; Allifae, *IRN*, 4768 = *CIL*, ix, 2350).

*Hyaenas*. Only mentioned once (*Gordiani Tres*, 33 : belbi, id est, hyaenae decem) ; cp. *Edict. Diocl.*, viii, 19, 59 : pellis hyaenae infecta . . . confecta. They seem to have been little suited for *venationes*.

*Lions*. Exhibited at the first *venatio* of M. Fulvius (Livy *l.c.*), but probably without fighting ; Quintus Scaevola (consul B.C. 95) during his aedileship first gave a fight with a number of lions, even these being probably chained up ; they were first let loose in the circus by Sulla at a show given by him during his praetorship ; javelin-throwers were obtained from King Bocchus to fight with them (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 53 ; Seneca, *De Brev. Vit.*, xiii, 6). According to Pliny these were 100 lions with manes (*jubati*), also distinguished elsewhere (e.g. *Vit. Prob.*, 19) from the rest ; Mongez (p. 390) conjectures that only those with manes were real lions, the others being Indian leopards (chasseur des Indes : *Felis jubata* Linn.). However, there is a maneless kind of lion in India, in Gujrat (*Felis leo Goojratensis* ; Oken, *Allg. Naturgesch.*, vii, 2, p. 1658 ; Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, i, 213) : it is also found in other parts of India, and perhaps the south Persian is to be included in this variety, which may have been commoner in antiquity than at the present day. Pompey exhibited 600 in the circus, 325 of them with manes (according to Dio, xxxix, 38 ; Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 52, gives only 507) ; Caesar 400 (Pliny, *l.c.*) ; Augustus, at the dedica-

tion of the temple of Mars Ultor (2 B.C.) 200 (Dio, iv, 10) ; Germanicus (A.D. 12) 200 (Dio, lvi, 27) ; Nero (A.D. 56) 300 (Dio, lxi, 9). Hadrian (*Vita*, 18) is said to have frequently provided 100 lions for the circus ; in the year 118 on his birthday, 100 lions and 100 lionesses (Dio, lxxix, 8). Antoninus Pius (*Vita*, 10) also exhibited 100 lions at once, probably at the secular games celebrated with great magnificence in the year 900 of the city (A.D. 147 ; Victor, *Caes.*, 15), and in like manner Marcus Aurelius (Eutropius, viii, 14 ; cp. Eusebius, *Chron.*, 181). Commodus is said to have slain the same number at a single show (Herodian, i, 15 ; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi, 10, 19). Probus (*Vita*, 19) caused 100 maned lions, whose roaring was like thunder, and 100 lionesses, to be slain in the amphitheatre.

*Ostriches*. Exhibited at the first *venationes* in the circus. Plautus, *Persa*, ii, 2, 17 : *vola curriculo. istuc (?) marinus passer per circum solet*. Commodus shot them as they were running with arrows, the points of which were crescent-shaped (Herodian, i, 15, 5 ; cp. Dio, lxxii, 20). The first Gordian, when aedile (*Vit.*, i, 3), at his sixth show exhibited 300 Moorish ostriches dyed red (in the inscription *CIL*, x, 3704 : *venatione pass., denis bestis et iiii feris dent.*, *pass.* is not to be taken with Lipsius for *passerum*, but = *passiva*, i.e. *promiscua* ; Mommsen, *Mitth. d. arch. Inst.*, 1888, p. 82). Trained Cranes are the only other birds which are mentioned in connexion with *venationes* (Dio, lxvi, 25). *Parrots* and other rare birds were, however, used at exhibitions, probably also to adorn the forum on the occasion of the spectacles (Varro, *R.R.*, iii, 9, 7 : *gallinae rusticae . . . in ornatibus publicis poni solent cum psittacis et merulis albis, item aliis id genus rebus inusitatis*).

As far as we know, these were the only non-European animals used in *venationes* before the aedileship of Scaurus. Of European animals, the following are mentioned :—

*Bears*. From Lucania (Varro, *L.L.*, v, 100 ; Martial, *Spect.*, 8 ; Galen, *De alimentor. facultatibus*, iii, 2 ed. Kuehn, vi, 666 : *ἐν Λευκανίᾳ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸ μεταξύ πῶς ἄρκτου τε καὶ σὺνός* ; ? Petronius, 66 : *ursina . . . ipsum aprum sapit*). From Apulia (Symmachus, *Epp.*, x, 13 and 15). From Dalmatia (*ib.*, x, 20). Caledonius ursus (Martial, *Spect.*, 7, 3). Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus when curule aedile (B.C. 61), first exhibited 100 Numidian bears. There can be no doubt that bears were found in Numidia ; this is attested by numerous passages in ancient writers (Herodotus, iv, 191 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 131 ; Martial, i, 104, 5 ; Juvenal, iv, 99 ; Dio, liii, 27, etc.), and also by the fact that Charlemagne received a bear from that country (Monach. Gall., *Gesta Karoli*, iii, 8). Shaw (*Voyages*, 1723, i, 323) says that the bear is found in Barbary, cp. Oken, *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte*, vii, 2, p. 1670 ; Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, i, 580, doubts this. Cp. on the other hand Keller, *Thiere d. klass. Alt.*, p. 365, 3 ; and on the diffusion of the bear in Spain, Gaul, Germany, Noricum, Pannonia, Thrace, northern Greece, anterior Asia, *ib.*, p. 106. As early as 169 B.C. 40 bears were exhibited (Livy, xlv, 18) ; in later times, their number equalled or exceeded that of the *Africanæ bestiae*. Thus, Publius Servilius during his praetorship (25 B.C.) exhibited 300 bears (Dio, liii, 27) ; Caligula 400 (Dio,



lix, 7) ; Nero 400 (Dio, lxi, 9). Commodus slew 100 (Dio, lxxii, 18) ; the first Gordian (*Vit.*, 3) exhibited on one day 1000 together with 100 *Africanæ bestiae* ; Probus 300 (*Vit.*, 19). Minturnæ (*CIL*, x, 6012), A.D. 249 : cum ursis ii (et ?) herban.

*Bulls.* Very frequently mentioned ; as early as 79 B.C. fighting with elephants (so often, e.g. Martial, *Spect.*, 17), later in particular with men. Varro, *R.R.*, iii, 5, 3 : ostium habere (ornithona oportet) humile et angustum et potissimum ejus generis quod cochleam appellant, ut solet esse in cavea in qua tauri pugnare solent. The numbers are not given as a rule, since they were evidently too common. Theodosius is said to have forbidden bull-fights at Rome (Prudentius, *Adv. Symmachum*, ii, 1122). *Zebus.* First mentioned at one of Nero's shows : Vidimus et tauros quibus aut cervice levata deformis scapulis torus eminet (Calpurnius, *Ecl.*, vii, 60) ; carici quoque in parte Asiae foedi visu tubere super armos a cervicibus eminente (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 45). They were especially common in Cyprus (Κύπριοι βόες, tauri Cypriaci ; Keller, pp. 66-72, who wrongly put the show described by Calpurnius in the reign of Carinus).

*Boars.* Martial, v, 65, 10 : quod tua Maenalios collocat hasta sues ? Tamed : *ib.*, i, 104, 6 : et quantum Calydon tulisse fertur, paret purpureis aper capristis. At the *decennalia* of Severus (A.D. 202) 60 boars had to fight with one another (Dio, lxxvi, 1) ; 150 boars (*Gord. Tres*, 3) ; 1000 (*Probus*, 19).

*Wild and tame animals of various kinds*, included under the general title of *animalia herbatica* (*Vit. Probi*, 19 ; *BdI*, 1859, p. 51 = *CIL*, viii, 7969 [Rusicade] venat. vari gen. dentatar. ferar. et [man]suet. item herbat). The same are meant by *herbanae* (Mommsen, *IRN*, 4063 = *CIL*, x, 6012 ; cp. Henzen, *AdI*, xxv, 118), *herbariae* (*CIL*, x, 7295 [Panormus] . . . omni genere herbariarum et numerosas orientales ; pp. herbariarum, Henzen, 6177 = *CIL*, vi, 10,209). Varro (*R.R.*, iii, 13) describes the preserves of Quintus Hortensius on his Laurentine estate, where at a blast of the horn ' tanta circumfluxit nos cervorum aprorum et ceterorum quadrupedum multitudo, ut non minus formosum mihi visum sit spectaculum quam in circo maximo aedilium sine Africanis bestiis cum fiunt venationes ; Plautus, *Persa*, iii, 3, 30 : citius extemplo a foro fugiunt quam ex porta ludis quum emissust lepus ; Ovid, *Metam.*, xi, 25 : structoque utrinque theatro ut matutina cervus periturus harena. Such animals were especially baited at the Floralia (Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 371 : imbelles capreae sollicitusque lepus) ; foxes at the Cerialia (cp. Preller, *RM*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 43). Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, x, 35, 57 : canem currentem post leporem jam non specto cum in circo fit.

Of course they were also often seen in large numbers in the *venationes* of the imperial period (*Gordiani Tres*, 3 : cervi palmati ducenti mixtis Britannis). In the latest as well as the earliest times, the *venationes* appear to have been again chiefly supplied with such animals as were more readily obtainable and were less dangerous ; at least they are particularly frequent on diptychs (so also Millin, *Voy. d. l. midi*, p. 100, pl. xxiv, 3 and *BdI*, 1851, p. 92) and con-torniates (Morelli, *Thes.*, vol. iii, p. 1, tab. 33, 19 [vol. i, p. 335], vol. iii, p. ii, tab. 18, 19 [vol. ii, 79] ; other *venationes* (*ib.*, tab. 20 and 49).



All these European animals were also common at the games of the *municipia* (bulls and boars, e.g. in the Pompeian relief, *Bull. Nap.*, iv, tav. 1).

b. From the games of Scaurus to the dedication of the Theatre of Marcellus (58–11 B.C.).

*Egyptian animals.* First exhibited in Rome by Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, when curule aedile, at his famous shows (58 B.C.). They may have been procured by him during his inroad upon the country of the Nabataeans in Petra (Mommsen, *Rom. Münzw.*, p. 627, note 468).

*The Hippopotamus*, then exhibited for the first time, (Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, viii, 96; *Ammian. Marcel.*, xxii, 15, 21) was probably first killed at the celebration of Augustus' Egyptian triumph (29 B.C.; Dio, li, 23; Mongez, p. 428). Of course it was rarely seen, even in imperial times; one occasion was the games of Nero described by Calpurnius (*Ecl.*, vii, 66). Several are said to have been exhibited at the shows given by Antoninus Pius (*Vita*, 10), and Elagabalus owned some (*Vita*, 28). There was one at Rome during the reign of the third Gordian (*Vita*, 33).

The *Crocodile* also was exhibited for the first time in Rome by Scaurus; five of them, together with the hippopotamus, were kept in a reservoir dug for the purpose (Pliny, *l.c.*). At the dedication festival of the temple of Mars Ultor (2 B.C.) Augustus had the circus Flaminius flooded and 36 crocodiles killed (Dio, lv, 10). Strabo (xvii, 1, 44, p. 815 c) seems to be describing a different show. By the side of the reservoir was a stand, on which the crocodiles could bask in the sun. Some Tentyrites (men from Tentyra) pulled them up with nets from the water and let them down again; these men mingled freely with the animals without being injured. Domitian also exhibited crocodiles (A.D. 90; Martial, v, 65, 13: *saepe licet Graiae numeretur belua Lerna, improba Niliacis quid facit hydra feris?*), as did Antoninus Pius (*Vita*, 10); Elagabalus had one (*Vita*, 28); Symmachus intended to exhibit several at his shows, but they all died (*Epp.*, vi, 43; ix, 132).

The first *Rhinoceros* was seen in Rome at the games given by Pompey (55 B.C.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 71). Lucilius had already heard of it (*Sat.*, 3, 21: *dente adverso eminulo hic est, rhinoceros velut Aethiops*). A rhinoceros was first killed by order of Augustus (29 B.C.; Dio, li, 23), after it had been exhibited in the *septa* (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 43). A rhinoceros fought with an elephant (A.D. 5; Dio, lv, 27). Strabo, who describes the fight (p. 775), had seen it himself. Pliny (*l.c.*) says the one-horned species had been often seen. Domitian was perhaps the first to exhibit the two-horned rhinoceros (Martial, *Spect.*, 22 ed. Friedländer); it is immortalized on his coins (Eckhel, vi, 393). Pausanias (ix, 21, 2) also saw one at Rome; it was called the Ethiopian bull. Commodus is said to have slain several (Dio, lxxii, 10); Caracalla had one killed (*ib.*, lxxvii, 6); Elagabalus possessed one (*Vita*, 28). One was exhibited at the secular games of Philip the Arabian (*Gordian. tert. Vita*, 33).

The *Chama* from Gaul (Gallic *rufius*) was first seen at the games of Pompey; it was shaped like a wolf and spotted like a pard (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 70); also called by the Romans *lupus cervarius* (*ib.*,

84). It is the lynx (*loup-cervier* of the French). Cp. Mongez, p. 401, who quotes the following from Thevet, *Cosmographie du Levant*: 'Les loup-cerviers sont trop plus cruelz que ceux dont nous avons maintenant parlé, et de cette espèce on en vit un en France, n'y ha pas long temps; lequel sortant de la forest d'Orléans, au pays de Berry, l'an 1548, dévora plusieurs personnes.' It is now extinct in France. Probably Caesar had sent this animal to Pompey from Gaul. *Edict. Diocl.*, viii, 35: *pellis lupi cervarii infecta . . . confecta*.

Lastly, at these games there was seen for the first and apparently the only time the Ethiopian *Cepus* (Pliny, viii, 70), a sort of ape with a tail (Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.*, ii, 8), according to Mongez (pp. 402-404) belonging to the class 'des singes-macaques habitans de la Guinée et de l'intérieur de l'Afrique': since Pliny says that their hands and feet are very like those of human beings, Keller (*Thiere des class. Alterth.*, p. 16) thinks they may be gorillas.

The Giraffe was first exhibited by Caesar at the triumphal games (46 B.C.; Dio, xliii, 23; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 69). It is spoken of by Varro (*L.L.*, v, 20: *Alexandrea camelopardalis nuper adducta*) and Horace (*Epp.*, ii, 1, 194). Pliny says that the animal, which the Greeks and Romans called *camelopardalis*, or wild sheep (*ovis fera*, no doubt a popular name), was known to the Ethiopians as *nabun*. On the Palestrina mosaic *Νάβους* and *Καμηλοπάρδαλις* are different but similar animals (Barthélemy, *Mos. de Palestrina*, p. 40). Cp. Brandt, *Bull. de l'ac. imp. de St.-Petersbourg*, 1860, t. i, p. 353: Is the *Nabus* of Pliny identical with his *camelopardalis*? The Arabic name is *zarāfa* (the lovely); modern Greek *ζοράφης*; in Albertus Magnus, *seraph*. See Mongez, pp. 413 and 418, who (pp. 411-422) has given the most complete collection of the statements of ancient and modern writers on the giraffe with which I am acquainted; cp. also Jahn, *Columbar. der Villa Pamfili*, p. 45). The first description of it by an eye-witness, subsequent to the Augustan age, is that of Pausanias, who saw one in Rome and calls it the Indian camel (ix, 21, 3); Florentinus, who is said to have lived under Macrinus, next saw one there (*Geopon.*, xvi, 22) and Dio (lxxii, 10) who saw one slain by Commodus. Under the third Gordian there were ten at Rome, which were led in procession at the secular games of Philip the Arabian (A.D. 247; *Gordian. III.*, 33); some also took part in Aurelian's triumph over Zenobia (A.D. 278; *Vit. Aurel.*, 33); two were sent from India in 496 to Theodosius (Marcellinus Comes, Chron. of the year). Ancient representations of the giraffe in Jahn as above (taf. i, 1 and *BdI*, 1858, p. 125: sarcophagus with the Indian triumph of Bacchus; cp. p. 173; *AdI*, 1863, p. 375; *Mon. d. I.*, vi and vii, tav. 80).

c. From the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus (11 B.C.) to the latest times.

The *Tiger* was first seen at Rome during the reign of Augustus. Varro (*L.L.*, v, 20) declared that it was impossible to capture it alive, although Seleucus I, towards the end of the fourth century, had already presented one to the Athenians, mentioned by Philemon and Alexis in Athenaeus (xiii, p. 590); cp. *Ausland*, 1860, p. 833 (*Der Tiger im Alterthum*). According to Dio (liv, 9) the first tigers

were presented to Augustus by an Indian embassy, which met him on the island of Samos (19 B.C.) ; according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, viii, 65) he exhibited the first tiger at Rome on the 4th of May, 11 B.C., at the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus ; it was tame and kept in a cage. Claudius exhibited four. A tame tiger also mentioned in Martial (*Sp.*, 18 ; i, 104, 1-3). Domitian presented a large number of tigers (probably at the shows given to celebrate the Sarmatian triumph, at the beginning of the year 93 ; cp. Martial, viii, 26 ed. Friedländer) ; so also Antoninus Pius (*Vita*, 10) ; ten were slain at a show given by Septimius Severus in 203 (Dio, lxxvi, 7). At the wedding of Elagabalus (A.D. 218) (who, attired as Bacchus drove teams of deer, lions and tigers, *Vita*, 28) 51 tigers are said to have been killed (Dio, lxxix, 9). Gordian III possessed ten (*Vita*, 33) ; Aurelian, four (*Vita*, 33).

In addition to the above, the following animals are mentioned as having been exhibited in Rome during the imperial period at the *venationes* or on other occasions.

The *Bubalus*, at the shows of Domitian. According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, viii, 38) the ignorant vulgar ('imperitum vulgus') gave this Greek name of the *antelope* to the *aurochs* (urus, *Bos urus*, *primigenius*), and the confusion was kept up : 'when buffaloes made their appearance in Italy under the Lombards, the name was ready to hand' (Hehn, *Culturpfl.*<sup>4</sup>, p. 502). Also, the other wild ox found in Germany, the *Bison* (a name borrowed from the Germanic *wisand* by the Greeks and Romans), *Bos bison* (first occurs in Seneca, *Hippol.*, 65 : villosi . . . bisontes latisque feri cornibus uri). Tame, in Martial (*Spect.*, 23, 5 ; i, 104, 8 : turpes esseda quod trahunt bizontes) ; Mongez, p. 433 ; also Calpurnius (*Ecl.*, iii, 61) and at the games of Severus in 202 (Dio, lxxvi, 1) ; accurately described in Mongez, p. 450. Pausanias calls these animals, elsewhere called βόες ἀγριοί (Keller, *Thiere des cl. Alt.*, p. 53), 'Paeonian bulls' (they were especially common in Paeonia), and describes in detail the method of hunting them (x, 13, 2) ; he saw one in Rome (ix, 21, 3). At the present time this animal, 'the largest of the mammalia of continental Europe', is only found in the primeval forest of Bialowicza in the Russian province of Grodno (Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, ii, 636). Cp. the comprehensive article 'Wisunt' in Schade's *Altd. Wörterb.*<sup>2</sup>, 1173-1185 and Keller as above, pp. 53-65. Further, the *Damma* (Martial, *Spect.*, 30), according to Cuvier an African antelope called *nanguer* (Mongez, p. 434) ; cp. Martial, iv, 35, 74, xiii, 94. It is often mentioned later, 200 in *Vita Gordiani III* (3), 2000 in *Vita Probi* (19). The *Oryx* (Martial, xiii, 95 : matutinarum non ultima praeda ferarum, saevus oryx), a one-horned (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xi, 255) animal from the African deserts (*ib.*, x, 201). Martial (xiii, 100) also mentions the *Onager* (Cicero, *Ad Att.*, vi, 1, 25) as seen at *venationes*. It was formerly identified with the zebra (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. 20). Mongez (pp. 443-446) rejects this view, not only because the ancients mention that the *onager* was tamed, which the zebra never could be (cp., however, Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, ii, 378), but also because it would have been truly extraordinary if they had said nothing about the characteristic stripes when describing the animal. The zebra is first described by Philostorgus (*Hist.*



*Eccl.*, iii, 11) under the name *δνος ἄγριος*. Cuvier identified the onager of the Romans with the jagatai (*Equus hemionus* Pallas), others with the wild ass. It is frequently mentioned later (*Dio*, lxxvi, 1; *Gordiani Tres*, 3 [30]: *Gord. III*, 33: xx onagri, 1 equi feri).

At the shows of Antoninus Pius, where 'animals from every part of the world were' to be seen (*Vita*, 10), the following, not yet mentioned, were exhibited: the *Strepsiceros* (an African variety of antelope: Mongez, p. 439) and the *Crocota*. The latter, described by Dio, lxxvi, 1, at the games of Severus in 202 under the name *κοροκώττας* (Haupt, *Opuscula*, ii, 187 note; elsewhere used for an Ethiopian animal, Rohde, *Gr. Rom.*, 229, 2), which in his opinion had never been seen before that time, has been taken for a hyaena (Mongez, p. 436). According to the coins in Eckhel (*D.N.*, vii, 19), which for the first time exhibit the inscription *Munificentia* with reference to *venationes* and on the reverse a lion passant or an elephant in a coat of mail, these shows took place in the year 149.

Besides the above, Pausanias saw *white Deer* at Rome (viii, 17, 3) and the Gallic *Alces* (ἄλκη, ix, 21, 3), 'resembling in appearance both a stag and a camel', the elk. Gordian I and Gordian III had ten elks; and Aurelian a certain number (*Gordiani Tres*, 2; *Gordianus III*, 33: *Aurelian.*, 33). Henzen (*Ann. d. Inst.*, xxv, p. 118) thinks he can recognize the animal (Calpurnius, *Ecl.*, 7, 58: *raram silvis etiam quibus editur alcen*) on a diptych (*Mon. dell' Inst.*, v, 51).

The *Hippotigris*, mentioned by Dio (lxxvii, 6) as having been slain at the games of Caracalla is certainly the zebra, which was so called from uniting in itself the characteristics of the horse and the tiger, as the *camelopardalis* those of the camel and the pard: cp. Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, ii, 373.

At the games of Gordian I mention is also made of: *oves ferae* C, *tauri Cypriaci* C, *ibices* CC. *Oves ferae* (here of course not giraffes) are animals of the class mentioned by Columella (*R.R.*, vii, 2, 4: *nam cum in municipium Gaditanum ex vicino Africae miri coloris silvestres feri arietes sicut aliae bestiae munerariis apportarentur*); *Edict. Diocl.*, viii, 25: *pellis obiferi* (ὀβιφέρι); cp. Apicius, viii, 4 and Ducange, s.v. The wild maned sheep (*Ovis tragelaphus* Desm.), small flocks of which inhabit the high plateaux of Algeria, stands one metre high up to the withers, is very shy, and characteristically distinguished by a splendid mane on the underside of the neck, a much shorter one reaching over the withers, and thick knee-tufts (Schwarz, *Algerien*, 1881, p. 320). *Tauri Cypriaci* are zebras (see p. 184). The *ibex* is mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, viii, 214: *caprarum* genus). *Ibices* and *oves ferae* in *Vit. Probi* (19).

In the description of the shows in Calpurnius (*Ecl.*, 3, 57) the following animals are also mentioned: the *white Hare* (*Lepus variabilis* Pall.), the *horned Boar* (probably the babiroussa) and the *Phoca* (cp. also Aegae in Cilicia in the list of the amphitheatres); Mongez, pp. 448-453. *Pellis vituli marini infecta . . . confecta* (*Edict. Diocl.*, viii, 37).

Symmachus (*Epp.*, ix, 125) procured for his games some *Addaces* (a kind of gazelle) and *Pygargi* (perhaps *Capra aegagrus* Pall; Mongez, p. 456), also dogs from Scotland (*Epp.*, ii, 77), already



exported in Strabo's time (iv, 5, 2 p. 199) ; British hounds (Grat. Falisc., *Cyneg.*, 174 ; Nemesianus, *Cyneg.*, 124).

*Snakes* are never mentioned in the accounts of the *venationes* at Rome and were only used for show (see appendix ii). Philo (*De Animal.*, 52) saw a fight between a poisonous snake and one of another kind at Alexandria.

### XXXI. HOW ANIMALS WERE CAUGHT FOR THE AMPHITHEATRE.

(Vol. II, page 69, line 5.)

THE animals were often captured in pits. Paulus, *Lib. x ad Sabinum. Digg.*, ix, 2, 28 : qui foveas ursorum cervorumque capiendorum causa faciunt ; cp. Pollux, v, 81 ; Festus, p. 87 (Keller, *Thiere d. klass. Alt.*, 372, 151) ; also in nets. Nets with feathers tied to them for catching bears, sows, deer, wolves and foxes are described by Oppian (*Cyneg.*, iv, 534 ; Keller, 120) and Nemesianus (*Cyneg.*, iii, 303). Panthers caught in Mauretania with snares, with rotten meat for bait (Aelian, *Nat. An.*, xiii, 10) ; differently, in Oppian (iv, 320). The hippopotamus caught in pit-falls (Achilles Tatius, iv, 2) ; a hippopotamus hunt with harpoons Diod. Sic., i, 35), as still in the Sudan (Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, ii, 776). Cp. the representations on the Palestrina mosaic and Gerhard, *Archäol. Anzeiger*, 1858, p. 169\*. The crocodile caught in nets, Diod. Sic., *l.c.* The manner of catching the bison, Pausanias, x, 13, 2. The *ἑρπιοι* (?) lassoed in Numidia by horsemen, Arrian, *De Venat.*, 24, 3. For the fabulous tiger-hunt, in which mounted huntsmen took the tiger cubs from their lair and saved themselves by dropping them in front of the mother in pursuit, see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 66 ; Pomponius Mela, iii, 5 ; Martial, viii, 26 ; Bartoli, *Sepolcro de' Nasoni* ; Keller, p. 132. A different method in Oppian, iii, 353.

### XXXII. MODERN ANIMAL FIGHTS.

(Vol. II, page 71, line 14.)

FIGHTS between animals are a very favourite amusement in Asia at the present day, as in the time of the caliphs (especially dog, cock, and ram fights ; Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Or.*, ii, 75 and 203, 1). Fights between broad-tailed rams, camels, and buffaloes in Armenia (Brugsch, *Reise nach Persien*, i, 122, 125, 140). In Bokhara and Turkestan generally, ram-fights (Vambery, *Skizzen aus Mittelasien* p. 139). Animal fights are the diversion and often the only occupation of Indian princes. In Bharatpur antelopes, rams, cocks, and quails are trained to fight ; male elephants formerly at Lucknow (Orlich, *Reise in Indien*, pp. 195 and 207). One of the favourite amusements of the Javanese is a fight between a tiger and a native buffalo ; the former has often to be urged on by prodding it with sharp-pointed sticks, pouring boiling water over it, or pelting it with lighted straw (Selberg, *Reise nach Java*, 1846, p. 154).

In Europe also animal fights seem to have been by no means uncommon in earlier times. Queen Christina of Sweden arranged a fight between a lion and a bear and an aurochs (Grauert, *Königin*

*Christine und ihr Hof*, i, 421). On the 20th of January, 1701, at the celebration of the first coronation of a Prussian king, a baiting was held in the presence of the court, in the *Hetzgarten* (place for baiting wild beasts) at Königsberg, at which, in an hour and a half, 14 wolves, 1 aurochs, 3 bears, and 1 wild boar were slain (*Erläutertes Preussen*, v, 332). Such exhibitions also took place in Warsaw under Stanislaus Augustus (E. von der Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, pp. 151 and 159—fight between an elk and a bear—and 295). At Vienna, up to 1796, when the *Hetzhaus*, which held more than 3000 spectators, was burnt down with most of the animals, this kind of show was a very favourite one (hence *Hetz* was used in the sense of 'amusement'). Nicolai (*Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz*, 1781, iv, p. 630) represents these baitings as in the highest degree disgusting.

More barbarous than any animal fight is a custom which (according to the *Augsb. Allgem. Ztg.* (Beilage of the 18th of December, 1864) existed in the country towns of the States of the Church. 'On a fixed day in the year a bull is tied up in the market-place and all the inhabitants are allowed to amuse themselves by ill-treating it. It is beaten with sticks, pelted with stones, stabbed and hacked with knives, until it is dead.'

### XXXIII. EXECUTIONS AND OTHER PUNISHMENTS CARRIED OUT IN THE AMPHITHEATRE.

(Vol. II, p. 72, line 6.)

IN addition to the shows, the amphitheatre was often used for carrying out sentences and executions. Suetonius (*Calig.*, 27): Atellanae poetam ob ambigui joci versiculum media amphitheatri harena igni cremavit; cp. *ib.* (*Tiber.*, 75): corpus ut moveri a Miseno coepit, conclamantibus plerisque Atellam potius deferendum et in amphitheatro semiustulandum. Suetonius (*Titus*, 8): (delatores) assidue in foro flagellis ac fustibus caesos ac novissime traductos per amphitheatri harenam, partim subici ac venire imperavit, partim in asperrimas insularum avehi; cp. Martial, *Lib. Spect.*, 4, 4 b. Similarly, Trajan ordered the *delatores* (informers) who had been sentenced to deportation to be exhibited in the amphitheatre (Pliny, *Paneg.*, 34). *Vit. Hadrian.*, 18: decoctores bonorum suorum, si suae auctoritatis essent, catomidiari in amphitheatro et dimitti jussit. The amphitheatre in Constantinople was also used for executions: Bock, *Sur l'amph. de C.* (Suidas, s.v. κυνήγιον); Justinian ordered pagan books to be burnt there (Malalas, xviii, p. 48, 1; cp. also commentators on Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvi, 3, 2).

### XXXIV. ON THE VELARIUM OF THE AMPHITHEATRE.

(Vol. II, p. 79, line 22.)

IN a short treatise (pp. 38) entitled *Del Velario e delle vele negli anfiteatri, specialmente nell'anfiteatro Flaviano* (Roma, n.d., Topografia di G. Menicanti), the architect Efisio Luigi Tocco contests the view (put forward by H. Barbarus and illustrated by a drawing by C.

Fontana, p. 8), that the perforated stone slabs in the cornices of theatres and amphitheatres could have been intended for holding masts or poles. The system of cordage would have exerted a considerable strain in the direction of the centre upon the entire periphery, and the slabs, being without any *point d'appui* outside, might easily have driven in the edge of the wall, especially during a strong wind; in order to support masts, they ought to have been constructed on the inner side of the periphery, where the edge of the wall would have acted as a support (p. 17). The slabs were, he considers, really intended to serve as supports for an uppermost wooden storey (p. 19). The author assumes, as the chief and absolutely indispensable *point d'appui* of the *velarium* a large mast in the centre of the arena. Consequently, the *velarium* was in the form 'di un gran padiglione, il quale avesse il suo centro alquanto acuminato, e tenacemente appoggiato al grand' albero di cui abbiamo parlato (a large pavilion, or bell-tent, the centre of which was somewhat pointed and firmly supported by the tall mast of which we have spoken). A construction like Fontana's would have been severely damaged by a sudden storm.

But the careful examination, kindly undertaken at my request by Mr. Paul Laspeyres (died 1881) in Rome, shows Tocco's assumption to be completely untenable. 'The old theory appears to me unassailable, although I am not quite clear as to the manner in which the awning was spread. But I have no doubt whatever that the necessary ropes were attached exclusively to the exterior upper periphery of the amphitheatre, by a ring of firmly planted masts. By using the corbels preserved in so many amphitheatres, with corresponding apertures in the cornice, the masts were fixed with complete security; for in the first place a stone corbel in which a mast is inserted at the point where it projects from the wall is capable of supporting weights far more enormous than any which could be required here, and secondly the four surfaces presented by the sides of the apertures in the cornice at the top of the wall afford effective resistance to the pressure. The tension of the rope only draws the mast inwards towards the centre of the building, and this pressure is entirely counteracted, just as in an arch, by the curve of the wall. Any tendency to sway from side to side is effectively checked by the compact mass of the cornice. The outer side of the aperture is no doubt somewhat weak, but owing to the constant strain of the mast towards the centre pressure will never be exerted outwards. The lower the point at which the rope is attached to the mast (and I know no reason why it should be particularly high), the shorter will be the lever which exerts pressure inwards and the less will be the strain on the structure generally. But in my opinion Tocco's theory requires these masts for the attachment of the lower ends of the ropes supporting the pavilion he assumes, for in any case, to avoid inconvenience, the ropes must have been attached above the heads of the spectators.

'The suspension of the *velarium* in the form of a pavilion with a central column would certainly have a pleasing appearance, but the construction would be impossible, because sufficient stability could not be given to the lofty mast in the centre of the arena, on

which the whole structure would depend. This central support would therefore have to take the form of a firmly braced towerlike scaffolding which would seriously interfere with the view of the arena'. Apart from many other considerations, the mere notion of such a central support 200 feet high (the outer wall having a height of 180 feet) is 'a monstrosity which ought to have roused Tocco's suspicions, and made him perceive that his whole idea is untenable'.

# XXXV. ABOLITION OF THE GLADIATORIAL SHOWS. GLADIATORIAL SHOWS IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND MORE RECENT TIMES.

(Vol. II, p. 80, line 22.)

DE ROSSI (*Epigrafe storica scoperta in Porto alludente agli ultimi spettacoli gladiatorii ed alla loro abolizione*, in *Bull. crist.*, 1868, vi, p. 84) conjectured that the inscription on the front of a stone at Portus (*CIL*, xiv, 300) : Arpagius Lupus v(ir clarissimus . . . . .) petentibus civibus locum ca. . . . . ad splendorem nynfii sua om(ni pecunia . . . .)a solo constructum popu(lo . . .) largitus est; qua celerit(ate . . . . .) publica est vota (exequutus) referred to the erection of a new building in place of a gladiatorial school. The inscription on the back (*CIL*, xiv, 157), in which a certain (Ac)holius Abydus v. c. probably (praef. annonae urb)is Romae is named, he restores as follows : (hic miseri in dirum saevan)ecessitate certamen (ad oblectandos sua morte pop)ulos armabantur ---- (aedificio autem con)dito sed sine usu ab initio der(el)icto ----. The gladiatorial school, which is said to be meant here, according to De Rossi's conjecture must have been built shortly before the abolition of the gladiatorial games in 404 (or rather of the gladiatorial schools in 399; see note on vol. ii, p. 81), and therefore have remained unused from the very beginning. The second line of the inscription on the front he restores as follows : locum ca(stri) or ca(mpi) (gladiatorii sordentem) ad splendorem, etc. He places the inscriptions somewhere about the time of Cassiodorus. But the uncertainty of all this is increased, since there is no proof either (1) that the stone was formerly in the place where it was set up by Acholius Lupus or (2) that the two inscriptions refer to the same building (cp. Dessau's remarks).

As to gladiatorial shows in the Middle Ages and in more recent times, I can only give the following references. Petrarch, *Epist. fam.*, v, 6 : (in Naples) luce media inspectantibus regibus ac populis infamis ille gladiatorius ludus—celebratur plus quam barbarica feritate. Sons fall before their parents' eyes, juguloque gladium cunctantius accepisse infamia summa est. He describes a gladiatorial combat that took place near the city in the presence of the court, before a large and brilliant public : formosissimus juvenis rigido mucrone transfossus ante pedes meos corruit, whereat a tremendous shout of applause was raised. Brantôme, *Mém. de Henry II* : The Cardinal of Ferrara gave a festival in honour of the king at Lyons. Cette entrée donc fut accompagnée de plusieurs très belles singularitez, l'une d'un combat à l'outrance et à l'antique, de douze gladiateurs vestus de satin blanc les six, et les autres de satin



cramoisi fait à l'antique romaine . . . la troisième belle chose aussi fut cette belle naumachie, ou combat de galères tout à l'antique (between these two combats a tragedy was played by Italian actors). Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, ch. 3 : multitudes assembled (c. 1685) to see gladiators hack each other to pieces with deadly weapons, and shouted with delight when one of the combatants lost a finger or an eye.

### XXXVI. LIST OF ROMAN AND PROVINCIAL AMPHITHEATRES.

(Vol. II, p. 85, line 12 from bottom.)

A LIST, as far as possible complete, of all the amphitheatres whose existence can be demonstrated with tolerable certainty throughout the empire, would afford the most vivid idea of the widespread popularity of gladiatorial shows and *venationes*. But of course it must not be forgotten that stone amphitheatres, the only kind of which fragments have been preserved to modern times, were only built where such shows were given regularly and with comprehensive equipments. Express testimony that people in many cases had to be content with wooden buildings is found in the inscription (time of Antoninus Pius) *CIL*, v, 2, 7637 (Ad Saluzzam inter Sturam et Padum) : (pecuniam)—reliquam—in munus gladiatorium et saepta lignea : and this *munus* was to be an annual affair. Consequently, we have no more right to assume for certain the existence of amphitheatres in all places where there is evidence for *munera* and *munerarii* (cp. e.g. Wilmanns, *Exempla*, v, ii, p. 624 and 654), than to conclude from the absence of amphitheatres that there were no amphitheatrical games (see vol. ii, p. 84).

But the attempt to give a survey of the amphitheatres that can be shown to have existed, can only lead to imperfect results. The evidence is founded either on tradition or still existing remains ; in both cases the danger of error is obvious. The written authorities are sometimes ambiguous and untrustworthy ; this is especially the case with the (partly apocryphal) *Acta Martyrum* and *Acta Sanctorum* (Maffei, *Degli anfiteatri*, second ed., p. 90). The existence of a supposed amphitheatre at Perugia, for example, spoken of by native writers, appears to be supported by no other evidence than apocryphal *Acta* of St. Herculanus (Vermiglioli, *Iscr. Perugine*, pp. 254–259). Some other information from the *Acta Sanctorum*, for which I am indebted to my colleague H. Jordan (died 1886) is given below. The statement of Anonymus Valesianus (Ammianus Marcellinus, ed. Wagner-Erfurdt, p. 623, 71), that Theodoric built an amphitheatre at Pavia, is rejected by Maffei (*l.c.*) on the ground that such a building is inconceivable, so long after the abolition of the gladiatorial shows ; certainly, the statement appears remarkable. But we certainly cannot deny that it is possible, considering that the *venationes*, for which the amphitheatres were specially used at that time, still took place ; and, further, that Theodoric is known to have taken great interest in the shows in Rome (*ib.*, 260, 60). Again, it is hazardous to conclude that amphitheatres existed *only* from the occurrence of names by which they were designated in the Middle Ages. The most frequent of these

is *Arena*. Du Cange s.v. cites from mediaeval documents *Arenae Petracoricenses*, *Remenses*, *Parisienses*, and *Arènes de Bourges*. On the other hand, Maffei (p. 76) observes that during these times ' nè si sapea che fosse anfitheatro nè si usavano si fatti nomi nel suo vero e antico significato '. Certainly amphitheatres can be proved to have existed in all those places, but they cannot with certainty be assumed when supported only by this name (or as in Valesius, *Notitia Galliarum*, p. 332, by the name *Cavea*) ; when, for instance, the existence of an amphitheatre at Aquileia is inferred by Bartoli (*Antich. d'Aquileja*, p. 254) only from the frequent mention of a *torre d'Arena* in old civic documents. At Naples even, according to Giovanni Garrucci (*Sull' origine e sulla costruzione dell' anf. di Catania*), a *vico dell' anfitheatro*, a *platea amphitheatri* in the *regio Thermensis* are mentioned, although it cannot be proved that there was really an amphitheatre there.

The name *Colosseum*, also, was given to amphitheatres at least here and there in Italy, not only in Rome. The best known is the Capuan, called *Colossus* by the Benedictine monk Erchempert, who wrote his history of Lombardy at Capua in the ninth century. Mazzocchi and Maffei (p. 31) have concluded from this that the Flavian amphitheatre also received its name, not from the colossus of Nero hard by (as e.g. Scriver on Martial, *Sp.*, 2, assumes), but from its size. On the other hand, Jordan (*Topographie*, ii, 510) is of opinion that the name *colossus*, by which the Flavian amphitheatre was known in the tenth century, was transferred, after the destruction of the colossus, to the building that stood near, and from this to the Capuan amphitheatre. Benvenuto Cellini says of the amphitheatre at Florence (*Vita*, cap. 1; Goethe, bd. 28, p. 6) : *trovasi scritto nelle chronache da' nostri Fiorentini molto antichi ed uomini di fede, che la città di Firenze fu fatta ad imitazione della città di Roma, e ciò si vede di alcune vestigie del Colosseo e delle Terme*. Travels of S. Kiechel (1585-1589; *Bibliothek des litt. Vereins zu Stuttgart*, 1866), p. 236: Verona has a *colosseo*. Promis (*Memorie della città di Luni*, p. 225) says that the amphitheatre there was called *colosseo* by the country people, ' nome propagatosi da quello celebre di Roma, e frequente sopra tutto nella Italia inferiore '.

Yet a third name, common in some places in Italy, deserves mention. Erchempert calls the amphitheatre of Capua also *Berolais*, *Berelasis*, *Berolassi*, names which according to Italian savants are of Arabic origin and date from the time when this district was occupied by the Saracens (Rucca, *Capua Vetere*). My former colleague J. Zacher (died 1887), however, is of opinion that the word *berolais* (properly *bero-laz*) is Lombard and derived from *ber* and *lāzan*, which, on the analogy of *stole-saz*, *scult-heiz*, *mare-paiz*, though properly used of a person, might also denote a place, properly a ' bear's house '. This explanation is remarkably confirmed by the local names *Berlich* in Cologne and *Perlach* in Augsburg. The latter, in the *Vita Oudalrici* (end of the tenth century), is spoken of as ' *collis qui dicitur Perleihc* ', and in the appended treatise *De signis Oudalrici*, *Perleihc*; later forms are *Perleich* and *Perlaich*, in chronicles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *Pernlaich*,

*Bernlaich*, *Perleig*, *Perlach*, *Berlaich* (J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr., i, pp. 293, 295, cites the etymology: eo quod legio ibi perierit). Düntzer (*Jahrb. f. Alterthumsfr. der Rheinl.*, xx, 21) had already conjectured, that a place was meant, where bears are kept (from *leih*, Gothic *laiks*: ludus, munus). It is obvious that these local names are identical with that of the Capuan amphitheatre, and also, on the other hand, 'that a designation, originating in the mouth of German peoples, for a Roman work that became known to them in the north of the empire, might have been transplanted by them during their wanderings also to Italy, used there in a similar manner to denote the same kind of Roman buildings, and held its ground, although its meaning was unknown to later generations' (J. Becker, *Der Berlich zu Köln und der Perlach zu Augsburg*, ib., xlii, p. 64). The amphitheatre of Vindonissa is called by the people *Bärlişgrub* (bear-pit). Consequently, there is no need to suppose an Arabic derivation.

In Italy the name is found in the now usual form *Verlasci*, not only at Capua (now *li Virilasci*, Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 352), but also at Minturnae (*ai Virilasci*, CIL, x, 6054 a) and at Venafrum; the remains of an amphitheatre exist in the latter place 'nel così detto Vorlascio' (Cotugno, *Memorie storiche di Venafrò*, p. 264); in Arezzo and Florence the name has become *Parlagio* in the course of time. It is not uninteresting to trace these changes, and some information from Dom Maria Manni's *Notizie istoriche intorne al Parlagio ovvero anfiteatro di Firenze* (Bologna, 1746, 4), found by me in Otto Jahn's library, will perhaps be the more acceptable, as this work is very rare in Germany. The remains of the amphitheatre, called *Colosseum* by Benvenuto Cellini, in documents of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, are called *Perilasium*, *Perlasium*, *Perladium*, *Perlascio*, *Pierlascio*, *Piarlagio*, *Piarlasgio*; these forms seem to me absolutely to exclude Jordan's explanation (*Topogr.*, ii, 402) of the name as a corruption of *palatium*. In a document of 1701, *Peribasium* also occurs, perhaps a slip of the pen, perhaps a learned attempt at explanation; Manni (p. 18) considers it the original, correct form. The variant *Pratolascio* in two documents of 1085 and 1086 is striking. The unintelligible word naturally changed into the apparently intelligible *Parlagio*; as soon as the change had taken place, the derivation from *parlare* appeared certain, and from that time the building was regarded as one intended for councils of the people. Villani (*Storie*, i, cap. 33) already tells of its building by Julius Caesar: 'Comandò a' suoi, che dovessero andare nella villa di Camarti presso al fiume d'Arno; ed ivi edificassero Parlatorio per poter in quello fare suo parlamento e per una sua memoria lasciarlo. Questo edificio in nostre volgare avemo chiamato Parlagio. Fu fatto tondo e in volte molto maravigliose e con piazza in mezzo; e poi si cominciavano gradi da sedere tutto al torno, e poi di grado in grado sopra volte andavano allargandosi infino alla fine dell' altezza, ch' era alto più di 60 braccia, e avea due porte, ed in questo si ragunava il popolo a far parlamento. E di grado in grado sedeano le genti, al di sopra i più nobili, e poi digradando secondo la dignità delle genti; ed era per modo che tutti quelli del parlamento si vedean l'un l'altro in



viso ; ed udivasi chiaramente per tutti ciò che uno parlava, e capeavi ad agio infinita moltitudine di gente e'l diritto nome era Parlatorio'. This was believed till the sixteenth century : Crusca's dictionary has : Parlagio, dove si tenea Parlamento. Du Cange, who quotes Villani, says : Parlatorium appellant in Italia et Lombardia praesertim locum seu cameram, ubi de rebus seriis civitatis cujuspiam disceptatur. The first Florentine writer who recognized the purpose of the building was Borghini (1578). In an Aretine chronicle (fourteenth century) the amphitheatre of Arezzo is also called *i Parlagi*, and Guazzesi (*Supplemento alla dissertazione intorno agli anfiteatri degli antichi Toscani*, p. lxxv) still connects the name with assemblies. But the name also occurs in Pisa. Guazzesi, p. lxxxv : ed in Pisa la Porta a Lucca si chiamava la Porta del Parlascio per esservi stato ne' tempi antichi l'Anfiteatro, che serviva nel 800 di Xpto al popolo di Pisa per adunarvisi. In una cronaca manoscritta si legge che nel 1534 nel far le mura della città fu trovata non procul ab amphitheatro moles peregrina diruti balnei marmorei et ibi reperti tubi plumbei ad aquae ductum. But the entire absence of information as to the form of this ruin should make us hesitate to assume the existence of an amphitheatre, especially as according to Manni (p. 12) by this name 's'intendeva la gran Fabbrica delle Terme, secondo che scrive il canonico Giuseppe Martini' (*Theat. Basil. Pis.*, p. 5). Perhaps the word had become a popular term for all ancient ruins, just as according to P. S. Bartoli the people at Rome 'soleva chiamar Terme tutti i grandi edifizii, dalla grandezza delle Terme di Antonino e di Diocleziano' (Fea, *Miscellanea*, i, p. ccxlix).

Even the statements based upon remains of buildings are frequently erroneous. A supposed amphitheatre at Doué in Poitou, copied and described by Lipsius (*De amph.*, vi), was, according to Montfaucon (*Antiq. expliq.*, iii, p. 258), the remains of an old French royal palace. Moreover, in the case of undoubtedly ancient ruins, the most superficial similarity has often been held to justify the assumption of an amphitheatre : ogni apparenza di rotondità o di oval figura all' immaginazione d' alcuni ricorda anfiteatro (Maffei, p. 93). Consequently all such statements, if not further supported, should be received with caution, especially if they date from the Middle Ages or the early centuries of modern times. In the case of many ruins it is impossible to determine whether they are those of an amphitheatre.

If then, on the one hand, the statements concerning amphitheatres must be considerably discounted, on the other it is evident that our knowledge of those which existed in ancient times can only be partial. Very many of them must have disappeared during the Middle Ages without leaving a trace behind or have been destroyed beyond recognition. It is only exceptionally and as the result of a concurrence of special circumstances that more or less important ruins of a considerable number have remained standing, or information concerning them has reached us from the period that preceded their total destruction. A certain, perhaps even a considerable amount of similar information might no doubt be gathered from the writings of earlier centuries, especially city records, topographi-



cal descriptions and books of travel, and students of the literature of those times would render a service to the knowledge of Roman antiquity by making it known. Even in more remote countries many amphitheatres may be awaiting discovery.

The first attempt at a list was made by Lipsius in his treatise *De amphitheatris quae extra Romam*. He enumerates 15, two of which, however, the ruin at Doué already mentioned, and one supposed to have existed at Athens, are apocryphal. Montfaucon (*Antiq. expliquée*, iii, p. 258) mentions 18 outside Rome, all in France and Italy, with the exception of the ruin of Italica. Maffei's work *Degli Anfiteatri (Verona illustrata*, second ed., Milano, 1826, vol. 5) caused a healthy reaction against slovenly and uncritical statements about amphitheatres; certainly Maffei in his hypercriticism went too far in admitting the existence of only three amphitheatres (Rome, Capua, and Verona); that of Pola he declared to be a theatre and at least doubted that of Nîmes. Clérissieu (*Antiquités de la France*, 1804, pp. 90-96) gives a list of 62 amphitheatres, Promis (as above, p. 225, 1) reckons 62 in Italy alone, 55 of which he assumes as beyond all doubt (?). In his *Storia dell' antica Torino* (1869), p. 190, he increases the number by 23: 'nè ho dubbio di asserire che una diligente perlustrazione della parte men percorsa d'Italia, come la Puglia e l'ultima Calabria ne porterebbe il numero almeno a cento, non contando quelle delle isole'. I have accepted all those given by Promis, but I am the less able to regard his statements as beyond all doubt, since as a rule he does not state whether they are based upon remains or written information; thus, for example, I do not know whether the latter does not include simple mention of gladiatorial shows. The most recent list with which I am acquainted of all the known amphitheatres, that of Emil Hübner (*Iscrizioni esistenti sui sedili di teatri ed anfiteatri antichi*, p. 23; *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1856, p. 67) contains 83 to 85.

A complete list can only be obtained by the continuous investigations of a number of people; what follows here will have fulfilled its purpose, if it should serve as a basis for such complementary efforts; certainly it will suffice to give an approximate idea of the number of the amphitheatres whose existence can be proved. For a considerable part of the notices, especially of Italian ruins, I am indebted to the library of Otto Jahn (died 1869), which is especially rich in monographs on the subject. Further, for the list of the amphitheatres in Italy, I have been able to make use of information from Rudolf Bergau, Otto Hirschfeld, and Nissen; to Hirschfeld I am further indebted for bringing to my notice a number of French local treatises on amphitheatres in Gaul. The statements on Spanish amphitheatres are from Emil Hübner, on those of Switzerland from Konrad Bursian (died 1883). The statements of measurements of the chief dimensions, so far as they are accessible to me, are collected at the end of this list. Other notices are only given incidentally, when they appear to be of special interest; but more frequently, when they verify the existence and degree of preservation of these ruins in earlier times. The fact that so much has disappeared only during the last few centuries makes it very probable that far more amphitheatres existed in the Roman empire

than can be ascertained at the present time; so that many even ill-accredited items of information appear not altogether unworthy of notice.

The first stone amphitheatre in Rome, built by Statilius Taurus in 30 B.C. was not the oldest in Italy. It is now generally recognized (Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.*, n.s., i, p. 145) that the amphitheatres in Etruria were not, as was formerly believed, built by the Etruscans, but by the Romans. On the other hand, Henzen has already referred the amphitheatre at Pompeii to the earliest period of the Sullan colonization, arguing from the antiquated letters and forms of words in the following inscription, which occurs twice in the amphitheatre (*CIL*, i, 1246 = *CIL*, x, 852): C. Quinctius C. f. Valgus M. Porcius M. f. duovir quinq. coloniai honoris caussa spectacula de sua peq. fac. coer. et coloneis locum in perpetuum deder. (Henzen, *AdI*, 1859, p. 211). The same C. Quinctius Valgus, when duumvir, with his colleague M. Porcius built the Odeum at Pompeii (*CIL*, x, 844) and restored the walls of Aeclanum that had been destroyed by Sulla (*CIL*, i, 1230 = ix, 1140). All the inscriptions (as well as that from Casinum, *CIL*, x, 5282) belong to the Ciceronian age; but the date of the building of the amphitheatre at Pompeii (according to Nissen, *Pompej. Studien*, p. 118, 70 B.C.) is still uncertain (Mommson on *CIL*, x, 844). Valgus (perhaps the father-in-law of Rullus mentioned in Cicero, *Leg. Agrar.*, ii, 26, 69; iii, 1, 3: a Valgi genero, corr. C. F. W. Müller, earlier reading, Valgii, MSS. Vulgi) was certainly an old adherent of Sulla, who had raked his property together at the time of the proscriptions (Dessau, *C. Quinctius Valgus, der Erbauer des A. von Pompeii*, in *Hermes*, xviii, 1883, pp. 620-622). Promis (*Storia dell' antica Torino*, p. 188) also considers the amphitheatres of Pompeii and Aosta to be the oldest of those preserved. It is probable that, even in republican times, others were in existence besides the Pompeian (Henzen, *Atti della pontif. accad. di arch.*, xii, p. 74, cp. p. 88, note 16), but such high antiquity cannot be proved for any of those known to us. The inscription on the amphitheatre at Puteoli (*IRN*, 2541 = *CIL*, x, 1789) is restored by Garrucci (*Sull' epoca e sui frammenti dell' iscriz. dell' anf. Puteol.*, Naples, 1851) as follows: colonia Flavia Augusta Puteolana fecit pecunia sua, which is approved by Henzen (*BdI*, 1851, pp. 93-95). According to this, it was not built before the time of the Flavian dynasty. The inscription *IRN*, 3593 = *CIL*, x, 3792 restored by Mazzocchi proves nothing as to the date of the Capuan amphitheatre: col. Julia Felix Augusta Capua fecit divus Hadrianus Augustus restituit imagines et columnas addi curavit imp. Caes. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug. Pius dedicavit.

After the building of the first stone amphitheatre in Rome (30 B.C.), others were probably soon erected in Italy, not only in Campania. Vitruvius (i, 7) recommends that temples of Hercules should be built near the circus in towns, which have neither gymnasia nor amphitheatres; however, gladiatorial games frequently took place in the forum. Vitruvius, v, 1: in Italiae urbibus (forum) non est eadem ratione faciendum ideo quod a majoribus consuetudo tradita est gladiatoria munera in foro dari. Yet Propertius (v, 8, 76) has: tu neque Pompeia spatiabere cultus in umbra, nec cum

lascivum sternet harena forum ; certainly this might be an earlier poem, subsequently admitted into the fifth book by its editors. Lachmann's assumption (*Rhein. Mus.*, vi, 107), that Vitruvius wrote before the middle of January, 27 B.C., since otherwise he would not only have said 'imperator Caesar' at the beginning of the address and elsewhere 'imperator' and 'Caesar' alternately, but would also have made use of the name Augustus as well, is untenable ; apart from the fact that Vitruvius himself mentions an *aedes Augusti* at Fanum, it should be remembered that 'Auguste' as a form of address was very uncommon, *Caesar* and *imperator* being the forms generally in use. In the Augustan age (besides Suetonius, *Augustus*, 58 : [Messalla] quod bonum, inquit, faustumque sit tibi domique tuae, Caesar Auguste) perhaps the only instance is Horace, *Odes*, iv, 14, 3 : quae cura patrum quaeve Quiritium plenis honorem muneribus tuas, Auguste, virtutes in aevum per titulos memoresque fastos aeternet. Throughout the entire literature of the first century it perhaps only occurs in Martial (iv, 27, 1 ; v, 15, 1 ; 65, 15 ; viii, tit. 36, 11 ; 80, 7 ; 82, 1 ; ix, 3, 13 ; 18, 7 ; 80, 3 ; xi, 20, 9). If the temple of Quirinus mentioned by Vitruvius (iii, 2, 7) is the one dedicated by Augustus in 19 B.C. (Becker, *Topogr.*, p. 569), Vitruvius wrote about 14 B.C. Cp. Teuffel, *Hist. of Roman Lit.*, Eng. tr., § 264, 1).

In the provinces also the number of amphitheatres increased very rapidly. At Alexandria there was one as early as 24 B.C., since it is mentioned by Strabo (xvii, p. 795), who was in Egypt during that year. He also mentions one at Nysa in Caria (xiv, p. 643). That at Cyrene was already in existence in 13 B.C. (Böckh, *CIG*, 5361 ; cp. below).

The name *amphitheatrum* (for which Ovid, *Metam.*, xi, 25, has 'structum utrimque theatrum') first occurs in Vitruvius (i, 7, 1) : Herculi, in quibus civitatibus non sunt gymnasia neque amphitheatra, ad circum ; then in *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 94 : (venationes) in circo aut in foro aut in amphitheatris. Mommsen observes : equidem . . . crediderim vocabulum, quod Augusto principe demum videtur usurpari coeptum esse nec vere Graecum est, initio plurali numero solo usurpatum esse, cum essent amphitheatra tamquam theatra duo. Rather ἀμφιθέατρος is an adjective (ἀμφιθέατρος ὑπὸ δρόμος, Dion. Halic., iii, 68, iv, 44), which strictly follows the analogy of adjectives formed from ἀμφι and a substantive, such as ἀμφάκανθος, ἀμφιάλος, ἀμφιθάλαμος, ἀμφιθάλασσος, ἀμφίθυρος, ἀμφιπρόσωπος ; consequently ἀμφιθέατρον, i.e. οἰκοδόμημα, the neuter being used substantially. Dio, xliii, 22 : θέατρον τι κυνηγετικὸν ἱκρίωσας, δ καὶ ἀμφιθέατρον ἐκ τοῦ περίξ πανταχόθεν ἔδρας ἀνευ σκηνῆς ἔχειν προσεργήθη. Augustus no doubt found support for the plural *amphitheatra* in the native *spectacula* as observed by Nissen (*Geschichte des Amphitheatrs von Pompeii*, in *Pomp. Studien*, p. 108, which may be generally consulted). The form of the amphitheatre is derived by Nissen from that of the circus.



## A. THE WEST.

## ITALIA.

**Campania.** *Capua.* *CIL*, x, 3792, 7 (A.D. 387) iii Idus Mai. rosaria ampitheatri (*sic*). De Laurentiis, *Descrizione dello stato antico e moderno dell' anf. Campano* (1835). Rucca, *Capua vetere* (1828), pp. 136-291; *ib.*, *Anf. Capuano in Mus. Borb.*, xv (1856), tav. 37-39 and 41. Minervini (*Bull. Nap.*, n. s., vi, p. 184) says nothing worth mentioning about the most recent excavations. Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 351. Rucca thinks that the accommodation for the spectators was as large as in the Colosseum; that the amphitheatre equalled, if it did not surpass, the latter in size, since according to his definite statement it had four stories, all of the Doric order, the lowest, still preserved, being a Neapolitan *palma* higher than the lowest story of the Colosseum ( $35\frac{1}{2}$ - $36\frac{1}{2}$ ). It also contained 80 arched entrances, marked by images of the gods; only two arches adorned with the busts of Jupiter and Diana, still remain. (According to Bergau, six others have been let into the façade of the town-hall of new Capua; one into the campanile of the cathedral. Both buildings, according to Rucca, are built of stones from the amphitheatre.) Here also were found the statues of Adonis, Venus Victrix, Psyche, etc., now in the Mus. Borb. (*Capua Vet.*, p. 138). On the very large subterranean vaults see Rucca, pp. 272-280 and his treatise: *Su l' ipogeo dell' anf. Puteolano*, p. 11. Parker, *Archæology of Rome*, p. vii (1875), pl. 27, 35. According to this, besides machines and beast-cages, there would have been room for 1000 people, who could have gone in and out unseen through four subterranean entrances under the main gates. The underground passages of the arena correspond to those in the Pozzuoli amphitheatre, except that, in conformity with the larger dimensions, we have here three open corridors along the great axis of the arena, while a fourth runs round along the periphery. There are in addition six arched corridors, lighted by square openings. Two arched passages, running for a considerable distance underground, run into the middle of the two. The material of the arcades of the arena is travertine, elsewhere brick; there is an entire absence of reticulated work. It was destroyed in 840, when the Saracens devastated Capua. It next served the Lombard leaders as a fortress, and in later times it was also used as a quarry for obtaining building material.

*Atella.* Suetonius, *Tiber.*, 75: corpus ut moveri a Miseno coepit, conclamantibus plerisque Atellam potius deferendum et in amphitheatro semiustulandum (see p. 190).

[*Neapolis.* The assertion of Promis (*St. d. a.*, *Torino*, p. 190) that there was an amphitheatre here, is probably only based upon the names of the streets given by Garrucci: 'vico dell' anf.' and 'platea amphitheatrici'. It is clear from the account of its chief buildings in Statius (*Silvae*, iii, 5, 81-104) that none existed at the end of the first century. Inscription on a certain C. Herbacius Romanus demarchisanti iivir, etc., qui ob promiss. venat. phetris divisit quina mil. num. (*IRN*, 2454 = *CIL*, x, 1491). Beloch also (p. 72) assumes that no amphitheatre existed.]



[*Pausilypum*. Schulz, *Scavi di Nocera e del Posilippo*, in *BdI*, 1842, p. 145, p. 59: un piccolo anf. da nessuno sinora descritto—trovasi positivamente a mano manca dell' entrata della grotta (del Posilippo). But this supposed amphitheatre is evidently the theatre or odeum described by Beloch, p. 86.]

*Cumae*. The statement of Jorio (*Guida di Pozzuoli e contorni*, third ed., p. 85) that an amphitheatre, certainly entirely destroyed and in ruins, can easily be recognized there (in a vineyard) is confirmed by Bergau, who adds that, according to C. M. Riccio (*Cenni storici della città di Cuma*, Naples, 1846, p. 25), frammenti de' gradini, de' vomitori e corridori should be visible, but that he saw nothing of them. Beloch (p. 163) says: 'in the entire circumference only a number of arches are preserved in the outer wall'.

*Puteoli*. According to Rucca (*Su l' ipogeo dell' anf. P.*, 1851, p. 9) it had 72 arched entrances, of which d' Ancora (*Guida di Pozzuoli*, p. 59) gives a representation; cp. Schulz, *BdI*, 1841, pp. 183–185, p. 184: secondo pretende Mazella (*Sito ed antich. della città di Pozzuoli*, Naples, 1606, p. 37) l' anf. poco tempo prima di lui era pressochè intero. Tanto questo edificio quanto una porzione del teatro Puteolano, che ancora nel secolo xvi sussisteva (Capacio, *Puteolana historia*, Naples, 1604, p. 31) avranno ricevuto sì notevole danno nella famosa eruzione della Solfatara nel 1538. Cp. also Romanelli, *Viaggio a Pompei e Pesto* (Naples, 1817), pp. 118–123; Jorio, *Guida di Pozzuoli* (Naples, 1830), p. 49. On the subterranean passages see Rucca (*l.c.*); they were laid open by careful excavations in the years 1838–1848. The results of recent excavations (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1880, pp. 64 and 96; 1882, p. 375) are unimportant. 'The façade rose in three storeys; under the *cavea* was a corridor. Before the two main entrances there was an entrance-hall with a triple row of columns. The *cavea* ascends in three rows, separated by two *præcinctiones*. The substructures beneath the arena are almost completely preserved. Along the longitudinal axis runs an open corridor, which divides the arena into two parts: two overarched passages follow the ellipse of the arena, communicating with each other, lighted and accessible by means of sixty square openings. The construction of the subterranean passage differs from the rest of the building in being entirely of brick, which Promis rightly regards as a later addition of the age of the Antonines'.

Since, according to the inscription quoted above, the amphitheatre cannot have been built before the time of Vespasian, Beloch (p. 137) assumes that there was an earlier amphitheatre as well. In the representation of the coast on the glass vessel from Odemira (H. Jordan, *Die Küste von P. auf einem röm. Glasgefäss in Archäol. Ztg.*, 1868, p. 91); Beloch, p. 125) two amphitheatres are given one above the other.

*Pompeii*. Cp. Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*<sup>4</sup>, 1884, pp. 176–186; also the works quoted by O. Müller, *Hdb. d. Arch.*, § 260, 2 and Nissen (*Pompej. Studien*, p. 97), together with the analysis (by R. Schöne), and history of the amphitheatre (*l.c.*, pp. 97–128). For the inscriptions there, *CIL*, x, 852–859. According to Goro von Agyagfalva (*Wanderungen*, p. 171) there was room for 20,000 spectators; Nissen (p. 116) regards this estimate as correct. 'It is certain for many

reasons that the *cavea* was in process of restoration, when it was overwhelmed' (p. 106). R. Schöne (*Wandinschriften vom Amphitheater zu P.*, in *Hermes*, iv, 138) rightly attributes the inscriptions painted outside (such as *Permissu aedilium Cn. Aninius Fortunatus occup[avit]* and the like: *CIL*, iv, 1096, 1096 a, 1097 b, 1115) to hawkers, who 'set up their movable stalls in the niches of the outer wall' (Kiessling, *Neue Jahrb. für Philologie*, 1872, p. 10); they were consequently only good for the time a show lasted; cp. Zange-meister in the *Addenda*. In 1869, on the wall of the peristyle of a house opening upon the street from the temple of Isis to the amphitheatre a picture was discovered placed upon an older painting already destroyed; it represents the amphitheatre with the surrounding localities, and the bloody fray between the Pompeians and Nucerians in 59 (Tacitus, *Ann.*, xv, 17). See G. de Petra, *L'anf. Pompejano rappresentato in un antico dipinto*; *Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei*, n. s., i, 186 foll. and tav. viii.

[*Sorrentum*. Promis (*St. dell' a Torino*, p. 190); Beloch, p. 266. It is doubtful whether Sorrentum had an amphitheatre.]

*Nola*. Nissen remarks: 'Corcia (*Storia delle due Sicilie*, ii, 416) states, according to the municipal inscriptions [rather, according to Ambrogio Leone, *De Nola*, Venice, 1514 F, in Burmann, *Thesaurus*, ix, 4; Beloch, p. 389] that Nola had two amphitheatres, one of marble and one of brick, the latter before the gate towards Naples. The first, judging from the intimations as to situation, style of architecture, etc., is certainly a theatre. The second has vanished from the earth's surface, but in the locality stated peasants have shown me in a cornfield the pillars just above or below the earth, forming a large oval at regular intervals. In many places the ground was hollow; in short, I have no doubt in my own mind that the tradition, which removes the amphitheatre to this spot, is correct'. 'In Leone's time the walls could still be seen above the arches of the lower storey and the additions of the second' (Beloch, p. 404).

*Abella*. Of its amphitheatre 'the oval, some 300 *palmi* long and 200 *palmi* wide, can be seen; the *cavea* is marked off as a hollow in the ground. On the west side can be seen five arched chambers; the place is now called from these 'Le grotte d' Antonello' (Beloch, p. 415). Below the inscription of a certain L. Egnatius Juventius (qui obliterato muneri spectac. impetrata editione ab indulgentia max. principis diem gladiatorum et omne(m) apparatus pecunia sua edidit in the year A.D. 170, *CIL*, x, 1211) an amphitheatre is shown, the rows of seats, windows, and gates of which are visible; within fighting gladiators are represented.

[*Cajatia*. Promis, *St. d. a. T.*, p. 190.]

*Cales*. Nissen: 'The extensive ruins of Calvi contain, in addition to a theatre, an amphitheatre. Corcia, i, 507: l'arena qual si vede oggi, comprende un moggio e mezzo di terreno; la sua lunghezza è di palmi 334, la larghezza di p. 226, e tutto il circuito di p. 990: così che era alquanto più piccolo di quello di Casino'.

[*Teanum*. Nissen considers it more likely that the supposed amphitheatre (e.g. Corcia, i, 519) is a theatre.]

[The supposed amphitheatre at *Capreae* (Anacapri; see, e.g.

Donaldson, *Architect. Numism.*, p. 303) appears to be apocryphal. 'In the *Richerche topogr. ed archeol. sull' isola di C.* by Rosario Mangoni (Napoli, 1834), where the ancient remains of the high plateau of Anacapri (pp. 231-262) are described at length, there is no hint of ruins of any such building'. Bursian, *Litt. Centralbl.*, 1869, no. 17.]

**Latium.** [*Sinuessa*. Promis, *St. d. a. T.*, p. 190.]

*Suessa Auruncorum*. The inscription (De Masi, *Storia degli Aurunci: alla torre di S. Imato*), according to which a certain Sex. Caecilius Sex. f. Quir. Birronianus Scriba librar. quaest. iii decuriarum quinquen. p. c. Sinues. gratissimis podium amphitheatri a solo fecit (= *CIL*, x, 4737 is probably interpolated, but genuine).

*Minturnae*. Lipsius (*De amph. quae extra Romam*, 2): exstat hodieque ad Lirim Campaniae fluvium (Garigliano nunc dicunt) juxta Minturnas (hodie Trajecto) pars amphitheatri latericii bene conspicua. This building, mentioned also by Montfaucon (*Antiq. expl.*, iii, p. 258), De Brosses (letter dated 2nd of November, 1739), and Guattani (*Mon. in.*, 1784, Oct. p. 82), and to which the name *i Virilasci* (*CIL*, x, 6054 1; p. 195 above) refers, is no doubt the one meant by Kephallides (*Reise*, ii, 204) and Westphal (*Die römische Campagna*, p. 67), according to whom only some unimportant remains of a theatre are preserved at Minturnae.

*Casinum*. *CIL*, x, 5183 = *IRN*, 4236: Ummidia C. f. Quadrattilla amphitheatrum et templum Casinatibus sua pecunia fecit. The building consequently belongs to the second half of the first century (see Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 24). Volkmann (*Hist. Krit. Nachr. über Italien*, 1771, iii, p. 346): 'The arena is 200 feet long, the seats, which are an utter ruin, not included. The walls are 57 feet high. The five large entrances are 26 feet high and 13 feet wide. The places where the animals were kept and the canals, which perhaps brought in the water for the *naumachiae* are still visible. The walls are of brick outside and lozenge-shaped (*opus reticulatum*)'. J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, p. 45: At St. Germano there is a circular amphitheatre, the only one of its kind (in Italy).

*Aquinum*. The remains of an amphitheatre of simple and beautiful construction are mentioned amongst other ruins by Westphal (p. 92). It is called by the people 'Grotte de' Pagani' (Pellegrino, *Capua*, i, 282).

[*Atina*? 'In the *acta* of St. Prudentius, which, however, are only known from a chronicle of the fourteenth century in Ughelli (vol. i; *Acta Sanctorum*, Aprilis, vol. x, 1st of April, p. 12), forum Antonini non longe ab amphitheatro is mentioned'. Jordan.]

[*Arpinum*. Promis (*Città di Luni*, p. 225, note 1) credits this town with an amphitheatre, which Westphal (p. 90) does not seem to know.]

*Frusino*. Westphal (p. 85) asserts that not even a trace of old buildings remains; on the other hand, Deminiciis (*Giorn. Arcad.*, lv, p. 160) mentions this town as one of those in which there was an amphitheatre. Mommsen (*Epigr. Analekten in Ber. d. sächs. Ges.* 1849, p. 286): *Tessera* from the amphitheatre at Frusino (*BdI*, 1830, p. 265). On the one side: Cvnv. i (Cvn. vi?) in(feriori?) x (gradu decimo); on the other: viii (loco octavo). 'If, as we may assume, the amphitheatre at Frusino had only two storeys, *cuneo*



*sexto inferiori* might perfectly well be substituted for *maeniano priori*, *cuneo sexto*; or, if we prefer to assume three storeys, *infimo* (Momm-  
sen).

[*Valeria* (Vara). Deminicus, *loc. cit.*]

*Tibur.* According to Promis (*Città di Luni*, p. 225) an amphitheatre was in existence till the time of Pius II.

*Praeneste.* Cecconi (*Storia di Palestrina*, p. 70) quotes the following inscription of the time of Claudius (now *CIL*, xiv, 3010): M. Jarenus clari l. tyrannus amphitheatri partem dimidiam in solo. An inscription of M. Varenus Clarus from A.D. 21 in *CIL*, x, 1333. Cn. Voesius Aper, flamen divi Augusti, built a *ludus* and a *spoliarium* for the Praenestines (Or., 2532 = *CIL*, xiv, 3014).

*Roma.* On the amphitheatres of Rome cp. Becker, *Hdb. d. röm. Ant.*, i, 680 foll.; *Beschr. der Stadt Rom*, iii, i, 319 foll., Becker, p. 549 foll.; on the other hand, Preller, *Regionen Roms*, p. 132; also C. Thierry in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, s.v. 'amphitheatrum'. For the history of the excavation and restorations in the Colosseum since 1814, see Parker, *Archaeology of Rome* (part vii, 1876, pp. 31-39).

Lanciani (*Bull. comun.*, 1876, p. 189), arguing from the inscription Orelli, 22 (= *CIL*, vi, 130) of the year A.D. 241, rightly regards the *amphitheatrum castrense* as one belonging to the *cohortes praetoriae* and *urbanae*. Water-pipes for the same were laid down by Severus and Caracalla (202/3; see Lanciani, *Acque*, pp. 217, 307).

*Lanuvium.* *Vit. Commod.*, 8: 'appellatus est etiam Romanus Hercules, quod feras Lanuvii in amphitheatro occidisset. An inscription (*CIL*, xiv, 2127) found there: ex s. c. de sua pec. theatrum refec., is perfect on both sides. According to O. Benndorf (*BdI*, 1865, p. 226) 'alcuni scrittori antichi citati dal Volpi' (*Vet. Lat.*, v, p. 87?) attest the existence of an amphitheatre at Lanuvium.

*Tusculum.* According to Canina (*Descr. dell' antico Tuscolo*, p. 130, tav. 22 and 23) the building, generally called 'Scuola di Cicerone', was an amphitheatre, capable of holding about 3000 spectators. The arena had substructures; there still remained traces of the *podium* (in questo anf. rimane visibile soltanto l'ambulacro di mezzo). Tav. 23 shows an elliptic arena, on one part of which a slight eminence, on the other rooms here and there are visible. According to Hirschfeld, the amphitheatre is now pretty well exposed; something of the rows of seats is preserved, also a large entrance gate, a staircase leading to the first *praecinctio*, the passage running underground through the middle of the arena.

*Albanum.* According to Westphal (p. 24) the great ruins of the amphitheatre (in the upper part of the modern town) are shown by the style of architecture to belong, not to the time of Domitian (to which they are ascribed by Nibby, *Analisi della carta de' contorni di Roma*, i, p. 99), but to a later period; perhaps to the time when the 'legio ii Parthica' formed by Severus had its permanent quarters here (De Rossi, *Bull. di archeol. crist.*, vii, 1869, p. 67).

*Velitrae.* According to an inscription (Orelli, 2538 = *CIL*, x, 6565; cp. Henzen, iii, p. 225), which is only partially intelligible, the amphitheatre was restored under Valentinian and Valens.



*Setia.* According to Westphal (p. 53) there are some scanty remains of an amphitheatre, consisting of a few arches on the left of the road to Sermoneta.

*Circeii.* Suetonius, *Tiber.*, 72: *Circeios pertendit. Ac . . . castrensibus ludis non tantum interfuit, sed etiam missum in harenam aprum jaculis desuper petit.* With this is connected the inscription in Murat. (612, 7), found at 'Paola in Maritima' = *CIL*, x, 6429:—

S. Montanus iiii vir i. d. m. o.

nivm amphitheatrv m sva

emque mvnere gladiatorio

et venatione dedicavit. l. d. d. o. (?)

[*Fundi.* Promis, *St. d. ant. Torino*, p. 190.]

**Samnium.** *Venafrum.* *IRN*, 4625 = *CIL*, x, 4892:

vibi

s. c. f. m.

Q. Flamen

amphitheatrum pec. sua fac. curavit

pro parte dimidia

According to Cotugno, *Memorie storiche di Venafrò* (Naples, 1824), p. 260 foll., the amphitheatre, the ruins of which are to be found 'nel così detto Vorlascio' (see p. 195), had room for 8000 spectators.

*Allifae.* Henzen, *Exempl. Mus. Borgh.*, p. 82: 'according to Corcia (i, 318) there are no remains of an amphitheatre, although its existence is to be assumed from the inscription *IRN*, 4768 = *CIL*, ix, 2350 (where only the shows are spoken of); on the other hand he mentions the ruins of a theatre' (Nissen). Trutta (*Antichità Allifane*, p. 29) also assumes that an amphitheatre existed here, on the authority of the same inscription.

*Saepinum.* This is probably the place, to which a patron presented the buildings mentioned in the following inscription: *ac adfectionis erga rem publicam sicut ludum gladiatorium omni impensa sua ita spoliarium a fundamentis instructum ornatumque pro nitore civitatis rei publicae dono dedit.* As Lanciani observes (*Bull. comun.*, ii, 1874, p. 87), the builder of the *ludus* and the *spoliarium* is probably one Neratius, whose family came from Saepinum and still exercised the *patronatus* of that town in the fourth century. The inscription found in the neighbourhood of the baths built in Rome by Neratius Cerialis (consul in 358) is no doubt from the family palace.

*Telesia.* 'The ruins of the amphitheatre (according to Corcia, i, 345) are to the west of the old town' (Nissen). Cp. *CIL*, ix, 2197 (ad portam amphitheatri), 2235.

[*Beneventum.* The 'bei ruderi' (beautiful remains) of an amphitheatre, mentioned by Promis (*C.d.L.*, p. 225), according to Nissen certainly belong to a theatre; he found no trace of an amphitheatre. Tacitus (*Ann.*, xv, 34) mentions a *munus* of Vatinius there.]

[*Aeclanum.* 'According to Corcia (ii, 508), the amphitheatre there was called *Jócolo* from the games which took place in it (?)' (Nissen).]

**Lucania.** *Paestum.* Winckelmann (*Anmerk. über die Baukunst der Alten, Vorbericht*, § 12) says that 'the lower arches' and 10 rows of seats of an amphitheatre still exist. Paoli (*Ruine dell' antica*

*città di Pesto*, 1784) gives the dimensions. Romanelli (*Viaggio di Pompei a Pesto*, ii, p. 42): 'Oggidì restano gli avanzi di 10 gradini e le indicazioni delle cavee dove le fiere erano ristrette'. G. Bamente di Capaccio, *Le antichità Pestane*, Naples, 1819, p. 62: 'Il luogo che si vuole anfiteatro Pestano, è posto nel centro della città ed è coperto di rottami e di terra; è un concavo circolare adesso alla semina'.

*Grumentum* (alla Saponara, Promis *loc. cit.*). Roselli, *Storia Grumentina*, p. 50. *Memorie dell' inst. archeol.*, p. 237: Sono tuttavia in piedi diversi pezzi di mura reticolata dell' altezza di 20 piedi ed alcuni corridoi a volta, alti palmi 9 e larghi altrettanto, non che l'arena a forma ovale'.

**Calabria.** *Lupiae*. Promis (*Storia dell' ant. Torino*, p. 190, 3): Tralascio l'a. di Lictia o Lupia ora Lecce in Calabria, di cui fa motto Guido Geografo (ed. Pinder and Parthey, p. 468). Egli veramente lo dice teatro, ma per contenere il nuovo piccolo caseggiato sostituito all' antica, chiaro è che doveva esser un' a. *CIL*, ix, 21 (Lecce nuper rep.): Otacilia M. f. Secundilla amphitheatrum.

**Apulia.** *Venusia*. St. Aloe (*BdI*, 1842, p. 126 and *Bull. Nap.*, i, 1843, p. 62): 'Fu costruito con tutta magnificenza.—Il suo portico e tutto il lato esterno era composto di grossi pezzi di travertino duro—le colonne che ornavano la decorazione esterna erano tutte di marmi colorati bigi e cipollini con capitelli di marmo bianco d'ordine dorico e composito.—Le fabbriche—si mantennero in parte salde sino al secolo xi, quando i monaci Benedettini—distrussero quasi al suolo que' preziosi avanzi per rizzarvi con essi il magnifico tempio della ss. Trinità'. 'At the present day only some depressions in the ground are visible, probably the ancient entrances; I have been assured on credible authority that in the course of subsequent excavations several years ago (which however were only carried on for a few days) important *sotterranei* were found, which were again filled up with earth' (Hirschfeld). On the inscription forged by Lupoli see Mommsen (*BdI*, 1847, p. 118).

[*Tarentum*. 'The so-called amphitheatre (e.g. in Förster) may well have been a circus. Its circumference can still be clearly recognized, but only few remains of the wall-work, chiefly *opus reticulatum*, are preserved' (Hirschfeld). Nissen (*Pomp. Stud.*, 110) regards this view as unfounded, and holds that there are no proofs of the existence of circuses in Italy except in Rome. Beloch, however (*Campanien*, p. 142) expressly mentions a circus at Puteoli.]

**Frentani.** *Larinum*. Marangoni (*Delle mem. sacre e profane dell' anf. Flavio*, p. 30): 'Di pietra ancora si è l'anfiteatro di Larino nel regno di Napoli, il di cui accuratissimo disegno e descrizione delle sue parti è uscito alla luce l'anno 1744 nel erudito libro delle memorie istoriche di quella città di Mons. Andrea Tria già vescovo della medesima, ed ora arcivescovo di Tiro'.

**Sabini.** [*Marrubium*. Promis, *Città di Luni*, p. 225.]

[*Superaequum*. Promis, *St. dell' ant. Torino*, p. 190.]

*Alba Fucentina*. According to Westphal (p. 116) very dilapidated. Promis (*Le antichità di Alba Fucense negli Equi*, p. 243): 'una vasta cavità nel terreno che dalla sua forma e soprattutto dagli avanzi dei muri cuneati si palesa per un anfiteatro; p. 248: le dimensioni

molto prossime a quelli dell' anf. di Amiterno danno una capacità di circa 20,000 spettatori. La cavità dell' anf. porta ora il nome di fossa di giudizio'.

*Amiternum.* The amphitheatre is represented in Guattani (*Mon. Sab.*, iii, 14). Cp. *CIL*, ix, 4208 = *IRN*, 5789 (on a *biga*, to be set up in the amphitheatre).

*Reate.* According to Promis (*C.d.L.*, p. 225), the amphitheatre was not destroyed till the year 1283.

*Trebula Mutuesca* 'near Montelione della Sabina has ruins of an amphitheatre' (Nissen).

*Picenum.* *Ancona.* Rinaldini (*BdI*, 1865, p. 11) considers the existence of an amphitheatre (già contrastato dal Peruzzi) confirmed by the inscription: D. M. Ti. Clau. Dio Celeri preconi ex la(?) C(?) ini(?) A. Cl. Saturnini Beryllus secunda rudis et officiales cunti (cum tironibus?) b. m. Nissen (p. 14) adds: 'Riguardando gli avanzi tuttora superstiti in una casa private benchè di piccola estensione, ed insieme considerando che vi fu una scuola gladiatoria, nessuno potrà più dubitare, ch'era veramente tal edificio grandioso in Ancona situato in mezzo della città sotto quel colle, che secondo la giusta opinione dei dotti Anconitani formava l'antico Capitolio ed ora è celebrato dal famoso tempio di S. Ciriaco. Un altro argomento vedi Colucci, *Ant. Pic.*, xv, p. 100.' Promis (*loc. cit.*) also mentions an amphitheatre at Ancona.

[*Auximum.* Henzen (*Expl. Mus. Borgh.*, p. 82?). 'I heard nothing of an amphitheatre at Osimo: nor does Colucci (tom. v) know anything of one' (Nissen).]

*Ricina.* 'Hard by the left bank of the Potenza, between Macerata and Recanati, is a well-preserved amphitheatre of about the time of Septimius Severus. Cp. Orelli, 915: L. Septimio Severo—p. C. 205—colonia Helvia Ricina conditori suo' (Nissen).

*Urbs Salvia.* Guattani (*Mon. Ined.*, i, 83). 'Considerable ruins; the dimensions were variously given to me (axis 60 × 59 or 80 × 60 m.)' (Nissen).

[*Firmum.* According to Adami (Chronicle of Fermo, sixteenth century), the amphitheatre was a large and magnificent one. Colucci, however (*Ant. Pic.*, ii), in describing Fermo, where he himself lived, only mentions a theatre, to which also Nissen considers the ruins (ascribed to an amphitheatre in *AdI*, 1846, p. 54) to belong.

*Faleria* (near the modern Fallerone). According to Deminiciis, *Giorn. Arcad.*, lv, p. 160 *sqq.*, p. 168, the amphitheatre is in the form of an ellipse, and has 12 entrances, 4 leading to the arena, 8 to the rows of seats, which are divided into 3 sections by 2 *praecinctions*. The arena is choked up with earth as far as the edge of the *podium*, and the outside wall, still preserved, is only 45 Roman *palmae* high.

*Asculum Picenum.* 'In the Orto delle comitrici (?) the circuit of an amphitheatre (I myself certainly did not take it for a circus) can still be traced with accuracy; at an earlier date arcades are said to have been standing, but were destroyed some 20 years ago' (Hirschfeld).

*Interamnina Praetutiorum.* Delfico (*Dell' Interamnina Petruzia*, p. 80): 'Miserabili avanzi d'un grand' anfiteatro di cui si veggono varj archi e varie altre reliquie se ne scorgono in alcuni sotterranei'.

Cp. *Bull. Nap.*, ii, p. 64: 'Cita Corcia (*Storia delle due Sicilie*, i, 20) gli avanzi di un anf.—e dice che esser doveva magnifico e di grandi proporzioni, esistendone una muraglia, cui vedesi poggiata una serie di volte sostenuta da grandi pilastri, che sorreggevano il più basso corridojo per gli spettatori a due ordini di archi . . . nel circondario di Nereto in Garufo si veggono avanzi di un bell' anfiteatro'.

*Interpromium.* *CIL*, ix, 3044 = *IRN*, 5330 = Henzen, 6939 (inscription on one Sextus Pedius Hirrutus, prim. pil. leg. xxi. ivvir i. d. praef. Germanici Caesaris quinquennialici juris ex s. c. quinquenn. iterum, who built an amphitheatre at his own expense); cp. Mommsen's remarks.

**Umbria.** *Ocriculum.* P. S. Bartoli in Fea, *Miscell.*, i, p. 272: 'vi si scorgono i vestigj di un piccolo ma bello anfiteatro'. According to Guattani (*Monumenti inediti*, i, p. 83) it was three-storeyed.

*Interamnina* (Terni). Promis (*C.d.L.*, p. 225). According to Giuseppe Ricardi, *Sulla caduta delle marmore* (ed. 5, Rome, 1825), p. 84, there is an amphitheatre 'al giardino dell' episcopio', also given in the plan annexed. According to Hirschfeld, the remains are still considerable.

*Spoletium.* Procopius (*Bell. Goth.*, iii, 23): ἐτύχανον δὲ Γότθοι ἡνίκα Ἡρωδιανὸν ἐνδιδόντος Σπολίτιον εἶλον, τῆς μὲν πόλεως τὸν περίβολον ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθελόντες, τοῦ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κυνηγεσίου, ὕπερ καλεῖν ἀμφιθέατρον νενομίκασι, τὰς τε εἰσόδους ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀποφράξαντες κ.τ.λ.

*Carsulae.* Promis (*C.d.L.*, p. 225) states that there is an amphitheatre 'all' antica Carsulum presso Acqua Sparta'; according to Nissen none exists, and Promis means the ruin mentioned by P. S. Bartoli (Fea, *Miscell.*, i, p. 272) in 'Carsoli sotto Porcheria vicino Acqua Sparta': il bel portico di un bellissimo tempio corintio di grosse colonne ed intiero, un circo ovvero ippodromo con un arco di travertino.

*Mevania.* Promis (*Antichità di Aosta*, p. 170, 2). 'The considerable remains of the amphitheatre are all built over' (Nissen).

*Fulgineum.* 'An amphitheatre, the existence of which is testified by local writers (e.g. Mengozzi in Colucci, *Ant. Pic.*, xi, p. 75, is still spoken of in the town. I have certainly not been able to examine the ancient site properly, but in this case I am content to trust the tradition' (Nissen).

*Hispellum.* An amphitheatre is mentioned by Guattani, Deminici, Promis; cp. Henzen 5580. 'The ruin on the high road leading from Assisi past Spello to Foligno' (Nissen).

*Asisium.* 'Di Costanze (*Disamina*, etc., p. 170 not.) endeavours to prove the existence of an amphitheatre, but all his evidence goes to show that there was none' (Nissen). Nevertheless, the statement of Promis (as above) and O. Müller (*Handb. der Arch.*, § 260, 3, according to Schorn, *Reisen*, p. 462) that there was an amphitheatre at Asisium, finds confirmation in the report of Johannes Dondi, a philosopher and mathematician of Padua, who visited Rome in 1375 and declares that he found the ruins 'duarum arenarum parvarum in modum Colixei' between Spello and Assisi. Henzen, *CIL*, vi, p. xxvii. Consequently the amphitheatre, like that of Spello, was outside the town.



[*Suasa*. Promis, *St. dell' a. Torino*, p. 190.]

*Ariminum*. Tonino (*Rimini*, p. 218). The arena is surrounded by four walls, the outside one of which had 60 arch-shaped entrances. The whole building was of brick, the rows of seats of marble. It could not be used for *naumachiae*. Hardly any remains are preserved except the foundations. Tonini thinks it was destroyed between the third and sixth centuries.

**Etruria.** [*Baccanae* ?? 'In the *Acta S. Alexandri episcopi* 21 Sept. (*Acta Sanctorum* Septemb. t. vi) the emperor Antoninus betakes himself to a villa on the Via Claudia, 17 miles from Rome. It is said on p. 232: *Confusus autem Antoninus jussit amphitheatrum sibi parari et sedens ibi pro tribunali Alexandrum episcopum ad feras subrigi praecepit*. Mention is then made of a vicus *Baccatensis* (*v.l.* *Baccanensis*) in the neighbourhood (according to the *Itin. Antonini*, p. 286, *Baccanae* is 21 miles west of Rome)' (Jordan).]

*Lucus Feroniae*. Orelli, 4099 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 3938: M. Silio Epaphroditon patrono sevirum aug. magistro iuvenum iterum iuvenes lucoferonenses patrono ob merita quod amphitheatrum col. iul. felici lucofer. s. p. f. dedicavitque l. d. d. h. c. i. r. De Rossi (*AdI*, 1883, pp. 266, 269): 'Del anfiteatro in Civitucola, per quanto io vidi, ora non appare vestigio'.

*Sutrium*. Dennis (*Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, i, 1878, p. 71) believes this building to be Etruscan. It is in the form of an ellipse; several *praecinctions* still remain. Cp. also Westphal, p. 151. Urlichs (*BdI*, 1839, p. 75): 'come ci si raccontò sul luogo, prima che si formasse dell' anfiteatro un bel giardino, si vedevano canali grandi di mattoni che non saranno stati altro che i sotterranei servienti alle machine ed a ricettacolo delle bestie'. Plan, section, and view in Canina (*Etruria marittima*, i, tav. 21 and 22); cp. also Micali (*Antichi popoli Italiani*, i, 145).

*Falerii* (S. Maria di Falleri near Città Castellana). Ad. Michaelis in Gerhard's *Archäologische Zeitung* (1862, pp. 343\* *seqq.*) says: Outside the well-preserved north wall of that great square, which indicates the site of the Roman town, a beginning has recently been made in excavating the tolerably large amphitheatre lying East and West. An inscription on two stones found there (apparently belonging to the early empire) runs as follows (*CIL*, xi, 1, 3112):

C. f. Voltinia (?) p. p. leg. viiii H(isp.)

Hor. Priscus patroni municipi

confere(?)ntibus Faliscis amphitheatrum

pro parte dimidia(?) peq. sua fecerunt.<sup>1</sup>

The emendations are due to Garrucci (*Dissert. archaeol.*, Rome, 1864, p. 42). On p. 44 not. he gives the axes as about 210 and 60 *palmi*; Hirschfeld those of the arena as 54.3 and 32.7 metres. According to the latter it appears to be very old; its chief material is large travertine blocks, although tufa and coffer-work of *opus incertum* are found.

<sup>1</sup> See *CIL*, xi, 1, 3139 for another fragment of an inscription from the same place, in which occurs the words: amphitheatr. pecunia,

*Vulci.* On the amphitheatre found there cp. *BdI*, 1835, p. 77.  
*Arretium.* According to Guazzesi (*Suppl. alla dissertazione intorno agli anfiteatri degli antichi Toscani*, p. 69) it was large, but only of bricks, without any ornamental columns or statues. In Charlemagne's time it was called *gymnasium*; its arches were the abode of prostitutes, which caused him to present it to the Arretine church, 'per togliere da quel luogo questa pestifera infamità'. In the Arretine chronicle of Girolamo Eusebi (Muratori, tom. 24) we read: *Mense Maji 1333 inceptus est locus S. Bernardi ordinis montis oliveti, et celebrata est ibi missa ubi prius vocabantur i Parlagi* (see p. 195), *et ibi stabant publicae meretrices civitatis*. Owing to the erection of this building the amphitheatre, which was used as a quarry, was completely destroyed. Noris (*Nell' ipocausto Pisano*): *ita summa imis dies miscuit, ut amph. Aret. nostra aetate in meritum rudentium animalium stabulum versum sit*. Dennis is uncertain whether the ruins really belong to an amphitheatre, since they are more like baths, and no seat remains in the *cavea*; Nissen, however, regards this doubt as unfounded.

*Volaterrae.* Dennis (ii, p. 150) mentions the ruins of the amphitheatre, which appears to be a Roman building. Only a semicircle of seats remains, apparently cut in the slope of the mountain. Dennis doubts whether it was ever more than a theatre, since the other half of the structure has totally disappeared. Guazzesi (as above, p. 44) says: 'Volterra ancora può vantarsi d'aver avuto l'anfiteatro, parlando delle sue vestigie l'Inghirami nella risposta alle opposizioni, ove dice che ivi fu trovata la statua riportata dal dottissimo Sgr. Gori al num. 4 del suo museo Etrusco; così il Borghini nell' origine di Firenze e il Sgr. Gori nel 2 tomo delle *Iscr. di Toscana*'.

[*Vetulonia.* According to Dennis (ii, p. 206) Leandro Alberti in 1550 first gave a detailed account of some ruins, which he concluded to be the remains of Itulonium (Vetulonia), amongst which he mentions the remains of a splendid amphitheatre. Later investigations, however, led to no result, which made Inghirami (*Ricerche di Vetulonia*, p. 40) declare that it was a pure invention of Alberti. Dennis also considers that there is not the least evidence that it was the site of the ancient Vetulonia.]

[*Rusellae.* Dennis (ii, p. 229) mentions some Roman arches, regarded by some (though in his opinion erroneously) as the remains of an amphitheatre.]

*Florentia.* Dom M. Manni (see p. 195), p. 2, says: 'collocato era il Parlagio dietro alla fianca sinistra della chiesa di S. Simone fino alla piazza de' Peruzzi per la sua lunghezza, è par larghezza dalla via dell' Anguillaja alla piazza di S. Croce; e quindi e che la chiesa stessa di S. Simone si disse del Parlagio'. On p. 4 he quotes Borghini: 'dalla parte di fuori non v'ha dubbio alcuno veggendosi tuttavia con gli occhi. Molto più malagevoli son le parti interiori a rinvenire, essendo mutate oggi quasi tutte in abitazioni private e all' uso moderno accomodate'. P. 8: 'la sua vastità ascende per la larghezza braccia 173 e girava braccia 573'. P. 28: 'le burelle, i. e. spezie di prigionie e forse segrete—altre esser non potevano che cavee poste sotto le scalinate dell' anfit. e del teatro',

Dennis (ii, p. 75, note) also mentions the ruins of the amphitheatre near the Piazza di Santa Croce; according to Nissen the enclosing wall can be clearly recognized in the course of the Via Torta. According to Hartwig (*Quell. u. Forsch. zur. ältest. Gesch. von Florenz*, p. 79), the amphitheatre, the remains of which are still visible near the Perruzzi palace, appears to have been situated outside the ring wall of ancient Florence.

*Volsinii.* Dennis (ii, p. 25) mentions the ruins of a small amphitheatre, rather more than a mile from Bolsena: 'It is in ruins, hardly anything of the rows of seats can be recognized, some arcades (of *opus incertum*) are preserved, the foundation is covered with earth; the arena is said to lie about 15 palms deeper. The two large entrances are still clearly recognizable; twenty years ago there is said to have been a gate still in a complete state of preservation' (Hirschfeld). Cp. Henzen 5580 and vol. ii, p. 80 (on the shows to be given at Florence and Hispellum alternately).

*Pisa.* See above, p. 196.

*Luca.* *CIL*, xi, 1, 1527. O. Vibio I . . . ex quinqu[e dec. praef. alae] Hispanorum al[ae] . . . hic HS C in opus amphithe[atri dedit] is annos decem et cum [perfici res] publica decrevisset pec[unia] publica, ex testament[o opere] a quinquennialibus [probato s]ua impensa fecit t . . . ique rett . . . sima. . The emendations (Mommson's) are unsatisfactory. *Présid. de Brosses*, October 14, 1739: 'On trouve au centre de la ville les restes informes d'un a. des Romains, dans lequel on a bâti de méchantes cabanes qui achèvent de la défigurer'. 'A large amphitheatre converted into dwelling-houses, the arena into a vegetable market. The entrances and some pieces of the enclosing wall of a good period are still visible' (Nissen). Burckhardt (*Cicerone*, p. 45) also speaks of the remains of the amphitheatre as important.

*Luna.* Promis (*Città di Luni*, p. 222) calls the amphitheatre 'la più celebrata e meglio conservata fabbrica di Luni. La più antica memoria che se n'abbia è quella che trovasi in un diploma di Fedorigo I a Pietro Vescovo di Luni nel 1185 nel quale è detto: aedificium quod circulum vocatur aut arena'. The inscription L. Svetius L. L. amph. f. v. s. l. m. is a clumsy forgery. According to Cyriac of Ancona it was a ruin in 1442, the marble columns broken, only fragments of the statues remaining (p. 228): 'quest' anf. non poteva avere che 2 cavee non essendovi che una sola precinzione; è pure improbabile che la cavea superiore fosse coperta da soffitto come era nel Flavio di Roma, ma piuttosto doveva il muro esterno al di sopra delle arcuazioni inferiori essere tutto solido e decorato di pilastri anche nel interno, come vedesi all' anf. di Sutri'. Promis (p. 228) concludes from the style of architecture that it belongs to the age of the Antonines; cp. Dennis, ii, p. 65.

*Gallia Cispadana.* [*Ravenna.* Promis, *St. dell' ant. Torino*, p. 190.]

*Bononia.* Tacitus (*Hist.*, ii, 67; in the year 70): tertiadecimani struere amphitheatra jussi. nam Caecina Cremonae, Valens Bononiae spectaculum gladiatorum edere parabant. Perhaps, however, these were of wood (Maffei, as above, p. 86).

*Parma.* Lopez, *Lettera al Braun intorno alle rovine d'un antico*

*teatro scoperto in Parma*, 1844, p. 25: l'anf.—sarebbe stato eretto come usavasi da' Romani presso le mura. P. 26: il nostro anf. (which in his opinion was built in the time of Trajan, certainly not before the burning of the amphitheatre at Placentia; see Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 21) potè resistere per molti secoli ad onte delle vicende guerresche a cui andò soggetto,<sup>1</sup> alla voracità del tempo ed alle barbarie degli uomini, dappoichè si trova bella memoria non solo ne' nostri statuti del 1255 (Pezz., *Stor. di P.T.S.*, App., f. 36, no. 30), ma eziandio nel codice terzo delle nostre leggi municipali di 1317, which forbid the pollution of the amphitheatre: quod cum multi forenses quando sunt in civitate Parma vadant ad videndum Palatium domini Imperatoris, quod est in Arena, et in ipsa arena deferantur multa turpia et inepta, videlicet animalia mortua, lutum de andronis, et alia quam plurima turpia, quae redundant in dedecus maximum Communis Parmae et vicinorum morantium circa et penes ipsam Arenam et Palatium supra dictum. Inscription on a *retiarus*, *CIL*, xi, 1, 1070.

*Placentia*. Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii, 21; (in A.D. 70): in eo certamine pulcherrimum amphitheatri opus, situm extra muros conflagravit—municipale volgus, pronum ad suspiciones, fraude illata ignis alimentata credidit a quibusdam e vicinis coloniis, invidia et aemulatione, quod nulla in Italia moles tam capax foret.

*Velleia*. Hübner (as above) and Promis (*Ant. di Aosta*, p. 170. Smaller than the amphitheatre at Aosta).

**Liguria.** *Libarna*. Promis (*C. di Luni* and *Ant. di Aosta*, p. 170. Smaller than the amphitheatre at Aosta).

*Alba Intemelium*. A very small amphitheatre (according to the *Illustr. Zeitung*, 1877, p. 370, 31 to 35 m. in diameter) was discovered here in 1877.

**Venetia et Histria.** *Hadria*. Promis (as above). *Deminicis* (as above).

[*Ateste?* *CIL*, v, 1, 2529: De (pec.) pub. C. Rubenius C. f. ludum gladiator. fecit; cp. *ib.*, 2541 M. Etti Boebiani liberti et famil. venatoria.]

*Patavium*. Pignorius (1571–1631) assumed the existence of an amphitheatre in an elliptical *recinto*, called *arena* since the Middle Ages (so in a document of date 1090; cp. a bill of sale of 1300: arenam muris circumdatam ab omnibus lateribus excepto a latere fratrum heremitanorum de Padua), on which the little church *St<sup>ae</sup> Mariae de Caritate de Arena* (dell' Annunziata) was built in 1306, and gave a plan and illustrations of the same.<sup>2</sup> Maffei (*Degli anfit.*, p. 80) regarded the remains of walls as only about 400 or 500 years old. But the excavations carried on since 1880 have completely confirmed Pignorius' assumption: cp. the detailed account by Ghirardini (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1881, pp. 225–242 with tav. iv). They have

<sup>1</sup> Agathias (*Hist.*, i, 15): Βουτιλίνος ὁ τῶν Φράγγων ἡγεμὼν ἐς ἀμφιθέατρον τι οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυμένον (ἀνεῖτό δὲ τοῦτο ἀνδράσιν οἷς ὁ βίος θεωμένου τοῦ δήμου πρὸς θηρία διαγωνίζεσθαι), ἐνταῦθα δὴ—μεγίστην ἐνέδραν καταστησάμενος κ.τ.λ. (in A.D. 552).

<sup>2</sup> Burekhardt, *Cicerone*, p. 45: In Padua there is merely the outline of an amphitheatre near S. Maria dell' Arena.



brought to light remains of three elliptic walls surrounding the arena, the outside one of which (2 m. wide, 2.62 m. high) had 26 entrance arches. This, however, was not the outside wall of the building, but was surrounded by yet another wall, which served to support the *summa cavea* (pp. 230 and 235). The area of the arena (2410.32 sq. metres) is not much smaller than that of the arena of Verona (2638.50; p. 225). The extremely careful style of construction (pp. 229 and 236) indicates a good period.

[*Aquileia*. Cp. p. 194. Kenner and Hauser (*Mittheil. der Central-commission*, 1875) in a report of the excavations: 'that vast semi-circular depression, which is called the arena, in which Baubella found a stone slab bearing the name Julius, perhaps belonging to one of the spectators' seats'. It is clear that this is not sufficient to justify the assumption (Jung, *Die roman. Landsch. d. röm. Reichs*, p. 504, 1) that the existence of an amphitheatre at Aquileia is proved.]

*Tergeste*. Stancovich [*Anfit. d. Pola*, 1882, p. 78) mentions an amphitheatre at Tergeste: fuori di porta di Riborgo, di cui F. Ireneo dalla Croce (*Hist. di Trieste*, p. 245) ci da l'asse maggiore di piedi geometrici 157 ed il minore di 136.

*Pola*. According to Stancovich (p. 36) 43 marble rows of seats were still in existence. P. 64: the amphitheatre had room for 22,000 spectators. P. 135: the entire building was of stone (with the exception of the top storey, which was of wood), ornamented above with a row of columns. P. 137: nel registro dei diritti del Patriarca di Aquileia nell' Istria (anno 1303) it is stated: in civitate Polae habet duo antiqua Palatia Iadrum et Arenam—et quicumque accipit aliquem lapidem de dictis Palatiis Iadri et Arenae, pro quolibet lapide quam accipit, solvit domino patriarchae bizantia centum. But the amphitheatre was continually used as a quarry, until it was dedicated to him in 1584. Loca certis hominibus attributa, nominibus indicata (*CIL*, v, 1, 86).

**Gallia Transpadana.** *Verona*. Maffei (*Degli anfiteatri*, ed. 2, p. 120), gives the following fragment of an inscription, which probably refers to the dedication: S. CON. The letters are very large and evidently of a good period. P. 159: its height was 110-120 Veronese feet, as it certainly had 4 storeys. According to Maffei it had 22,000 seats and (p. 261) in the highest parts (built of wood) room for almost the same number of standing-places; there were 72 entrances (p. 170), all numbered. The wall of the *podium* (p. 213) was decorated with valuable kinds of marble, of which fragments still remain. Subterranean channels were intended to receive the rubbish that was carried down, and to prevent flooding the arena. For the gladiatorial inscriptions see *CIL*, v, 1, 3466 sqq. (3471: famil[ia] gladiatoria). The treatises of Conte Antonio Pompei (*Sugli scavi eseguiti intorno all' anfiteatro*, 1874, and *Studj intorno all' anf. d. V.*, 1877), who puts the erection of the amphitheatre in the time of the Etruscan domination, are only known to me from a notice by Engelmann in *Jen. Litt.-Ztg.*, 1879, p. 94.

*Cremona*. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 67; cp. Bononia. *CIL*, v, 1, 4399 (Brixia): N N VI vir Flaviali Cremon. et munerar.

*Ticinum*. Anonym. Valesii (Ammianus Marcellinus, ed. Wag-

ner-Erfurdt, i, p. 623, 71): Theodericus Ticenum (*sic*) Palatium, Thermas, Amphitheatrum, et alios muros civitatis fecit; cp. above, p. 193. Mommsen, *CIL*, v, 2 p. 707<sup>b</sup>: habemusque inde etiam titulum regis Atalarici no. 6418 (= Orelli, 1161) pertinentem ad sedes spectacula, i. e. ni fallor ad amphitheatrum: Dn. Atalaricus rex gloriosissimus has sedes spectacula anno regni sui tertio (A.D. 528) fieri feliciter praecepit.

*Brixia*. *CIL*, v, 1, 4392 = Wilmanns, *Ex.*, i, 2170: P. Atilio Philippo ornamentis decurion. Brixiae Veron. Cremon. honorato et iure quattuor liberor. usuq. anulor. a divo . . . . . ex postulatione populi ob liberalitatem ejus quod in opus amphitheatri dedit. . . .

[*Bergomum*. Promis (*C. di Luni*, p. 225).]

*Augusta Praetoria Salassorum*. Promis (*Antichità di Aosta*, 1862, tav. ix, p. 168): ruderi non oltre l'ordine terreno, e questi spettanti alla bassa cuneazione della somma cavea con nove cunei ed otto pilastri. P. 169: 60 erano gli archi esterni, no *souterrains*. P. 171: tutto spira l'epoca Augustea. For this reason (p. 172) it is supposed to have been built in 24 B.C. (the year of the foundation of the colony) or soon afterwards. In a document of the year 1235 it is called 'Palatium rotundum'. The ruins at Aosta formerly supposed to belong to an amphitheatre cannot be such (Kephallides, *Reise*, ii, 334; Deycks, *Antiquar. Alpenwanderungen: Bonner Jahrb.*, Bd. xi, Jahrgang vi, 1, 1847, p. 27).

*Augusta Taurinorum*. Promis, *Storia dell' antico Torino*, 1869, p. 188. The amphitheatre, which lay outside the Porta marmorea, somewhat towards the west (see tav. i) is called by Maccaneo (in 1508) pulcherrimum illud a. extra portam marmoream evanescens et obsoletum. Panciroli (professor at Turin 1570-1582) says: Fuor di T. nella strada verso Pinarolo si vedono i vestigii di un a. se bene non di quella perfettione dell' a. di Verona. Pingone, mentioning the four suburbs destroyed in 1536 by the French speaks of 'amphitheatrum cum orchestra et area in orbem, qua comoedi et tragoedi olim dabant spectacula et edebantur ludi. lacus colliculis cinctus, fragmenta Romanarum inscriptionum innumera'. 'La Guida di Torino del 1753 nota per tradizione che in quel sobborgo disfecero i Francesi l'an., opera d'Augusto, con rimasugli d'antiche fabbriche che ancora erano in piedi'. 'Gli anfiteatri di pressochè tutte le città d'Italia son posti vicino alle mura, ma fuori di esse; per quasi tutti l'età n'è quella degli Antonini, quando più fiorirono i municipi, cosicchè la frequenza de' cittadini e de' pubblici edifici più non lasciava spazio entro l'area urbana a siffatte moli. Tengo dunque che il nostro a. sia stato eretto nel ii secolo, come pure che laterizia ne fosse la costruzione'.

[I have not been able to ascertain any details of *Cimitino*, which, according to Promis (p. 225) was one of the places in Italy which had amphitheatres.]

## SICILIA.

*Syracuse*. Serradifalco (*Antich. di Sicilia*, iv, tav. 13-15, pp. 108, 128-131). (Valerius Maximus, i, 7, 8: Tac., *Ann.*, xiii, 49 mentions gladiators and gladiatorial shows at Syracuse, but no

amphitheatre.) P. 154: it is elliptic, the wall round the *podium* 10·6 *palmi* high (oltre il poggiuolo di marmo). Besides the two main gates at the ends of the longitudinal axis there are 8 other entrances into the arena. It has no *souterrains*. Inscriptions of the seat-steps, *CIL*, x, 7130.

*Catana*. Serradifalco (v, tav. 7-9, pp. 19-21). Giovanni Garuccio, *Sulla origine e sulla costruzione dell' anf. di Catania* (Napoli, 1854), p. 20: the amphitheatre is 'alla porta Stesicorea, ora detta di Aci', for the most part buried under alluvial matter and covered by houses. Theodoric (in 498) allowed the people of Catania to use 'saxa de amphitheatro longa vetustate collapsa', to repair the town walls (Cassiodorus, *Var. epp.*, iii, 49). P. 29: fino 1505 troviamo concesso al patrizio Giov. Gioenio, che avesse investito i preziosi avanzi dell' a. a comodo di private abitazioni e la sua arena ad uso di domestico erbajo. P. 30: during the eruption of Etna in 1669 a stream of lava overwhelmed it. After the earthquake of 1693 Prince Biscari excavated one side.

*Thermae Himerenses*. Serradifalco (v, tav. 44) gives a sketch of an amphitheatre at Termini. The remains (of *opus incertum*), although scanty and used in building houses, are according to Hirschfeld beyond doubt, and the curve of the amphitheatre is clearly recognizable.

#### SARDINIA.

*Caralis*. De la Marmora (*Voyage en Sardaigne*, i, p. 529, pl. 38) only casually mentions the amphitheatre. E. Luigi Tocco (*A. di Cagliari*, BdI, 1867, p. 121-123) gives more details; Spano's *Anfiteatro di Cagliari* (1868) I have been unable to consult. I give the description of H. von Maltzan (*Reise nach Sardinien*, 1869, p. 72) who visited it in 1868 after Spano's excavations. 'This amphitheatre can hardly be properly called a building—it is the rock itself, merely hollowed out into a wide, funnel-shaped oval, over the arena of which rise stairs, galleries and seats, 100 feet high, all hewn in the rock, like the arena itself and the roomy *souterrains* beneath it'. 'The two lowest storeys are still visible, by far the larger half in a perfect state of preservation; of the third, the top storey, a considerable part is destroyed, as this part of the rock was used as a quarry in the previous century'. In each storey there are about 20 steps, that is, 60 in all, very well preserved and lofty; the stairs cut in the rock have been decomposed by the action of the atmosphere. The *baltei* are almost as high as a man; the *podium*, inaccessible from the arena, is preserved in its full height. The labyrinthine underground passages and the rooms below the seat-steps, some very large and deep and not yet all uncovered, are all hewn out of the rock. Some have certainly been used as cages; in one of them rings (for holding the chains of wild animals) are very cleverly cut out of the lime-stone, which forms the walls. One of the seat-steps contains the letters C. N. P. V. E. The amphitheatre had room for 20,000 spectators.

#### DALMATIA.

*Salonae*. Lanza (*Della topografia dell' antica Salona in Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1849, p. 282, tav. d'agg. K and Scavi di Salona in *ib.* 1850,

p. 140). It is almost entirely destroyed: pochi avanzi di piloni e di arcuate . . . ancor ne rimangono. Style and situation point to the period after Marcus Aurelius. Carrara (*Topografia e scavi di Salona* (Trieste, 1850) gives on a 'mappa topografica dell' antica S.' the remains of the building enclosed by the line of the fortifications and information concerning them (p. 92). As no trace of stone steps has been found, he believes that they were of wood. A subterranean passage ran in the direction of the smaller axis. Hirschfeld (*Bericht über eine Reise in Dalmatien in Österreich. Mitth.*, ix, 1885, p. 16) gives a sepulchral inscription of a gladiator (Sil[v]ianus an. x . . . pug. vii. de suo sibi cui dolet posuit) and a stamp (presumably of a purveyor, perhaps of bread, for the gladiators), which contains between two gladiators the words (in inverted letters): Miscenius Ampliatus facit Salonas (= Salonitanus).

*Aequum*. *Archaeologia Britannica*, iii, 344: Mr. Fortis observes that he saw some vestiges of an ancient Roman amphitheatre on the hill of Aequum.

*Epidaurum*. The position of the town on the site of Ragusa vecchia is shown, amongst other things, by 'amphitheatri ex ipsa rupe excisi reliquiae (Mommsen, *CIL*, iii, p. 287).

## GALLIAE.<sup>1</sup>

### (a) *Narbonensis*.

*Cemenelum* (Fr. Cimiez, Ital. Cimella). Millin, *Voyage dans le midi de la France* (ii, 544; cp. *Voyage en Savoie*, ii, 122). The elliptic arena, although planted with corn and olives, was in a good state of preservation; there was room for about 8000 spectators; the sea could be seen from the upper rows of seats. Those who lived near called the ruins 'la Tino de Fati' (Cave de fées). Il en existe plusieurs massifs et une arcade, sous laquelle passe le chemin; le mastic, qui la recouvrait, subsiste encore. On y voit plusieurs autres arcades ou des restes d'arcades. The description given by Deycks (*Alterth. von Nizza und Cimiez in Jahrbh. d. Alterth. Fr. im Rheinl.*, xxxii, p. 33) entirely agrees with this. Mommsen, *CIL*, v, 2, p. 916<sup>b</sup>: *Cemenelum*—*rueribus vetustis, maxime amphitheatro adhuc conspicuo antiquum oppidum refert*. 'St Pontius (under Valerian and Gallienus) is said to have been thrown to wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Cimella. De S. Pontio Romano martyre Cimellensi in *Alpibus maritimis: Acta Sanctorum Maii*, t. iii. (14th of May), p. 277' (Jordan).

(*Antipolis* (?). See *CIG*, 6776 on p. 179.)

*Forum Julii*. The amphitheatre is mentioned by Valesius (*Notitia Galliarum*, 1676, p. 200), Montfaucon (*Antiq. expl.*, iii, p. 258), De Brosse (28th of June, 1739: les restes d'un a. des Romains, dont l'enceinte est encore entière et un des côtés passablement conservé), and Millin (as above, ii, p. 483: restes d'un ancien cirque; son plan est elliptique. L'enceinte est encore assez bien conservée, mais les sièges sont détruits). After the excavations in 1828 it was

<sup>1</sup> Information marked H. is due to Hirschfeld.



described in detail by Texier (*Mém. sur la ville et le port de Fréjus* in the *Mém. prés. p. div. savants à l'Acad. des inscr.*, 2 série, t. ii, 1849, p. 192, pp. 212-239, with plate iii). It is half built on the slope of a hill (p. 212), had in the interior three storeys, divided by *præcinctiones*, of 6, 6 and 5 rows of steps respectively (p. 238), and was probably crowned by a *porticus*, on the outer wall of which projected the pierced corbels intended to support the masts used for the awning (p. 238 and Millin). Its circumference was broken by 52 arcades, 3 of which led to the arena, 22 into the circuit of the ground floor, and the rest to the first storey: 24 gates led from the ground floor to the seat-steps of the lowest division (p. 238). The *podium*, 8 feet high, was separated from the arena by a deep trench. Beneath the rows of steps of the lowest division of the southern half of the amphitheatre there are underground receptacles for the wild animals; a small room by the side of a gate in the small axis was for the dead bodies (p. 237). The amphitheatre could hold 9095, including the *porticus* 12,000 spectators at most (p. 239).

*Apta Julia*. Martin (*Antiquités et inscr. des villes de Die, d'Orange, de Vaison, d'Apt et de Carpentras*, Orange, 1818, p. 85: l'amph. d'Apt, dont il ne reste peut-être que les fondemens sous une couche épaisse de terre et de décombres. From the traces discovered he assumes that it was about 60 *toises* in diameter. Boze (*Hist. d'Apt*, 1813, p. 61): on l'a découvert en différentes occasions, dans le vestibule de la maison curiale, le cimetière de la paroisse, dans les caves de quelques maisons. (H.)

[*Aquæ Sextiæ*. *CIL*, xii, 522: aedili m(u)nerario.]

*Arelate*. According to a *tessera* (Ritschl, *Die tess. glad.*, p. 20) a gladiatorial show took place here as early as 63 B.C. Estrangin (*Études sur Arles*, 1838) without any reasons dates the amphitheatre soon after the foundation of the colony in the time of Julius Caesar; Stark (*Städteleben in Frankreich*, p. 76) assigns it to the second half of the second or the beginning of the third century. Like the amphitheatre of Nîmes, it has 2 storeys and an attic; each storey has 60 arches. The number of spectators it could accommodate is estimated by Estrangin (p. 13) at 25,000. The arena could not be flooded, since it is in the highest part of the town (p. 31); nor have any traces of a *euripus* been discovered. In the animals' cages only stags' horns and boars' teeth have been discovered. There is no doubt (p. 40) that arrangements were made for covering the amphitheatre with canvas. On the fortunes of the amphitheatre in the middle ages see Estrangin and Millin (p. 616; cp. pl. xlviii, fig. 9). I am not acquainted with the monographs by Jacquemin and Henry referred to by Caumont (*Cours d'antiquités monum.*, iii, 466-474), nor with the treatises by Vêran (*Mém. des antiquaires de France*, ix, 1832, p. 231) and Henry (xiii, 1837, p. 1). Inscriptions on the steps *CIL*, xii, 714, 715. Inscription on a 'negotiator familiae gladiatoriae' *CIL* xii, 727.

*Nemausus*. Pelet (*Description de l'amph. de Nîmes*, 1853) conjectures that it was built in the reign of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, but on very insufficient grounds (p. 138). He asserts that it was never finished (p. 139): les aqueducs, qui devaient amener les eaux dans l'arène, ne sont même revêtus de ciment; ce qui n'aurait pas

eu lieu, si le monument avait déjà servi aux jeux nautiques, auxquels il était destiné. Grangent Durent and Durand (*Monum. du midi de la France*, p. 68 ; cp. Pelet, pp. 118-127) also believe that the building was originally intended for *naumachiae*. Pelet (p. 87) estimates the number of spectators at 24,000, Millin (iv, p. 220) at only 17,000. *Ibid.* : La façade est composée d'un rez-de-chaussée, d'un étage au-dessus et d'un attique. It had 60 arches, not numbered (some of them bearing *phalli*) and 4 chief gates. Pelet, p. 73 : les gradins étaient au nombre de 34, divisés en 4 précinctions par un pareil nombre de baltei, hauteur totale de la façade 21.52 mètres (p. 183). From the uppermost edge of the wall projected 120 pierced corbels, some of which are preserved, for the reception of masts (p. 127). Pelet and Millin give the history of the amphitheatre (cp. also Reveil, *Mémoires lus à la Sorbonne, Archéologie*, 1867, p. 163. H.). The inscription T. Crispius Reburus fecit (*CIL*, xii, 3315) probably does not refer to the architect. Inscriptions on the steps (3316-3322) ; gladiatorial inscriptions found in the neighbourhood (3323-3332).

*Baeterrae*. Caumont (as above, p. 495) : (L'amph.) de Beziers offrait encore de belles ruines au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle ; il ne reste plus aujourd'hui qu'une partie des constructions qui supportaient le podium et les premiers sièges de l'ima cavea. L'Arène avait 234 pieds sur 180. Une partie de la cavea était taillée dans le roc, l'on avait ainsi épargné les travaux en maçonnerie, d'un côté de l'édifice. [The street is called *rue des arènes*. Cp. S. . . . in *Bull. d. l. Soc. archéol. de Beziers*, i série, t. 4 (1845), pp. 142-145 and pl. ii, no. 4. H.] Stark as above, p. 139 : 'Reste eines amphitheaters'.

*Narbo*. Millin (iv, p. 392) states that in certain underground rooms ('dans le quartier Saint-Just', Caumont, p. 497) of the modern town there are vaults, 'qu'on croit avoir appartenu à un ancien amphithéâtre'. [Tournal, *Catalogue du musée de Narbonne*, 1864, to no. 177, p. 36 : 'les ruines de l'ancien a. de N. furent exécutées sur ce point . . . mais . . . on ne mit à jour que la partie inférieure de ce monument, tout le reste avait été détruit. Le diamètre extérieur de l'a. de N. était moins grand que celui de Nîmes, mais l'arena était plus vaste. H.] It certainly no longer existed in the time of Apollinaris Sidonius, since he does not mention it in his careful enumeration of the buildings of Narbo (*Carm.*, 23). Cp. Stark, pp. 146 and 602 (reliefs referring to the amphitheatre).

*Tolosa*. Millin (p. 455) says that two of the 24 arches of the amphitheatre still exist ; the arena was about 180 feet long, 50 feet wide. Caumont, p. 406 : Some antiquaries conjecture that Tolosa had another larger amphitheatre (Raynal, *Hist. du Toulouse* ; Du Barry, *Recherches sur les a. du midi de la France*. Valesius (*N.G.*, 620) says, however : *Erat ibi Capitolium, Amphitheatrum, et Palatium, quorum trium operum Romanorum nullae supersunt reliquiae*.

*Arausio*. Lapse (*Histoire d'Orange*, 1640, p. 29) describes the amphitheatre, which lay outside both the old and the new town, as follows : J'ai vu les arènes autrefois ayant les murailles presque tout autour, de la hauteur de douze pieds en aucuns endroits, en d'autres moins, avec les formes ou naissances des portes au nombre de vingt-

quatre. Elles ont été depuis peu abattues et quasi rasées à fleur de terre. Les fondements paraissent tout autour avec les ouvertures des portes, et la forme de l'ovale relevée en dehors par la terre, laquelle vraisemblablement a été tirée du dedans. At the beginning of the nineteenth century traces of the foundations were still to be seen, but according to Gasparin (*Hist. de la ville d'Orange*, p. 105) they had disappeared in 1815.

*Vasio Vocontiorum*. According to Millin (iv, p. 140) two arches still in existence were considered to be remains of an amphitheatre. Cp. *Voyage de deux Bénédictins* (1717), i, p. 293 and Martin as above, p. 71: Sur une éminence . . . on voit les débris d'un a., où l'on montait par un chemin creusé dans le roc. Les Jacobins voisins de ces ruines trouvèrent en bâtissant de longues caves, ayant des voûtes très-hautes, et des deux côtés, de distance en distance, il y avait des conduits.

[*Dea Vocontiorum*? Martin, p. 17: On remarquait, non loin des ruines de l'ancienne église de St. Pierre, hors de la ville, au cimetière des calvinistes trois voûtes, débris d'un . . . théâtre, propre aux exercices des gladiateurs. Son quartier se nomme encore Palais. H. Herzog (*Gallia Narbonensis*, App. 453 = *CIL*, xii, 1585 (flamen divi Aug.—curator muneris gladiatori Villiani); 468 = *CIL*, xii, 1590 (collegium venatorum Deensium); 489 = *CIL*, xii, 1529 (muner[is] publ. curat[or] ad Deam Aug.); inscription on a *secutor*, 1596. Cp. Hirschfeld, *ib.*, p. 161<sup>b</sup>, and *Gallische Studien*, p. 30.]

*Vienna*. Valesius (*N.G.*, 605) assumes the existence of an amphitheatre here, although apparently he does not know of any remains of one. The passage from Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, v, 1), to be quoted under *Lugdunum*, does not justify the assumption. According to Chorier (*Antiquités de Vienne*, p. 416) some vaults (diverses voûtes) of one were still in existence; the rest was razed by the inhabitants, who used the ruin as a quarry. Almer and Terrebasse, *Inscr. antiques de Vienne*, ii, 413: Un a. était adossé à la colline de Pipet. Schneider (appointed director of the drawing school at Vienne in 1775: Stark, *Städte*, p. 576) qui en a vu des restes très-apparents et même des gradins encore en place et qui a pu les mesurer dans la longueur, estime qu'il était plus grand que ceux de Nîmes et d'Arles. Cp. also Stark, p. 21. Inscription on a T(h)r(aex) *CIL*, xii, 1915.

### (b) Aquitania.

[*Lugdunum Convenarum*. M. Dumézié indique un a. à Saint-Bertrand. Caumont, p. 496.]

[*Aginnum*. Il ne reste que de faibles vestiges de l'a. d'Agen. *Id.*, *ib.*]

*Burdigala*. Valesius (*N.G.*, 502). A. extra muros, quod Palatium Gallieni vocant. Lipsius as above. Montfaucon as above: autant que je puis me souvenir, le champ où les arènes de cet amphithéâtre étaient des plus grandes et ne le cédaient peut-être pas à celle du Colisée. When Millin (iv, p. 623) saw the ruin, the arena was covered with buildings, and the scanty remains had almost disappeared. According to representations of earlier date the arena was 225 feet



long, 165 wide. L'élévation extérieure était de 60 pieds. Le rez-de-chaussée était décoré de l'ordre Toscan, 4 galeries placées l'une sur l'autre regnaient autour, 15 portiques conduisaient à l'arène ainsi que deux portes principales, plus grandes et plus ornées que sont aujourd'hui les parties de l'édifice mieux conservées. It is assigned to the reign of Gallienus, since bricks are employed in the construction—a material which is said not to have been in common use before that period in the Roman buildings in Gaul. (?) Caumont as above, p. 477. Cp. also Stark, *Städteleben*, p. 228.

*Mediolanum Santonum*. Valesius (*N.G.*, 502): Supersunt hodieque amphitheatri rudera ac reliquiae nobiles extra muros. Montfaucon as above. Millin, iv, p. 679. Chaudruc de Crazannes (*Antiquités de Saintes*, p. 72) on most insufficient grounds assigns the amphitheatre to the period between Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. According to him it had room for 5000 sitting places (60 arcades—il en existe 2 principales—un seul étage de voûtes inclinées vers l'arène et une seule précinctio). No traces have been found of arrangements for an awning; the lowness of the parapet of the arena makes it improbable that *venationes* took place in it. Caumont (pp. 486–490) doubts (and certainly with justice) whether it could have been flooded for *naumachiae* (Chaudruc, p. 81).

*Limonium (Pictavi)*. Bourgnon de Layre (*L'amphithéâtre ou les arènes de Poitiers*, in *Mém. de la soc. des antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 1843, pp. 137–273 and pl. 1–6), who on insufficient grounds (p. 157) assigns the erection of the amphitheatre to the time of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, gives a survey of the older literature (cp. also Valesius, *N.G.*, p. 502). Bouchet (born 1475) says in his *Annales d'Aquitaine*: les arènes joignaient le palais Gallien (he thinks it was built by Gallienus)—les arènes—c'était le lieu pour faire joustes et tournois (p. 173). According to the description by the Benedictine Dom Fontenau, who visited Poitiers in 1740, the only remains were those of some surrounding arched passages, some entrances to vaults, and some arcades of the upper storeys—all much built over. Volckmann (*Neueste Reisen durch Frankreich*, 1787, ii, p. 48: 'Nothing can be seen but the shape of the old amphitheatre, which is covered inside with gardens and small houses'). According to Millin (iv, 712) some vaults still remained (engagées dans des constructions modernes). De Layre, as the result of very minute investigations, gives the dimensions (which show the amphitheatre to have been one of the largest known) and a detailed reconstruction. According to this, the building was three-storeyed, had no *praecinctions* (said to be generally unknown in Gallic buildings) in the interior, seats for 40,000 spectators, and standing room for at least 12,000 more. Cp. also Caumont, *Cours d'Antiq.*, pp. 483–486. Stark, *Städteleben*, p. 251: The amphitheatre (now 'les Arènes', also called 'palais de Galliène') directly adjoins the old city walls on the outside; its masonry and the little stone rhombi with which it is covered point to late-Roman workmanship; a triple-arched gate still serves as a street-gateway.

*Fines*, according to A. Tardieu (*La ville Gallo-romaine de Beauclair*, 1882) was situated on the road from Augustoritum to Augustonemetum on the site of Beauclair. P. 9.: on reconnaît à Beauclair les



traces d'un a., placé—sur le bord de la voie romaine. Il est probable qu'il était agencé en bois—les gradins seuls étant en terre.

*Augustoritum (Limovices)*. Valesius (*N.G.*, 268), from the mention of an arena in mediaeval documents (e.g. 1314 ecclesia Sct. Mariae de Arenis), had already assumed the existence of an amphitheatre outside the town : hodieque inter vii portas una est Lemo-vicis porta Arenarum ; there was also 'un cimetière des'Arènes' there. Mérimée (*Notes d'un voyage en Auvergne*, p. 97) : il ne reste des arènes que leur nom conservé à un quartier de la ville. Caumont (1838) states that the foundations had recently been laid bare on an eminence on the west of the town. It is said to have remained intact till the time of Louis the Pious, who gave the monks of St. Martial permission to use the material for building a church. Considerable ruins existed up to 1581 ; the last visible remains were removed in 1713 when a promenade was laid out (*Cours d'antiq.*, pp. 477-479).

*Vesunna (Petrocorii)*. Du Cange *s.v.* Arena : Meminit Chronicon Episcoporum Petracoricensium Arenarum Petracoricensium sub anno 1517 : sub hoc Boso comes Petracoricensis super locum Arenarum Petracoricensium excelsam turrem exaedificavit. According to Lipsius (as above) there was at Petricorii 'amphitheatrum pulchrum et satis integrum extra moenia—e lapide quadrato—et arenae ejus longitudo xxx perticarum, latitudo xx. Valesius (*N.G.*, 446). Gruter, 1159, 7 : in ruinis amphitheatri quod vocant Cacarottas. Cp. *Mém. de l'Acad.*, xix, 710. Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités* (vii, 1767, p. 305, pl. lxxvii) : le contour que formait autrefois cet amphithéâtre, est très bien marqué par les ruines—il subsiste encore 6 masses informes ou plutôt 6 mesures de ce bâtiment ; elles sont considérables, isolées et fort éloignées l'une de l'autre—des portions de voûtes et de piliers formant les souterrains. Cet édifice paraît avoir eu 1200 pieds de circonférence.—Il subsiste encore dans l'arène à 15 pieds de profondeur un aqueduc ou plutôt un égout de 5 pieds de largeur et de 6 de hauteur. Il était coupé et traversé par un autre dont les proportions étaient les mêmes ; l'un et l'autre servaient apparemment à écouler les eaux de l'arène. [Caumont, *Abécédaire d'archéologie*, ed. 2, p. 344 : 'à Tours et à Périgueux les Gallo-Romains utilisèrent leurs amph. pour leur défense et les avaient transformés en énormes bastions'. H.] According to Caumont (*Cours d'antiq. monum.*, iii, pp. 480-483) little was left of the amphitheatre (in 1838) ; but on the basis of the results of excavation (De Taillefert, *Antiquités de Vesone*) he gives a detailed description of it.

*Divona (Cadurci)*. Valesius (*N.G.*, iii) : in ea urbe vestigia aqueductuum, rudera amphitheatri et rupes perfossas hodieque cerni aiunt. Volckmann (as above, ii, p. 482) : 'Remains of an amphitheatre built of small squared stones are still to be met with'.

*Segodunum Rutenorum*. 'L'a. de Rhodéz n'offre plus comme celui d'Avenches qu'une grande concavité elliptique, autour de laquelle se voient quelques débris de murailles ; leur solidité a lassé les efforts des destructeurs. Caumont, *Cours d'ant.*, p. 496.

(Near Tulle.) Caylus (*Rec.*, vi, p. 356) quotes the following from Baluze, *Histor. Tulliens.* (1717), p. 8 : in extrema parte hujus capitis adnotabo olim iv m. p. a Tutela (Tulle) nobile oppidum in parochia Navensi et agro Tintinniacensi, cujus multa adhuc vestigia super-

sunt; imprimis vero amphitheatrum, habens cc p. in longitudine, cl in latitudine, cujus caveas et rudera, quae etiam nunc supersunt, ego vidi in juventute mea.—Etiam hodie locus, ubi rudera amphitheatri, vocatur Arenae Tintinniacenses, vulgo les Arènes de Tintinniac. He erroneously considers the town to be the *Rastiatum* of Ptolemy. Caylus, understanding that the remains had greatly diminished since the time of Baluze, contented himself with reproducing the representation given by the latter in pl. cxiii. Montfaucon, who mentions the amphitheatre and gives the same dimensions, no doubt drew upon the same authority.

*Aquae Neri (Néris).* Caylus (iv, pl. cx) gives the plan of a theatre, not an amphitheatre; cp. *ib.*, p. 368. [Mérimée, *Notes d'un Voyage en Auvergne*, p. 73, who gives a description of it, takes it for a circus; I myself am inclined to agree with him. H.] The remains are described in detail by L. Esmonnot in *Néris, vicus Neriomagus* (1885; only known to me from Chambalu's notice in the *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, May 14, 1887), according to which it remains uncertain, whether the building was a theatre or an amphitheatre.<sup>1</sup>

*Bituriges.* Du Cange, *s.v.* Arena: In consuetud. Bituric. tit. ii art. 20 fit mentio de la fosse des Arènes de Bourges. Unde conficitur amphitheatrum olim ibi exstitisse. According to Valesius (*N.G.*, 86) this 'fosse des Arènes' was filled up in 1619, and its place taken by a market, la place Bourbon. Cp. Volckmann, ii, 458.

[*Ernodurum?* Caumont, *Cours d'ant.*, p. 497, mentions an amphitheatre 'de Levroux, près d'Issoudun.']

### (c) *Lugdunensis.*

*Lugdunum.* In 69 Vitellius was present here at some gladiatorial shows. Dio, lxxv, 1. The Boian Mariccus was thrown to the wild beasts in 70 (Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 61). The execution of the martyrs of Vienne and Lyons in 177, described at length in the letters of these communities in Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, v, 1), probably took place at Lugdunum, although this is not explicitly stated. The passage is as follows (ed. Schwegler, p. 162, 37): ὁ μὲν οὖν Ματοῦρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος καὶ ἡ Βλανδῖνα καὶ ὁ Ἀτταλος ἤγοντο ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία εἰς τὸ δημόσιον καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας θέαμα, ἐπίτηδες τῆς τῶν θηριομαχιῶν ἡμέρας διὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους διδομένης. ὁ μὲν Ματοῦρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος αὐτοῖς διήεσαν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ διὰ πάσης κολάσεως. . . καὶ . . . ὑπέφερον πάλιν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν μαστίγων καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἐλκθιμοὺς καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα μαινόμενος ὁ δῆμος ἄλλοι ἀλλαχούθεν ἐπεβῶν καὶ ἐπεκελεύοντο, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν σιδηρὰν καθέδραν, ἐφ' ἧς τηγωνιζόμενα τὰ σώματα κνίσῃς αὐτοῦς ἐνεφύρει. In 1561 remains of what was probably the amphitheatre still existed in the district of the *jardin des plantes* laid out under the first empire in the *quartier des Terreaux*; and before 1793 Artaud saw some arcades belonging to it, built of small stones, which were then destroyed, 'comme étant un signe de féodalité'. During the course of his excavations (about 1820) some steps with inscriptions came to light, indicating the seats of honour of the deputies of the 60 *civitates*. Martin-Daussigny, conservator of the museum, as the result of fresh investigations undertaken by him after 1857, arrived at the conclusion that the amphitheatre (the arena of which could be

<sup>1</sup> [Alleged remains of both exist.—Tr.]

flooded for *naumachiae*) was situated in the neighbourhood of the *ara Romae et Augusti*, and not, as formerly assumed (as by Valesius, *N.G.*, p. 295 and Boissieu), on the site of Ainay (Atanacum), but in the *quartier des Terreaux*; here in ancient times the Rhone and Saône joined, although they have since altered their course. See Martin-Daussigny, *Notice sur l'amph. et l'autel d'Auguste à Lugdunum in Congrès archéol. de France*, 29th session, 1862, Paris, 1863, pp. 418-454; and cp. his letter to Henzen (*AdI*, 1860, p. 215); also O. Hirschfeld, *Lyon in der Römerzeit* (Vienna, 1878, p. 16). Other antiquaries (e.g. Allmer in 1864) thought the amphitheatre was to be looked for on the right bank of the Seine at Fourvière, either ascribing the remains in the *quartier des Terreaux*, to another building, or assuming the existence of two amphitheatres—the one by the *ara Romae et Augusti* for the imperial festival at the meetings of the deputies at the Gallic diet, the other for the city shows (cp. J[ules] V[ermorel] in the notice of Hirschfeld's treatise in *Rev. crit.*, July 12, 1879, p. 29, and Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 331, 1). The latter is now believed to have been discovered by the excavations of M. Lafon in Fourvière—a building in the erection of which the declivity of the hill has been utilized, three concentric walls being still standing. According to another view (shared also by Duruy and Renan) it is supposed to have been situated at the foot of the declivity, its chief axis being parallel to the Saône. Deseilligny as below, pp. 23-26. Cp. Bazin, *Rev. archéol.*, July-August, 1887, p. 35, and J. Pierrot Deseilligny, *Notice sur l'amph. de Lyon*, Caen, 1888.

*Aquae Segete* (*Segeste*). The amphitheatre at Châtillon-sur-Loing already known from Caylus (iii, pl. 412, p. cxiii) is described in detail and illustrated by Jollois (*Mém. sur les antiquités du dép. du Loiret*, 1836, pp. 1-10, *Description de l'amph. de Chenevière*, with plates i-vii); like d'Anville before him, he regards it as belonging to *Aquae Segete* (Ukert as above, p. 465). The elliptical arena (*fosse aux lions*) has accommodation for spectators on only one side, occupying less than the half of an ellipse and according to Jollois capable of holding 3000-4000. Caylus assumed that it could be transformed into a complete ellipse with the aid of wooden buildings. Nothing now remains of the rows of steps that were still visible before 1758.

*Augustodunum*. On a 'Vue générale d'Autun vers 1600' in Edme Thomas (died 1660), *Hist. de l'antique cité d'Autun—illustrée et annotée* (Paris-Autun, 1846), p. 32, the amphitheatre appears as an important ruin; the illustration (p. 61) shows it as a building, of the circuit of which  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $\frac{3}{2}$  is preserved, at least three storeys high, with complete rows of seats. With this agrees the illustration (rightly declared to be imaginary by Millin, i, 307) in Montfaucon (iii, ii, p. cli, after Aubéri), in which (as in Thomas) the third storey exhibits large figures in relief on the outer side between the arcades, and part of a fourth storey also is given. Thomas says: je découvre les vestiges d'un a. caché par les ronces, les épines et la terre, mais dont on voit sans grands peine les sièges. Il . . . est bâti . . . de briquetage en grès, lié d'un ciment ferme. *Voyage de deux Bénédictins* (1717), i, p. 164: L'a. est hors de la ville, fait en demi-cercle



fort élevé, autour duquel on remarque plusieurs cavernes affreuses, où l'on enfermait les bêtes, . . . qu'on lâchoit pour dévorer les chrétiens dans une grande plaine, qui fait comme une demi-lune environné de murailles. This description, like that of Volckmann (ii, p. 206): 'the amphitheatre outside the town has the form of a semicircle,' appears to refer to the theatre (*Hist. d'Autun*, p. 63 and p. 217). According to Millin, the amphitheatre was used as a quarry in the eighteenth century and completely destroyed. Excavations since 1832 and 1842 have rendered possible an approximate estimate of the two axes ( $157 \times 131$  m.; *Hist. d'Autun*, p. 215). [Cp. *Comptes rendus de la soc. fr. de numismatique et d'archéologie*, i, 1869, p. 14. H.]

*Autisiodurum*. Leblanc-Davau, *Recherches sur Auxerre* (2nd ed., 1871), p. 51. In documents of the fifteenth century mention is made of a 'champ des Arènes'. In the centre of the same, before 1830, a considerable elliptic depression could be seen. The digging of a well revealed 'une galerie conduisant dans l'intérieur du cirque, garnie de petites loges et fermée à son entrée par une porte en pierres de taille' (p. 52). The site is now entirely altered. The author assumes that the amphitheatre was built of wood.

*Agendicum* (*Senones*). Valesius (*N.G.*, p. 332): Senonici amphitheatri meminit Passio beatae Columbae virginis et martyris (alleged to have occurred under Aurelian). The *Bulletin de la soc. archéol. de Sens* (ii, 1851, p. 70) containing a treatise on the amphitheatre (with plan) was not available.

*Lutetia* (*Parisii*). An article in the *Grenzboten* (1870, ii, p. 189), *Der antike Circus zu Paris* (after the *Bulletin de la soc. impériale des antiquaires de France*, 1858, p. 152) gives an account of the earlier notices of the amphitheatre. The statement of Gregory of Tours in his *Hist. Franc.*, v, 17: (Chilpericus rex) apud Suessionas atque Parisios circos aedificare praecepit eos populis spectaculum praebens, is referred to a restoration of the amphitheatre. Alexander Neckam, who taught about 1180 in Paris, in his *Laus sapientiae divinae* calls the amphitheatre 'theatrum Cypridis,' 'vasta ruina'. A hundred years later it was laid out as a vineyard; according to a document of 1284 the Sorbonne owned 'tria quarteria vineae in loco qui dicitur les Areinnes ante St. Victorem'. The whole district was called Faubourg Saint-Victor from an abbey now destroyed. The same vineyard 'ad Arainas', 'Clos des Arennes', is mentioned in maps as late as 1307 and 1399. In May, 1870 (*Rev. archéol.*, xi, 1870, p. 349), in the rue Monge west of the Pantheon, some investigators came upon the curve of the walls surrounding the arena and some seat-steps. The smaller half of the amphitheatre is laid bare; a cloister occupies the site of the larger. The declivity of the Montagne Ste. Geneviève (mons Lucotitius) has been utilized in the construction. The masonry consists of irregular stones, laid in cement; the side turned towards the arena is covered with squared stones. Two quadrangular chambers at the bottom of the ascending rows of steps may have been used as cages. The amphitheatre was used as a quarry in the middle ages and its material removed to a considerable distance, especially to the Île de la Cité; cp. Longpérier, *Les pierres écrites des arènes de Lutèce* in *Journ. des*



sav., 1873, pp. 641-656. The inscriptions on three blocks: (1) Cas(siani) Latini, (2) Postumi, and (3) Pii Esuvi Thtrici, according to Longpérier, were cut soon after the construction of the amphitheatre, which consequently should be assigned to the third century. I have been unable to procure Du Seigneur's *Les arènes de Lutèce* (1886).

[*Jatinum* (Meldi). Valesius (*N.G.*, p. 332), arguing from the name Cavea (Cagia) at Meaux, which comprises an extensive district and contains a church Scta Maria in Cavea, assumes the existence of a large amphitheatre outside the town.]

*Cenabum* (*Civitas Aurelianorum*). According to the *Histoire d'Orléans* (p. 178) by Vergniaud-Romagnoli (quoted by Hübner but unknown to me), there was an amphitheatre here. According to Jollois (*Sur les antiquités rom. et gallo-rom. de Paris*, 1840, in Longpérier, p. 641) it is half hidden in the ground.

*Caesarodunum* (*Turon*). Cp. *Vesunna* above. *Revue archéol.*, x, p. 376. The 'Arenae Turonenses' are mentioned in a diploma of King Charles the Simple (D. Bouquet, *Script. rer. gall.*, ix, p. 534). M. André Salmon first indicated the site of the amphitheatre, on which the *Soc. archéol.* carried out successful excavations. 'On a reconnu d'abord 4 couloirs, servant de communication du podium à l'extérieur de l'amph. De plus on a trouvé des loges accolées et un fragment de mur extérieur curviligne. L'amph. de Tours est un peu plus grand que ceux de Saintes et de Nîmes. After exhaustive investigation, a commission arrived at the result that the dimensions of the axes of the building were 124 × 144 m., the area of the whole amphitheatre 6200, that of the arena 2250 square metres. *Rapport de la commission chargée d'examiner des substructions présumées appartenir à l'ancien a. de Tours* in *Mém. de la soc. archéol. de Touraine*, v, 1855, pp. 237-255 (with plan).

*Vindinum* (*Cenomani*). According to Caumont, *Cours d'antiq.*, p. 495, there was said to have been an amphitheatre at Le Mans. [Daudin, *Exposé des objets d'antiquité trouvés au Mans en 1809*, p. 3, cp. p. 18: on a vu en 1791 un a. de 338 pieds de diamètre, des arènes de 252 pieds, 4 estrades circulaires, de 17 pieds de largeur chacune, coupées par de murs de refend de 16 pieds d'épaisseur, qui soutenaient les galeries voûtées qui regnaient autour de ses cirques. . . Il ne reste plus aucun vestige de ce monument (which is said to have had room for 7000 spectators). H.]

[*Juliomagus* (*Andecavi*). According to Godard-Faultrier, *Monuments antiques de l'Anjou*, 1864, p. 50, there are traces of an amphitheatre at Angers (rue Hanneton<sup>1</sup>), which was called Grohan and was supposed to have had room for 10,000 spectators. H.]

*Crociatonum* (*Portus Unellorum*). Caylus, vii, p. 314 (pl. xc, xci), *Sur les ruines situées près de Valogne en Normandie*: En 1691 Mr. Foucault . . . y fit fouiller, on y trouva divers monuments, . . . un château de bains, un amphit<sup>re</sup> et tous les ornements d'une grande ville. . . Quant à l'amph., on en a déjà beaucoup démoli pour bâtir aux environs, mais son plan circulaire aide à en retrouver l'enceinte. Il paraît qu'il y en avait une double, l'une extérieure de 20 toises de rayon, l'autre intérieure de 18 toises . . . on ne pourra guère sup-

<sup>1</sup> [? Rue Hanneloup, close to which is a Rue des Arènes.—TR.]

poser de places pour plus de 6000 spectateurs. Il ne reste que peu de partie de l'enceinte extérieure et presque rien de l'enceinte intérieure.

(d) Belgica.

(Helvetii.) The following information as to the amphitheatres of Switzerland is due to C. Bursian.

*Octodurum* (Martigny). The ruins of the amphitheatre, called by the people 'le Vivier' (*vivarium*) consist of an enclosing wall, tolerably circular, still almost in a complete state of preservation; constructed of boulders, rubble and tufa stones, it is still more than three feet thick and in many places its height is more than a man's. The larger axis, from N. to S., is 214 feet long; the smaller, from E. to W., 201. No trace is preserved of the arcades on which the seats rested, nor of the seat-steps themselves; hence we may conjecture, that the interior arrangement was only of woodwork.

*Aventicum* (Avenches). On the amphitheatre cp. Bursian, *Aventicum Helvetiorum* in *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, bd. xvi, i, heft 1, p. 20. It is situated in the N.W. part of the old town, directly east of the little modern town of Avenches, and, although transformed into an orchard, can be recognized at the first glance from the elliptic depression in the interior. On the east side of this depression rises a lofty tower, the foundation of which is formed by an ancient double vault; it was built in the seventeenth century as a granary, and is now used as a museum; outside, the arch-shaped springs of several such vaults together with the party walls that support them can still be seen on the N.E. and on the S., while on the S.W., W., and N.W. nothing of the old building remains. The length of the larger axis of the ellipse of the building from S.E. to N.W. is 314 (including the masonry of the arcades 326) feet, of the smaller 282 (or 294); the upper circumference of the whole is about 880 feet, the height of the upper surface of the modern terrace constructed near the tower over the deepest part of the soil that covers the arena  $29\frac{1}{2}$  feet; the seat-steps of sandstone, some of which are still preserved in the terrace wall, are  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. The number of spectators which the amphitheatre could hold has been estimated by A. Caspari, the conservator of the Museum at Avenches, on the assumption of 20 rows of seats, at 8780; but according to Bursian's view the present height of the building (the upper surface of the terrace with the tower) affords no sufficient grounds for calculating the original height and the number of the rows of seats; the latter was probably considerably larger than 20, and there is in addition an upper circuit with standing places for the lower classes, such as are preserved in amphitheatres in Italy and the south of France, so that the number of the spectators can be estimated at twice the number given above.

*Vindonissa* (Windisch in Aargau). The amphitheatre of Vindonissa, on the W. of the village of Königsfelden, now appears as an oval depression, resembling a sandpit, but covered with grass and corn, without any traces of walls; by the people it is called the 'Bärlisgrub' (bear-pit). The greater axis of the ellipse (from N.E. to S.W.) was about 230 feet long; the entrances were opposite one

another on the narrow side of the building. There is no trace of the seat-steps, nor of the vaults on which they rested. Cp. F. Keller, *Statistik der römischen Ansiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*, in *Mittheilungen der antiquar. Gesellsch. zu Zürich*, bd. xv, heft 3, p. 142), in whose opinion the statements of Haller (*Histor. und topogr. Darstellung von Helvetien unter römischer Herrschaft*, ii, 390) are to be considered purely fictitious. Haller speaks of remains of this 'theatre' (as he calls it), which were still visible above ground in the second half of the eighteenth century, especially the ruins of the east gate, and of a 'large, rectangular block of granite, right in the centre of the former arena, to which the wild animals intended for the *venationes* and also persons condemned to death were fastened with chains, the double holes of which were still visible'.

[*Augusta Rauricorum*. No trace of an amphitheatre has been found at Baselaugst; what has been taken for such (e.g. by Müller, *Hdb. der Archäol.*, § 265, 1) is rather a theatre; see Bruckner, *Versuch einer Beschreibung historischer und natürlicher Merkwürdigkeiten der Landschaft Basel*, xxiii. Stück (1763), p. 2772. Schoepflin (*Alsatia illustrata*, i, 160) gives an illustration of this theatre (e saec. xvi, e schedis Amerbachii). Mommsen (*Die römische Schweiz*, p. 16) also speaks of the ruins of the amphitheatre of Augst. According to the paper by Th. Burckhardt-Biedermann (*Das römische Theater zu Augusta Raurica*, in *Mitth. d. histor. u. antiquar. Gesellschaft zu Basel*, n.f., ii, 1882), only known to me from a notice by Blümner (*D.L.Z.*, 1882, no. 44), the theatre (of about the first century) was later purposely altered, and the orchestra made into an arena.

[*Aquae Vicus* (Baden in Aargau). According to F. Keller (*Die röm. Ansiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*, Abtheilung i, in *Mittheilungen der antiquar. Gesellsch. in Zürich*, bd. xii, heft 7, p. 297) there was still to be seen there, 'at the beginning of this (nineteenth) century, a circular depression, which was not without reason regarded as the *cavea* of a theatre' (? the interior of an amphitheatre); but no traces of it are now visible.]

*Maxima Sequanorum, Vesontio*. Valesius (*N.G.*, p. 600: Amphitheatrum olim Vesontio extra muros habuit, latum passus circiter cxx, cuius fundamenta et porticus maiore ex parte dirutas spectari ait Chifletius ubi nunc est extra murum sacellum Scti Jacobi. Superest in urbe hodieque vicus Arenarum, qui ad portam amphitheatri ducebat, et porta ipsa amphitheatri, una ex v Vesontionis portis, porta Arenarum olim cum aliis tum Callisto pp. ii in litteris anno mcxx datis nuncupata, quae nunc intra muros urbis integra conspicitur. Quin et una de vii civitatis tribubus tribus Arenarum dicitur. Volckmann, iii, 162: 'Outside the town may still be seen remains of an amphitheatre, about 120 feet in diameter.' Castan (*Le capitole de Vesontio*, in *Mém. lus à la Sorbonne. Archéol.*, 1869, p. 53) says: 'Les ruines (de l'a.) ont été noyées, il est vrai, dans l'un des bastions construits par Vauban; mais nous en avons des images (Prost, *Hist. de Besançon*, ms. 2 plans of the *Arènes*); et le nom de notre rue d'Arènes en conserve la mémoire.

(Town of the *Leuci*.) Caylus, vii, p. 349: Le village de Grand (Gran) en Champagne entre Joinville et Neufchâteau (ad Fines?—Novioma-



gus, Ukert, as above, p. 505) était une de ces anciennes villes, dont il ne reste qu'une faible tradition, elle était de la cité du peuple des Leuci . . . Son amph. était adossé à une colline. Son élévation du côté du midi est encore de 18 pieds 6 pouces ; l'arène a encore 30 toises de longueur et 10 de largeur. Il y avait 3 portes de chaque côté de l'arène, qui conduisaient aux souterrains de l'amph. et aux gradins destinés pour les spectateurs. Les habitans appellent l'amph. le château de Julien, on croit que Ste Libaire, vierge, y souffrait le martyre. Yet it seems, from the outline on pl. cxi rather to have been a theatre. [Jollois, *Antiquités de Gran* (extract in Dufresne, *Mém. de l'Acad. de Metz*, 1842, p. 247) believes (in accordance with excavations in 1822), that it was capable of accommodating 2000 spectators ; like the building at Nérès (see above) it was used both as a theatre and as an amphitheatre. Dufresne (p. 250) gives as the dimensions—large axis of the whole building 137.60, small 61 metres, and says (p. 251) : ces belles ruines sont maintenant converties en carrière publique et disparaissent chaque jour. P. 249 : au dessous du sol de l'orchestre à 2½ m. de profondeur on a trouvé un aqueduc parfaitement conservé. H.]

*Divodurum Mediomatricum*. Valesius (N.G., p. 174) quotes the following from a MS. life of St. Clement : 'cum pervenisset B. Clemens Mediomatricam civitatem, in cavernis ut ferunt amphitheatri quod extra eandem urbem situm est, hospitium habuit'. *Ibidem* 'fluvius Saliae juxta decurrere' dicitur, nimirum juxta amphitheatrum. Ch. Abel (*Notice sur la Naumachie de Metz in Mém. de la soc. d'archéol. et d'hist. de la Moselle*, 1860, p. 49) says : 'L'existence de l'arène en ce lieu (between the porte St. Thiébaut and Mazelle) est confirmée par le nom d'une église que saint Clément y éleva près de la Seille en l'honneur de saint André et que le peuple appela toujours St. André-aux-Arènes. A en croire les Bénédictins, auteurs de l'histoire de Metz, les ruines de l'a. subsistèrent jusqu'en 1562, époque à laquelle les pierres et les colonnes en furent dépécées pour construire les murs de la citadelle de Metz. C'est une erreur, puisque Sébastien Leclerc, vers 1650, en a pris un croquis qu'il grava à l'eau forte et qui fait partie de ses œuvres sous le no. 205. C'est après cette estampe rarissime de Sébastien Leclerc (elle se trouve à la Bibliothèque impériale de Paris—Collection des gravures et estampes) que M. Migette a donné une vue des arènes de Metz dans *l'Histoire de Metz* par Bégin, t. i. Elle représente encore l'enceinte avec une partie de ses contreforts et une portion des galeries du premier étage et du rez-de-chaussée éclairées par deux rangées de colonnes superposées comme à Nîmes et à Arles. On y voyait aussi l'escalier d'un des vomitoires par lesquels s'écoulait la foule au travers d'une porte centrée formée par deux colonnes d'ordre ionique. Un plan de Metz de 1574 nous montre le débris d'une de ces arcades avec une colonne. En 1719 Montfaucon faisait dessiner, pour son bel ouvrage des *Antiquités expliquées*, ce qui restait de l'a. de Metz, et le publiait, t. iii, planche 103. Les Bénédictins reproduisaient dans leur histoire de Metz t. i, planche ii ce dessin, qui nous apprend que les galeries dessinées par S. Leclerc avaient été démolies et qu'en 1719 il ne restait plus debout que le vomitoire et



son escalier, sa porte et l'enceinte circulaire de l'arène. Au 17. siècle P. Ferry qui a encore vu ces ruines debout, supposait que l'a. de Metz avait dû être construit sous Auguste (?). See Hübner, *Römische Alterthümer in Lothringen* (*Bonner Jahrb.*, liii–liv, 1873, p. 159), p. 161 : supposed seat-steps of the amphitheatre with the inscription ho[li]tores ; p. 163, gladiatorial relief ; p. 171, visor.

*Augusta Treverorum.* Wytttenbach (*Neue Forschungen*, p. 70) and Steininger (*Gesch. d. Trevirer*, i, p. 285) assign the construction of this amphitheatre to the time of Trajan ; the second of the spurious inscriptions of Nennig (Mommsen, *Grenzboten*, 1866, p. 407) is based on this assumption. As F. Hettner (*Das römische Trier*, in *Verhandl. d. Philologenvers. zu Trier*, 1879, p. 16) observes, the extremely careful architecture of the amphitheatre shows it to have been certainly older than the other Roman buildings of the city. 'It is in the extreme S.E. of the town ; the eastern semicircle leans against a natural hill, the western on the other hand (as is shown by the excavations of Herr von Wilmowsky in the 'sixties) is artificially constructed'. Nothing now remains but 'the arena, together with a wall leading to the beginning of the rows of seats, part of the animals' cages, and further at the end of each side of the arena an entrance with three gates. The entrances are flanked by strong towers, which relieve the pressure of the masses of earth. The central gate led into the arena, the two others to the spectators' seats. The latter could also be reached by two tunnel-like entrances on the city side' (Hettner). According to Quednow (*Beschr. des A. zu Trier*, p. 24) the arena is elliptical, its floor of rock ; in the latter is cut a *euripus* 3 feet wide and 4 feet deep, used for flooding at the *naumachiae*, water for the purpose being conducted into the amphitheatre by an aqueduct (?). The *podium*, now 7 feet high, appears formerly to have been 10 feet high ; it had 10 doors, leading to the animals' cages. The number of places for the spectators, estimated by Steininger at 8000, cannot be settled, in Hettner's opinion. On the 'collegium arenariorum consistentium Col. Aug. Trev.' see Orelli, 2773 = Brambach, *CIRh.*, 770. Perhaps it was here that the Bructeri were destroyed by wild beasts (before the year 306) ; see Steininger, i, 231, 1. According to the *Gesta Trevir.* the Vandal prince Crock besieged the Treviri 'in arena civitatis' (*i.e.* in this amphitheatre, fortified by them) in the year 406, but without success (Wytttenbach, *Neue Forsch.*, p. 53). Perhaps it was at that time that the semicircular towers were built, remains of which are still to be seen (*ib.*, p. 60).

*Durocortorum (Remi).* Du Cange *s.v.* Arena : Arenas Remenses commemorat Marlotus in metropoli Remensi lib. i cap. 5. Valesius (*N.G.*, p. 181) : Extra portam Martis sunt Arenae seu mons Arenarum, amphitheatri seu duplicis hemicycli figura. Volckmann, iii, p. 172 : 'Two hundred paces from the town are the remains of an amphitheatre'.

*Augusta Suessionum.* Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, v, 17 : see above under Lutetia. Valesius (*N.G.*, pp. 58 and 332) infers the existence of an amphitheatre from the name Cavea (monasterium Scti Crispini in Cavea, St. Crépin en Chaye). Yet according to Leroux, *Hist. de Soissons* (1839), i, p. 108, the amphitheatre was

not there, but in the west part of the town, where a semicircular depression in the ground in his opinion affords undoubted evidence of its site; this view is said to have been confirmed by occasional excavations in the 'twenties and 'thirties. But their results are so small that it remains doubtful whether the building was elliptic or semicircular; Leroux considers the latter to be more probable. He assumes that its remains were choked up with earth in the time of Chilperic (576).

*Augustomagus (Silvanectes)*. [Mayne, *Mémoires lus à la Sorbonne*, 1867, p. 155: *Note sur la découverte des arènes de Senlis*. Some years before, in a field not far from the modern town but at a considerable distance from the circuit of the Gallo-Roman town, a circular depression and remains of buildings were still to be seen; a Fontaine de Raines in the vicinity is called in mediaeval documents 'fontaine d'Airaines' and 'fons Arenarum'. Then follows a description of the very trifling remains recently discovered. H.] Caix de Saint-Aymour (*Congrès archéol. de France*, 44<sup>e</sup> session, Paris, Tours, 1878, pp. 69-78) gives the dimensions of the building (75 × 68 m.) and ascribes its construction to the third century. Detlefsen in Burrian's *Jahresber.*, viii (1880), p. 104.

[*Caesaromagus (Bellovaci)*. According to Caumont, *Cours d'ant.*, p. 495, there was an amphitheatre at Beauvais.]

[*Rotomagus*. Here also Valesius assumes the existence of an amphitheatre for the same reason as at Soissons.]

[*Juliobona*. Caylus (vi, 394) thinks that the theatre (pl. cxxvi) was also used as an amphitheatre; cp. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*: iv, 418, 1: 'Lillebonne . . . had . . . a miniature Colosseum in architecture and masonry'. Theatres, shown by the unusual size and form of their *orchestra* to have been intended to serve a double purpose (amphithéâtres facultatifs, as Letronne calls them), are also said to have existed at *Valognes* (cp. Volckmann, iii, 354) and the village of *Vieux* near Caen. See A. de la Mare (*Excursions aux ruines de Khremissa in Rev. archéol.*, xii, 644), who refers to the treatise by Charma on the excavations at Vieux (*Mém. de la Soc. des antiquaires de la Normandie*, vol. xxii).]

#### (e) Germaniae.

(G. inferior.) *Colonia Agrippinensis*. 'Earlier investigations have established beyond doubt the existence of an amphitheatre near the Berlich' (see above, p. 194; and *Beiblatt zur Kölnischen Zeitung*, 1829, no. 17). Düntzer, *Das Berlich zu Köln*, in *Jahrb. der Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinlande*, xx, p. 26). 'Between the Berlich and the Appellhof the traces of a Roman amphitheatre have been found. Like the simple buildings near Vetera, Bonn and those described by Caumont (*C. Archéologie, a. de Chenevières* [Loiret], Caen, 1860), which exhibit a uniform type, it possessed an arena with round terraces for the spectators, 100 m. long and 60 m. wide, open towards the East'. C. von Beith, *Das römische Köln* (Bonn, 1885, Winckelmannsprogramm), p. 16. Cp. the subjoined plan of the town. 'Immediately before the Berlich was undoubtedly the Roman camp. Here probably also was the *vivarium*, enclosed by a centurion of the sixth legion, according to a votive tablet (in

Lersch, *Centralmuseum*, nr. 9 = Brambach, *CIRhen.*, 336), found in the foundation of a monastery built on the castle wall into the Roman wall. There is a remarkable similarity with Rome, where on the Viminal, near the *castra praetoria* (later enclosed by the wall but projecting considerably), there are an *amphitheatrum castrense* and a *vivarium*, both before the old city', Düntzer as above, p. 31. Inscription on an *ursarius* (Lersch, *Centralmuseum*, iii, 196 = Brambach, 211).

*Castra Vetera*.<sup>1</sup> Ph. Houben and Fr. Fiedler, *Denkmäler von Castra Vetera and Colonia Trajana* in Ph. Houben's *Antiquarium zu Xanten* (Xanten, 1839), p. 6: 'According to the oldest information the remains of an amphitheatre or an *arena campestris* near the village of Birten, also belonged to the old camp. On the field rises an oval earth rampart overgrown with copsewood and some fir-trees, with 4 entrances, exactly facing the four cardinal points. The outer circuit is about 350 paces. In the interior the rampart runs to a depth of about 30 feet obliquely downwards, so that a space, the arena, 120 paces in circumference, is formed below. The distance from the last to the west entrance is about 120 paces'. Pighi had already taken this circumvallation for the remains of a Roman amphitheatre of the garrison at Vetera. At the end of the seventeenth century aged people could still remember having seen in the arena a column consisting of millstones laid one upon another, which the author perversely takes for a *meta*. He assumes that the amphitheatre was built of wood. On a field not far distant a large number of simple urns with human bones have been found. The country people usually call the arena 'Victors Lager' or 'Victorsgelag'; according to the legend St. Victor, a captain of the Theban legion, suffered martyrdom with his Christian soldiers near the marshes of Colonia Trajana by the orders of the emperor Maximian.

#### BRITANNIA.

There is no doubt that in Britain also the legions kept gladiators in their permanent quarters (Hübner, *CIL*, iii, 1335, 3; *Monatsber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1868, 89), and some monuments relating to them have been preserved (Greek inscription on a *retiarius* in London, *CIL*, vii, p. 20; probably also *ib.* 830: *venatores Bannies[es]*); but no ruins of amphitheatres have been found. On the other hand, English archaeologists believe that they have discovered, in the vicinity of different Roman towns and permanent quarters, traces of so-called *amphitheatra castrensia*, that is to say, circular depressions corresponding to the arena, enclosed on all sides by the declivities of hills and thus presenting more or less the form of natural amphitheatres. John Strange, *An Account of some Roman and other Antiquities in Monmouthshire* (read May 11, 1755) in the *Archaeologia Britannica*, v, 1779, p. 67: 'the hollow circular spot known at Caerleon (*Isca Silurum*) by the name of Arthur's Round Table, which is generally supposed to be a Roman work, and to have served by way of amphitheatre. In this case it must be considered as one of the Castrensian kind, like that at Richborough Castle, not far

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Friedrich Leo for the above.



from Sandwich in Kent, and many others (cp. Wright, *Wanderings*, p. 88 : Rutupiae). Stukeley (*Iter Curiosum*, i, p. 156) mentions one at Silchester and another 3 miles from Redruth in Cornwall. Probably the round entrenchment between Penrith and Shap in Westmorland, described by Salmon (*Survey*, p. 637) and compared by him to a cock-pit or wrestling-ring is of the same kind. It also goes by the name of Arthur's Round Table, as does that on the castle wall at Winchester. Such temporary amphitheatres were probably the only ones used by the Romans in those distant provinces'. P. 68 : 'It is observable that the castrensian amphitheatres in general preserve no signs of *subsellia* or seats, so that the people must have stood on the grassy declivity. I saw no signs in that of Caerleon, nor in the more perfect one near Dorchester (Wright, *ib.*, p. 95), that Stukeley (*ib.*, p. 166) has also observed. Nor do I recollect that any such have been discovered in any other castrensian amphitheatre, at least in our island, where they seem to have been rather numerous. For it may reasonably be supposed that there were many more of them in Britain than are known to us at present, though the number of the latter is by no means inconsiderable'. That at Caerleon (on which see also *Archaeol. Brit.*, ii, 6) is more accurately described by Lee (*Isca Silurum*, 1862, p. 128), as E. Hübner informs me. According to the same scholar, traces of amphitheatres are believed to have been found at Bath (Aquae Sulis), Silchester, and Cirencester. Cp. also *Archaeol.*, xvii, p. 171 (near Llandrinolt, Wales) and Gough's *Camden*, i, p. 158 (Chaselbury, Wiltshire). Collingwood Bruce (*The Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., 1867, p. 158) believes he can recognize in a very rude relief at Chesters (Cilurnum) a scene from the amphitheatre, and hence conjectures that one existed there : decided traces of one still exist at the station of Borcovicus (a fort in the wall of Hadrian, now Housesteads). An illustration of this is given on p. 190—a circular depression, about roof. in diameter, 10 ft. deep. It is obvious that all these observations are very uncertain.

Th. Wright, *A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages* (London, 1862), p. 64 (*Homes of Other Days*), p. 77 : 'In the glossaries *plegere* (a player) and *plegaman* (a playman) are used to represent the Roman gladiator, and *plega-hus* (a playhouse) and *plega-stow* (a play-place) express a theatre or more probably an amphitheatre'. Wright assumes that the Saxons denoted the walled-round amphitheatres of the Roman towns still existing in their times by the first name, and those which were only formed by depressions in the ground by the second name. Among the illustrations of an Anglo-Saxon MS. of the Psalms (Ms. Harl. 603, perhaps of the ninth century) there is one, which according to Wright evidently represents an amphitheatre (reproduced on p. 65) : a bear-leader with a bear, which pretends to be asleep, a dancer, a player on a double flute—all on an arena at the foot of a depression in the ground, with many spectators in the background.

#### THE REST OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCES.

**Raetia et Vindelicia.** *Augusta Vindelicorum.* J. Becker (*Der Beilich zu Köln und der Perlach zu Augsburg*, in *Jahrb. d. Alter-*



*thumsfr. im Rheinlande*, xlii, p. 71 ; cp. above, p. 194) writes : ' The keen-sighted Welser has claimed to recognize an amphitheatre in the circular, amphitheatral form of some streets near the church of St. Stephen and in the general form of the gardens there, but his conjecture has not as yet received more definite confirmation. Further, the great distance between the churches of St. Stephen and St. Peter (where the Perlach is situated) makes a combination of the two localities inconceivable ; thus it only remains to conjecture that the amphitheatre of the Roman Augsburg was in the vicinity of the modern Perlach '. For the mosaic excavated in gardens near the church of St. Stephen (circus-scenes and gladiatorial combats) see Gruter, 336 ; cp. *CIL*, iii, 2, 5835a.

**Pannonia Superior. Carnuntum.** In the *Bericht des Vereins Carnuntum für die Jahre 1887 und 1888* (Wien, 1889, pp. 22-33 with pll. viii and ix), Alois Hauser has given a provisional description of the amphitheatre partly excavated by him in 1888 at Deutsch-Altenburg. The great axis of the arena measures 72·2, the small one 44·25 m. ; its surrounding wall, 1·5 m. thick, still rises to a height of 2½ m. ; its squared stones facing the arena have been furnished with a coloured coating (chiefly red). At a distance of ½ m. parallel with this wall runs a second wall ½ m. thick, to which the spoke-like walls of the *cavea* were attached. The outer surrounding wall, also elliptical, by reason of its considerable height is provided with strengthening pillars on the long side towards the Danube, where the terrain sinks decidedly. The spoke-like walls connecting the outer and inner wall and intended to bear the rows of seats, are neither equidistant from each other nor of equal strength. Nothing remains of the rows of seats. Of the entrances of the amphitheatre, the eastern, completely laid open, is divided into three parts (the centre part 3·4, the outer parts 1 and 1·11 m. wide. Close by was a narrow passage (a supplementary construction), perhaps with cross divisions, which were used as animals' cages, the animals being gradually pushed into the arena by pulling and inserting the cross-bars. At the point most favourably situated for spectators seems to have been an enclosed box. The arena appears to have been unpaved. It is not clear what purpose was served by a channel constructed of stone slabs carried in the direction of its lower axis below its level through the surrounding wall. To judge from its dimensions, the amphitheatre was a very imposing building. Its area is between those of the amphitheatres of Pola and Verona ; on the other hand the whole building, considering the relative narrowness of the *cavea*, is not nearly so extensive as those two amphitheatres ; its two axes measure 97·66 and 75·25 m. (against 137·8, 112·6 in Pola and 153·18, 122·89 in Verona). According to Hauser's estimate it contained above 8000 spectators. If, as he assumes, the last row of seats was about 13 m. above the arena, the outlook over the amphitheatre from the camp that lay about 14 m. higher was unobstructed, especially from its walls and towers. The camp appears to have been considerably enlarged by degrees, the enlargement being surrounded by a new fortified wall, inside which was the amphitheatre. 36 silver *denarii* (from a bag of

money lost under L. Verus) and 97 coins (from Augustus to Valens and Valentinian, pp. 33-37) were found there. Among the inscriptions, VM on a stone-block with letters 25 cm. high may belong to the architectural inscription; IIII VIR on another in all probability served to indicate the seats of the *quattuorviri* of the *municipium* of Carnuntum; a *cippus* bears the inscription: Junoni Nemesi Eppius Martinus et Mem(mius) Esper (t)ub(icen ?) leg. xiiii g. et Iul(ia) Rodo et . . ; an *ara*: (I)ovi (S)erap(i I)ulius. (Borrmann, pp. 36-41).

**Pannonia Inferior.** *Aquincum*. The amphitheatre excavated there in 1880 was described by Karl Torma in 1881 in a publication in the Hungarian language, from which a plan of the building appeared in *Oesterreich. Mitth.*, viii (1884), plate iv, and an exact explanation in ix (1885), pp. 233-7. Several parts of the building showed traces of repeated painting. A small sanctuary of Nemesis had been built against the outer wall of the amphitheatre, and the dedications of two votive altars found there date from 162 and 259. For these and the other inscriptions see *op. cit.* vii (1883), pp. 92-7 (nos. 23-34); and for the inscriptions on the benches p. 97 f., I-II, among them 4. Val(erii) Juliani et Ae(lii ?) Quinti, and 6. G. Valeria Nonia.

[*Cibalis*. The statement of Muchar (*Das römische Noricum*, i, 365) that there was once a large amphitheatre there, seems to be erroneous; at all events there is no mention of it in the text cited, Zosim., ii, 18.]

**Dacia.** *Porolissum* (Mojgrad). In 1858 the following inscription, now in the Klausenburg museum, was found there (*CIL*, iii, 836); Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadrianus. Antoninus. Aug. Pi|us p. m. trib. pot. xx. imp. ii. cos. iii. p. p. amphitheatrum vetus|tate dilapsum denuo fe|cit curante Tib. Cl. Quinti|liano proc. suo (A.D. 157).

*Sarmizegetusa*. Neigebaur, *Dacien* (1851), p. 17: Without the *castrum* on the east side of the village of Várhely which covers part of the old city the amphitheatre can still be very easily recognized, and fifteen years ago still retained several stone benches. Pfarrer Aukner and Dr. Fodor, two antiquaries well known here, saw five such at that time. The arena measures 80 paces E. and W., and 50 N. to S. The surrounding wall is still 15 feet high and is everywhere covered with débris: only a few years ago large hewn stones lay about everywhere, and the form of the rubbish heaps still shows the position of the former vaults beneath the seats. The four entrances in the wall surrounding the oval arena are indicated by depressions. Cf. p. 37, no. 105 = *CIL*, iii, 1522 (in scamno amphitheatri). Champagny, *Les Antonins*, i, 292: un amphithéâtre dont le sable rouge garde selon les paysans hongrois qui le montrent aujourd'hui la trace ineffaçable du sang qui y fut versé. O. Benn-dorf and O. Hirschfeld, who saw the amphitheatre in 1873, found the arena covered by a maize plantation, which only permitted an approximate estimate of its size. They estimated its longer axis at 60-65 paces, its shorter at 32-35. 'The ends of the axes corresponded with the main entrances of the building, which are clearly indicated by four deep gaps in the buried wall, which forms the

*cavea*. A double row of small isolated depressions, equidistant from one another, undoubtedly marking the gangways to the first and second tiers, runs round the arena at the top of the wall and at its lower edge. Nothing is now to be seen of substructures beneath the arena or of benches.' Benndorf and Hirschfeld, *Vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologisch-epigraphische Reise in Dacien*, reprint from *Mittheilungen der Centralcommission vom J. 1873*, p. 14. Carl Gross (*Archiv. d. Vereins f. Siebenbürg. Landeskunde*, n.f., 13 [1876], p. 319) describes the remains of the amphitheatre as "an oblong rubbish-heap 450 paces long in which at the beginning of this century benches of hewn limestone were still preserved."

### HISPANIAE.

The following notices by E. Hübner are based partly on his own observations (cf. his *Antiquarische Reiseberichte*, i, 1860-2) partly on better sources in MSS. and print (cf. the reports on epigraphic explorations in the *Monatsberichte der Berliner Academie*, 1860-1). The Spanish works on the antiquities of the country are entirely uncritical and untrustworthy, especially on account of the tendency to exaggerate the importance of all national treasures. The best known is D. Juan Augustin Cean-Bermudez, *Sumario de las antigüedades romanas en España, en especial las pertenientes a las bellas artes*, Madrid, 1832 fol. (cf. thereon Hübner, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid*, p. 277). See also Florez, *España sagrada*, Madrid, 1752-1850, xlvii, 4 vols.; D. Antonio Ponz, *Viage de España*, 1772-94, xviii, 8 vols.; Laborde, *Voyage pittoresque de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1806-20, 2 vols. fol. For the Roman remains of Lusitania see Bellermand, *Erinnerungen an Süd-Europa*, p. 249 ff. (Berlin, 1851).

#### (a) **Tarraconensis.**

*Tarraco*. Since Luis Pons de Ycart (*Grandezas de Taragona*, 1572, 8, f.p. 215) affirmed that the ruins near Na. Sa. del Milagro (now a prison) belong to the theatre, all subsequent Spanish writers have followed him, e.g. Cean, p. 6; Florez, xxiv, p. 229; Albiñana, *Tarragonae monumenta*, p. 128. Where, however, these writers speak of the amphitheatre of this city (Cean, p. 7; Florez, xxiv, p. 228; Albiñana, p. 124) they refer to the same ruins, which did undoubtedly belong to an amphitheatre. (Of the theatre, which probably lay on a hill in the upper city near the so-called *torre del Patriarca*, there still exist several benches; for the inscriptions on them cf. Hübner in *Monatsber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1860, p. 239). For a view of the amphitheatre, of which now only a small part of the *cavea* remains, see Laborde, i, plates 53, 54, 56.

*Ercavica* (Cabeza del Griego). Very indistinct remains according to Cornide (*Memorias de l'academia de Madrid*, iii, 1796, p. 172), described by Cean, p. 59.

The amphitheatres mentioned by Cean at Barcino (p. 15), Carthage (p. 34) and Toletum (p. 118) are quite uncertain. Also Hübner has shown by an investigation of the site that Kiepert was in error in alleging (*Lehrb. d. alt. Geogr.*, p. 497) the existence of the 'ruins, now almost destroyed' of an amphitheatre at Saguntum.



(b) **Baetica.**

[*Corduba*. The very doubtful ruins, found in 1730, which Ruane ( *Historia general de Cordoba*, i [1761], p. 289) described, are said by Cean, p. 340, to have belonged to an amphitheatre. Hübner saw nothing of the kind. An inscription by a flamen provin(ciae) Baet(icae), who erected statues there edito ob honorem flaminatus munere gladiatorio et duabus lussionib(us), is recorded in Huebner, *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, p. 37, 16. (See note on ii, 77, 30.)]

*Carmo* (Carmona). The MS. report on the excavation in 1885-6 of an amphitheatre here, is to be found, with a plan, in the library of the Academy of History in Madrid; cf. the *Boletin* of the academy, x, 1887, p. 174.

*Italica* (Santiponce near Seville). According to Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, iii, p. 262, the amphitheatre was in great part destroyed by order of the municipality of Seville to provide material for embankments. Cf. Cean, p. 283. It is most accurately described from the latest excavations by Demetrio de los Rios, *Memoria arqueológico-descriptiva del a. de Italica*, Madrid, 1861, with a large plan. Cean has also asserted the existence of amphitheatres at Belonia (Baelo, p. 232) and Malaca (p. 317), but these are quite uncertain.

(c) **Lusitania.**

*Emerita*. Cf. Huebner, *BdI*, 1862, p. 173, L'a. riconoscibile dal profondo avvallamento del terreno e da pezzi difformi di muri ed archi (Laborde, t. 156). L'arena è un campo seminato, il muro esteriore in gran parte venne suppleto dalle circostanti colline. Laborde erroneously considers it a *naumachia*.

[*Bracara Augusta* (Braga). Very uncertain; the remains are described, after Portuguese authors, in Bellermand, p. 252.]

## MAURETANIAE.

*Ad Mercuri* (Djar Djedid). Tissot, *Itinéraire de Tanger à Rbat* (*Bullet. d. l. société d. géogr.*, vi, 12 [1876]), L'amphithéâtre ou plus exactement, je crois, le théâtre qu'avait signalé Davidson et que Mr. Drummond Hay, consul général de l'Angleterre à Tanger, a encore vu en 1842, n'existe plus aujourd'hui, à moins que l'enceinte semicirculaire qu'on remarque non loin d'Aïn Kheil n'en représente les derniers vestiges.

*Portus magnus*. Near Arseu remains of an amphitheatre. Maltzan, *Drei Jahre in NW. von Africa*, ii, 6 (who erroneously identifies Arseu with the ancient Arsenaria).

*Julia Caesarea* (Jol). De Blinière, *Antiquités de la ville de Cherchel* (Algérie), in *Rev. arch.*, v, p. 344: L'enceinte extérieure de l'a. est mieux conservée, j'ai gravi 17 gradins encore en bon état. Cf. *Explor. scientif. de l'Alg.*: *Beaux-Arts*, iii, plate 21, where the amphitheatre is given in the plan of the town, and plates 29, 30 where it is figured as *Hippodrome romain*.

*Sitifis*. Renier, *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 3287 = *CIL*, viii, 8482: four very mutilated fragments of an inscription, among them ANFIT HEATRI.

The theatre (not amphitheatre) at Cuicul (Djemila), *Expl.*



*Beaux-Arts*, i, plate 47, is thought by Ravoisiié, p. 60, to have been used also for gymnastic games and fights with beasts. See below (Khremissa).

#### NUMIDIA.

*Cirta*. Renier, 1825 = *CIL*, viii, 6995 : Divo, Pertinaci Aug. patri L. Scantius L. fil. Quir. Julianus eq. pub. exornatus statuam quam promisit, ex redivibus locorum amphitheatri diei muneris quem de liberalitate sua ob honorem iiviratus edidit dedit.

*Rusicade* (Philippeville). *Expl. scientif. de l'Alg.*, *Beaux-Arts*, ii, plates 56-9. Cf. *Rev. arch.*, i, 814 (only one tier of galleries). This amphitheatre is mentioned in the local inscription, Renier, 2175 = *CIL*, viii, 7983.

*Tipasa*? Dureau de la Malle, *Recueil des renseignements sur la province de Constantine*, p. 204 : Entre Tiffereh et Guelma Hebenstreit (*Nouv. Ann. de Voy. A.*, 46, p. 58) a vu les débris d'une grande ville ancienne, de superbes portiques bien alignés, des colonnes de marbre, des palais encore debout, un amphithéâtre de 150 pas de diamètre, dont 10 rangs sont intacts, le tout en grosses pierres de taille. Les Maures appellent ce lieu Hamisa, probablement parcequ'il est situé sur l'Hamise ; c'est je crois la colonie romaine de Tipasa.

[In the Arab village of Khremissa (S. of Bona, E. of Constantine, about 40 miles from both places) are the ruins of a Roman town, including a theatre, in which, just as at Cuicul, an arena for beasts and athletic contests might have been provided by removing the *proscenium*, which was presumably built of wood. (Cf. Juliobona.) So A. De la Mare, *Excursion aux ruines de Khremissa*, in *Rev. archéol.*, xii, p. 644.]

*Lambaesis*. *Mémoire de la société nationale des antiquaires de la France*. Troisième série, t. i (1852). De La Mare, *Recherches sur la ville de Lambèse*, p. 34 : À 800 mètres du pretorium se trouve l'amphithéâtre. Ce monument assez bien conservé, n'a pu être étudié ; il a 104 mètres de diamètre ; ses gradins, de forme elliptique et au nombre de 15-20, sont un peu dérangés et inclinés vers le centre, comme s'ils avaient été légèrement secoués par un tremblement de terre. On y compte 14 portes cintrées de 2 à 3 mètres de large, plusieurs ont conservé leurs arceaux en bon état. On y voit aussi deux passages en voûtes inclinées, qui conduisent de l'extérieur au sol intérieures de l'édifice, lequel se trouve en contre-bas du terrain environnant. Cet amphithéâtre a été vu par Peyssonel, qui estime assez bien sa circonférence à 300 pas. On the benches are inscriptions of curule names (Antoniniana Augusta Saturnia Trajana) Renier, *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 185 = *CIL*, viii, 3293.

*Thamugadi*. *CIL*, viii, p. 951 ad 2392. Bruce, 1765, 'between the arch and amphitheatre are the remains of a temple'.

'Dans les ruines près du caravanseraï d'El-Outaïa entre Batna et Biskara' (*Masarfelta* ?) : Imp. Caesares M. Aurelius Antoninus et L. Aurelius Commodus (*nomen abrasum*) Augg. Germanici Sarmatici fortissimi amphitheatrum vetustate corruptum a solo restituerunt per coh. VI Commag. A. Julio Pompilio Pisone Laevilio leg. Aug. pr. pr. curante Aelio Sereno praef. Henzen, 6597 = *CIL*, viii, 2488.

*Theveste.* *Annuaire de la société archéologique de la province de Constantine*, 1858-9 (in a paper by Moll, *capitaine du génie*, Tébessa = Theveste), p. 40 ff.: le cirque est situé du côté seul de l'ancienne ville . . . une arène circulaire de 45-50 mètres de diamètre était environnée d'un massif de maçonnerie, qui se terminait intérieurement par 15 ou 16 rangées de gradins en pierres de taille . . . deux entrées conduisaient dans l'intérieur de l'arène, elles étaient placées vis-à-vis l'une de l'autre, aux extrémités d'un même diamètre . . . au général le cirque de Th. est dans un mauvais état de conservation . . . sans avancer une date précise, nous pouvons affirmer, que l'amphithéâtre de Th. a été construit entre les années 75 et 80 après J.-C.

#### AFRICA.

As the work of V. Guérin, *Voyage archéologique dans la régence de Tunis*, 1862, contains by far the most numerous and important statements regarding the amphitheatres of this province, I follow his order.

*Carthago.* Guérin, i, p. 37, Dans le petit village de Malga on passe auprès des ruines d'un a., ruines fort peu importantes actuellement, mais qui par la configuration même du terrain, laquelle offre une excavation évidemment artificielle, ne laissent aucun doute sur la nature du monument dont il s'agit. G. considers the estimate of Falbe, *Sur l'emplacement de Carthage* (1833), p. 39 (longer axis of the inner ellipse 240 ft.) more exact than that of Sir Grenville Temple, *Excursions in the Mediterranean*, i, p. 106 (300 × 230 ft., arena 180 × 100). According to Davis, *Carthage and her Remains*, p. 497, it could easily have been filled with water for *naumachiae*. At the time of Abu-Obaïd-el-Bekri (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trad. par Mr. de Slane, p. 105), i.e. in 1082 it was still well preserved: G., p. 39. Guérin and Davis (*op. cit.*, p. 490) give a description by Edrisi in the twelfth century, according to which it was still a magnificent ruin; even Ibn-Alouardi in the fourteenth century and Ibn-Ayas at the beginning of the sixteenth testify to its good preservation (cf. Dureau de la Malle, *Recherche sur la topographie de Carthage*, p. 190). *Expos. tot. mundi*, 62 (*Geogr. l. min.*, ed. Riese, p. 123): In delectabilibus unum solum spectaculum exspectant habitantes (Carthagine), munerum. The epigram of Luxorius de eo qui podium amphitheatrici saliebat (Meyer, *Anthol. lat.*, ii, p. 149, 380) probably refers to the amphitheatre here. For the spectacles of the *sacerdotes provinciae Africae*, which were given here, see the end of this section.

*Thysdrus (El Djemm).* Guérin, i, p. 91 gives a detailed description of the amphitheatre; cf. Pellissier, *Lettre à Mr. Hase*, in *Rev. archéol.*, i, 816. Aimé Rochas, *ib.*, ix, 90 (plate 185). P. Coste and Canina in *Ann. d. Inst. arch.*, 1852, 241 ff. (*Mon. dell'Inst.*, vol. v, tav. xlii-xliv and tav. d'agg. U.). Davis, *Carthage and her Remains*, p. 492 ff. Canina thinks that this amphitheatre was begun by Gordian I., and finished by Gordian III; Pellissier considers that it was never completed. Guérin gives on p. 93 El-Bekri's description: Il est construit de pierres, dont plusieurs ont à-peu-près 25 emfans de long. Sa hauteur est de 24 toises, tout l'intérieur est disposé en gradins depuis la bas jusqu'au haut. According to the

Arabian tradition, the destruction began about 1695 (according to Coste, p. 245, in 1710). Under Mohammed Bey the Arabs had entrenched themselves here during a revolt, and almost entirely destroyed the upper part of the amphitheatre, in order to hurl down the stones upon the besiegers. After the defeat of the rebels, the bey ordered several arcades of the main entrance on the south to be blown up to the level of the ground, so as to prevent a repetition of such acts. Since then the Arabs have continued the demolition, using the stones to build the houses, tombs and marabouts of the adjacent village of El Djemm; and Rochas says they believe that these stones possess the power of expelling scorpions. There are 68 arches in the elliptical wall of the amphitheatre, and three storeys adorned with Corinthian half-columns, and above was formerly an attic with rectangular openings, corresponding to the axes of the arches beneath them. The style is simple and noble. The interior is so choked with rubbish that it is impossible to determine whether it was used for *naumachiae*. There is indeed an opening in the centre, connected with a subterranean channel, which was probably destined to carry off rain-water. The Arabs allege that this channel extends 8 leagues and communicates with the sea. According to Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres*, i, 170 f. a Berber prophetess, who entrenched herself here in the year 73 of the Hejira, and from whom the amphitheatre is called *K'as'r el Kâneha* 'the fortress of the prophetess', is said to have constructed this channel ('along which a great number of horsemen could ride abreast') that she might be able to provision herself from the sea during the siege. Guérin asserts that beneath the arena there is a large vaulted subterranean passage, along which he succeeded in creeping with difficulty about 30 paces, beyond which it was choked up. He thinks it may have led to the cages of the beasts, and he regards (rightly, no doubt) its alleged extension to the sea as fabulous.

*Hadrumentum* (Sousa). Guérin, i, p. 108, quotes the following passage from El-Bekri (*trad. citée*): Deux autres portes de la ville sont du côté de l'occident et regardent le Melâb. Ce vaste édifice de construction antique est posé sur des voûtes très-larges et très-hautes. . . . Autour du Melâb se trouvent un grand nombre de voûtes, communiquant les unes avec les autres. . . . Ce monument tel que El-Bekri le décrit, était très-certainement (?) un amphithéâtre (Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 154, on the other hand inclines to regard it as a theatre.) Il n'en reste plus aujourd'hui le moindre vestige.

*Leptis parva* (Lemta). Guérin, p. 127: Les ruines d'un édifice très-considérable . . . sont désignées par les Arabes sous le nom de Henfra-m'ta-sedjen (le fossé de la prison). En réalité c'était jadis un amphithéâtre. Il avait 340 pas de tour, l'arène mesurait 50 pas de long sur 32 de large. Les galeries sont complètement détruites.

On the east coast of Zeugitana between Leptis minor (Lemta?) and Turris Hannibalis (El Mohedieh?) near a village Dimas an amphitheatre is preserved (43 × 32 metres); it had only one story, and was in the style of that at Philippeville in Algeria. Pellissier, *Lettre à Mr. Hase*, in *Rev. arch.*, i, 814. The same writer (*op. cit.*,



ii, 498) mentions the ruins of a small amphitheatre at Kénais (Tunisia) five miles from Muredina, in the style of that at Dimas.

*Thapsus*. Guérin, i, p. 130 : . . . plus au sud sont les débris d'un amphithéâtre. Il a 460 pas de tour. L'arène mesurait 62 pas de long sur 44 de large ; elle est cultivée, les gradins n'existent plus.

*Oppidum Botrianense* or *Ruspae* (now henchir-Badria, Batria or Botria). Guérin, i, p. 161 : j'aperçois d'abord les restes d'un amphithéâtre. Il est aujourd'hui presque entièrement démoli ; la forme néanmoins est encore très-reconnaissable. L'arène, qui est maintenant cultivée, avait 50 pas de long sur 32 de large. Des espèces de contreforts appuyaient la muraille d'enceinte, qui mesurait environ 320 pas de circonférence.

*Colonia Suffetula* (Sbéitla). Guérin, i, p. 383. L'amphithéâtre . . . est presque circulaire, l'ellipse qu'il détermine, étant peu prononcée. Tous les gradins ont disparu, et il est ruiné de fond en comble. Néanmoins la configuration générale en est encore reconnaissable. Il mesurait 80 pas de long sur 76 de large. *Eph. ép.*, vii, 53 (rep. in *moenibus amphitheatri*).

*Oppidum Mactaritanum* (henchir-Makter). Guérin, i, p. 409 : L'amphithéâtre construit en blocage mesure seulement 160 pas de tour. Les voûtes et les gradins qu'elles soutenaient, n'existent plus.

*Utica* (Bou-Chater). Guérin, ii, p. 6 f. : Un vaste amphithéâtre a été pratiqué dans un ravin naturel, qui offrait de lui même par sa forme elliptique celle qui convient à ces sortes de monuments. Tous les gradins ont été enlevés et quelques débris insignifiants subsistent seuls de cette puissante construction. Elle avait environ 360 pas de circonférence, l'arène mesurait 52 pas de long sur 42 de large. Cf. Pellissier, *Lettre à Mr. Hase, 2de partie*, in *Rev. archéol.*, iii, 399, who makes the circumference 266 metres, and Davis, *Carthage and her Remains*, p. 507, according to whom the arena might easily have been flooded.

*Thuburbo minor* (Tebourba). Guérin, ii, p. 188 : Il ne subsiste plus que la forme encore reconnaissable de son amphithéâtre, dont tous les gradins ont été enlevés, et dont l'arène est actuellement hérissée de broussailles et de cactus.

(*Meraissa*, the name of the ancient city is unknown.) Guérin, ii, p. 214 f. : Creusé dans les flancs d'une colline l'amphithéâtre est, sauf quelques pans de murs, complètement démoli. L'arène mesurait 40 pas de long sur 22 de large.

*Putput* ? (Souk-el-Abyâd). Guérin, ii, p. 262 : on reconnaît les contours d'un amphithéâtre, dont l'arène mesurait environ 55 pas de long sur 45 de large.

*Aurelia Vina* (henchir-el-Meden). Guérin, ii, p. 265 : les vestiges d'un amphithéâtre.

*Uthina* (Oudenah). Guérin, ii, p. 282 f. : Les ruines d'un amphithéâtre. L'arène avait 72 pas de long sur 50 de large. Quatre portes principales donnaient entrée dans ce vaste monument. On avait profité pour le construire d'un bassin naturel formé par un vallon elliptique. Alfonse Rousseau, *Lettre à M. Amédée Jaubert*, in *Revue arch.*, iii, p. 146 : L'amphithéâtre qui est de forme ovale, est placé sur une éminence . . . j'ai estimé sa circonférence 240



pas environ. L'amphithéâtre paraît avoir été creusé par la main d'homme ; son élévation actuelle, qui peut être de 70 m. environ, arrive au niveau du sol. Il ne serait pas impossible qu'il eût servi aussi à des naumachies. . . . Ses restes permettent aisément au visiteur de reconnaître la place des galeries, des tribunes, des vomitoires, etc. Cf. John Jackson, *Account of the Ruins of Carthage and of Udenah in Barbary* (1803), in *Archaeol. Brit.*, xv, p. 151 : 'The (2) principal entrances have been very broad ; there are 16 other entrances for the spectators, 8 on each side, perfectly uniform . . . the whole has been built with hewn stone'.

*Seressita* (henchir-Oum-el-Abouab). Guérin, ii, p. 356 : La forme de l'amphithéâtre est encore reconnaissable ; mais le monument en lui même est presque entièrement détruit, l'arène mesurait 38 pas de long sur 31 de large.

*Tuburbo majus* (henchir-el-Kasbah). Guérin, ii, p. 370 f. : L'amphithéâtre . . . dont la forme seule est reconnaissable, car il est presque entièrement détruit, mesurait 206 pas de circonférence, l'arène avait 40 pas de long sur 25 de large. Tous les gradins ont disparu, ainsi que les voûtes qui les soutenaient. Ruinart, *Acta mart.*, p. 78 : 'the martyrdom of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas is transferred by Valesius to Carthage, and by most writers to Tuburbium'. In these *Acta* the amphitheatre is repeatedly called the scene of the martyrdom.

*Oea*. An amphitheatre must have existed in the town or in its immediate vicinity, according to Apuleius, *Apol.*, c. 98, where he says of his stepson : in ludo quoque gladiatorio frequens visitur, nomina gladiatorum plane quidem ut puer, honeste, ab isto lanista docetur. This is supported by the inscription on a triumphal arch at the place, which was erected by a curator muneris pub. munerarius IIvir qq. flamen perpetuus (*CIL*, viii, 24). Perhaps the spectacles took place in the amphitheatre described by Castiglione, *Mémoire . . . sur la partie orientale de la Barbarie*, p. 18, from the report of an English traveller : à Zavia (Tripoli vecchia) village placé à une journée de marche de Tripoli du côté de Tunis, se trouve un amphithéâtre, qui est encore entier et qui a intérieurement 148 pieds de diamètre.

In these provinces also the most important spectacles must have been those organized by the *sacerdotes provinciae*. *Sacerdotes* and *sacerdotales provinciae Africae* often occur : O. Hirschfeld, *I sacerdoti dei municipii Romani nell' Africa*, *AdI*, xxxviii (1866), p. 69 ff. Because of the spectacles that had to be given the *sacerdotium provinciae Africae* was a great burden (Henzen, 6904 = *CIL*, vi, 1, 1736 [A.D. 362]). That among these were amphitheatral shows is expressly testified by Augustine, *Epp. ad Marcellin.*, 138(5) : Apuleius, cui sacerdoti provinciae permagno fuit, ut munera ederet venatoresque vestiret. These spectacles were at Carthage : *Cod. Theod.*, xii, 1, 145, 176 ; xvi, 10, 20 ; at what intervals they were repeated is unknown, but they took place late in October, probably beginning on the 26th ; cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 71. Besides these there were evidently very frequently *munera* in the several cities on various occasions. *CIL*, viii, 24 (*Oea*) : curator muneris pub. munerarius IIvir qq. flamen perpetuus. 1270 (*Chisiduo*) : aedilis

et munerarii item duoviru (*sic*) et munerarius. 4418 (Lambiridi) : duumviralicius mun(erarius) Lambiridi(tanus). 969 (col. Julia Neapolis a. 400 (401) : ex mun(erario). 1225 (col. Septimia Vaga) : aedilis ac sac. IIvir qq. II. cur. muner. Lup(iani). 6995 (Cirta) : diei muneris quem de liberalitate sua ob honorem IIIviratus edidit. *Eph. ep.*, vii, 145 (colonia Julia Curubis) : [quod in vicem . . . . patris IIviri et . . . fratri]s IIviri (duobu)s annis munera fec. *CIL*, viii, 4681 (Madaura) : aed. IIvir. q. fl. pp. sac. Liberi patris—admod(um) largus munidator. 1888 (Theveste) : ob honorem flamonii annui. 5276 (ager Hipponensis) : a mil. flam. Aug. pp. pontifici IIvir(o) ob magnificentiam gladiatorii muneris quod civibus suis triduo edidit. 8324 (Cuicul) : Pro beatitudine—Valentiniani Valentis adq(ue) Gratiani—NN. v. c. pro editione muneris debiti. 7969 (Rusicade) : pro salute imp. Caes. (187 A.D.) 241 (Suffetula) Marcellus—medica nobilis arte—cum cuncta parasset edendo, placiturus tertium muneris (diem *i.e.* per tres dies ?)—obiit. 1887 (Theveste) :—mun. qui(nque dierum cum) occisioni(bus ferarum). 857 (Tuburbo majus) ob edit[ionem]. *Eph. ep.*, vii, 720 (Rusicade) :—in muneribus editione promtas liberalitates.

### (b) THE EAST.

For these provinces I have not only catalogued the scanty records of amphitheatres, but also the notices known to me of amphitheatral games. Cf. *Programm der Königsb. Universität*, 1860, vi, *De propagatione munerum ac venationum per Graeciam et Orientem*.

#### ACHAIA.

*Corinthus*. The only city of Greece in which there is certain proof of an amphitheatre ; for the notices of Cyriacus, that an inscription (pp. xviii, 129, *CIG*, 1108) ad amphitheatrum has been found at Sicyon, and another (*CIL*, i, 526) in pariete amphitheatri at Delphi, are by no means trustworthy. Curtius, *Peloponnes*, ii, 222 also mentions a small brick building at Sparta, the inner diameter of which is about 100 ft., and the whole 180 ft. ; ' it seems to have been an amphitheatre of Roman Sparta, intended for musical and other performances '. Cf. Welcker, *Tagebuch einer griech. Reise*, i, 217 (in Kiepert's map a circular *circus* in a corner of the Issorion) and ii, 113. Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenl.*, ii, 126 regards it as an *Odeion* belonging to the *temenos* of Dionysos. Pausanias, as Maffei remarks (*Verona illustr.*, iv, p. 59), mentions no amphitheatre in Greece, not even at Corinth, and it must at least remain uncertain whether the one there was yet built in his time. It lies, according to Curtius, *op. cit.*, ii, 527, east of the new town at the foot of the hill, and is ' entirely built into an artificially enlarged depression in the rocky surface, so that one does not see it until one stands immediately above the top of the benches '. Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenl.*, ii, 15. Cf. the full description by Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, p. 264 f. Curtius thinks that it was already mentioned by Dio Chrysostom, who says (*Or.*, xxxi, p. 591, 78, ed. Dindorf, p. 385) that the Corinthians saw gladiatorial games ἐξω τῆς πόλεως—ἐν χαράδρᾳ τινί, πλῆθος μὲν δυναμένῳ δέξασθαι

τόπω, ὅνπαρῶ δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ὅπου μηδεὶς ἂν μὴδὲ θάψειε μηδένα τῶν ἐλευθέρων. That Dio refers to the place where the amphitheatre stands may be true, but he would hardly have expressed himself thus if the building were already in existence, which according to the *Exp. tot. mundi*, 52 (*Geogr. l. m.*, ed. Riese 118, 19) was an *opus praecipuum* in the fourth century. For the spectacles here cf. also Apuleius, *Metam.*, x, c. 18, where a *thiasus* promises a three days' *munus* at the festival celebrating the beginning of the *quinquennialitas*; also Julian, *Epp.*, 35 (the Argives were compelled to contribute to the cost of the gladiatorial games and *venationes* of the Corinthians, who are not ἐς χορήγησιν ἀγώνων γυμνικῶν ἢ μουσικῶν τῶν πολλῶν δέονται χρημάτων. ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ κυνηγέσια τὰ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπιτελούμενα ἄρκτους καὶ παρδάλεις ὠνοῦνται). Cf. the inscription of Corinthian *venatores*, CIG, 1106, quoted below in note on ii, 56, 24).<sup>1</sup>

*Athenae.* Lucian, *Demon.*, 57: 'Ἀθηναίων δὲ σκεπτομένων κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν πρὸς Κορινθίους καταστήσασθαι θέαν μονομάχων, προελθὼν εἰς αὐτοὺς, Μὴ πρότερον, ἔφη, ταῦτα, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ψηφίσθηθε, ἂν μὴ τοῦ Ἑλέου τὸν βωμὸν καθέλητε. When Dio of Prusa delivered his Rhodian oration<sup>2</sup>, gladiatorial games had already been introduced into Athens. Dio, *Orat.*, xxxi, p. 630 R.: οἷον εὐθὺς τὰ περὶ τοὺς μονομάχους οὕτω σφόδρα ἐξηλώκασιν Κορινθίους, μᾶλλον δ' ὑπερβεβλήκασιν τῇ κακοδαμονίᾳ κάκεινους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὥστε οἱ Κορινθιοὶ μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως θεωροῦσιν ἐν χαράδρῳ τινί, πλήθος μὲν δυναμένῳ δέξασθαι τόπω, ὅνπαρῶ δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ὅπου μηδεὶς ἂν μὴδὲ θάψειε μηδένα τῶν ἐλευθέρων, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ θεῶνται τὴν καλὴν ταύτην θέαν ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὗ τὸν Δίονυσον ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν τιθέασιν· ὥστε πολλάκις ἐν αὐτοῖς τινα σφάττεσθαι τοῖς θρόνοις, οὗ τὸν ἱεροφάντην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱερεῖς ἀνάγκη καθίζειν. 'In the theatre of Dionysos there runs before the steps on which the thrones stand a marble balustrade of rough construction about 3 ft. 5 in. high, probably dating from the Roman period when gladiatorial games were held in the orchestra'. A. Müller, *Scenische Alterthümer*, in *Philologus*, xxiii, 494. Dio continues, καὶ τὸν εἰπόντα περὶ τούτου φιλόσοφον καὶ νοθετήσαντα αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀπεδέξαντο οὐδὲ ἐπήνεσαν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐδυσχέραναν, ὥστε ἐκείνον ὄντα μὲν γένει Ῥωμαίων μηδενὸς ὕστερον, δόξαν δὲ τηλικαύτην ἔχοντα ἡλικίης οὐδεὶς ἐκ πάντων πολλοῦ τετύχηκεν, ὁμολογοῦντων δὲ μόνον μάλιστα μετὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἀκολούθως βεβιωκέναι τοῖς λόγοις, καταλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐλῆσθαι διατρίβειν ἀλλαχόσε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. The philosopher referred to here cannot possibly be Demonax, if the latter's period is to be dated between 50 and 150 or even later. Zeller, *Gesch. d. Philos. d. Griechen*, iii, 1, 691, 6. It might, however, be Apollonius of Tyana, to whom Philostratus, *Vit.* i, 4, attributes a very ancient lineage. *Ibid.*, iv, 22: Διωρθοῦτο δὲ κάκεινο Ἀθήνησιν· οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξυνιόντες ἐς θεάτρον τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκρόπόλει προσεῖχον σφαγαῖς ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐσπουδάξτε ταῦτα ἐκεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν Κορίνθῳ νῦν, χρημάτων τε μεγάλων ἐωνημένοι ἤγοντο μοιχοὶ καὶ πόρνοι καὶ τοιχωρύχοι καὶ βαλαντιοτόμοι καὶ ἀνδραποδισταὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐθνη, οἱ δ' ὥπλιζον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκέλευον ξυμπίπτειν. ἐλάβετο δὲ καὶ τούτων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ καλοῦντων αὐτὸν ἐς

<sup>1</sup> For the plan of the Venetian *Provveditore* F. Grimani to use the amphitheatre of Corinth as a plague lazaretto (1701); cf. Spyr. P. Lampros, *Das korinthische Amphitheater*, in *Mitth. d. dtsch. archäol. Instituts zu Athen*, ii (1877), pp. 282-8, with plate xix.

<sup>2</sup> Marquardt, *StV.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 349, 2.



ἐκκλησίαν Ἀθηναίων, οὐκ ἂν ἔφη παρελθεῖν ἐς χωρίον ἀκάθαρτον καὶ λύθρου μεστόν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ἐπιστολῇ. If this happened under Nero, according to the quite untrustworthy narrative of Philostratus, it would be necessary to assume that Demonax only attempted to deter the Athenians from a reintroduction of the spectacle, which had been discontinued for a considerable time.

*Megara.* CIG, 1058 = Lebas-Waddington, ii, 43 (with a few certain restorations of the text: Γάϊον Κούρτιον Πρόκλον . . . Κουρτίου Πρόκλου υἱὸν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγνωσθέντων Πυθαίων καὶ συστράτηγον καὶ ἀγορανόμον φιλοτειμησάμενον μονομάχων ζεύγῃ κ— πρώτον Πανέλληνα (i.e. president of the deputies of Megara to the council of Panhellenes set up by Hadrian. The inscription is of the time of Antoninus Pius).

*Plataeae.* Apuleius, *Metam.*, iv, c. 13: Ibi famam celebrem super quodam nomine Demochare munus edituro gladiatorium deprehendimus. Nam vir et genere primarius et opibus pluribus et liberalitate praecipuus, digno fortunae suae splendore publicas voluptates instruebat. . . Gladiatores isti famosae manus, venatores illi probatae pernicitatis: alibi noxii perdita securitate suis epulis bestiarum saginas instruantes. . . Qui praeterea numerus, quae facies ferarum? Nam praecipuo studio, forensi etiam, advexerat generosa illa damnatorum capitum funera, etc.

*Thessalia.* Hither journeys Thiasus, nobilissimas feras et famosos inde gladiatores comparaturus. Apuleius, *Metam.*, x, c. 18.

*Larissa.* *Id. ib.*, i, c. 7: a pedlar goes there to see a gladiatorium spectaculum satis famigerabile.

## MACEDONIA.

*Dyrrhachium.* CIL, iii, 1, 607: . . . gladiatorib. p[aribus] xii edi[dit]. Heuzey et Daumet, *Mission archéol. en Macédoine* (1876), p. 383 (pl. 27, p. 4 and 30): reliefs of gladiators.

*Thessalonice.* Heuzey, *op. cit.*, p. 274, no. 112 (inscription of 143 A.D.): announcement of three days' *κυνήγια* καὶ *μονομαχίαι*, in accordance with the will and testament of a certain Herennia . . . Hispana, to begin on the 13th of March. Lucian, *Lucius s. asinus*, 49: ὁ δὲ Μενεκλῆς ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν . . . ἐκ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης δεῦρο ἔλθῃ λυθεῖ ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη· ὑπέσχετο τῇ πατρίδι θεῶν παρέξειν ἀνδρῶν ὅπλοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους *μονομαχεῖν* εἰδότην. *Ἀθέατρον* is the scene of the spectacle, in which one of the performers is to be a woman, *ἥτις κατεκρίτο θηρίοις ἀποθανεῖν* (52), and the narrator fears *μὴ* *ποῦ ἄρκτος ἢ λέων ἀναπηδήσεται* (53). That there was no amphitheatre here is inferred by Maffei, *Verona illust.*, iv, 67 from the *Acta S. Demetrii* (Mabillon, *Annal.*, cf. Tafel, *De Thessalonice*, p. xlii ff.) where it is said of the gladiatorial games of Maximianus; illic enim parabatur per quasdam tabulas circulus circumseptus. Ad. de Longpérier, *Rev. archéol.*, vi, p. 198 describes the *stèle* of a *retiarius* found here. According to the emendation of Kaibel, *De monumentor. aliquot Graecor. carminib.*, p. 40, the inscription runs Εὐφράτης παῖς ἦλθον, ἔθ' αἱ *πλοκαμείδες* ἐπῆσαν, Ἐξάκι νικήσας πατρίδ' ἐπηνυκλῆσα. Tombstone of a *secutor* in *Mitth. d. deutsch. archäol. Inst. in Athen*, x (1885), p. 15, 1: Τ. Φλαοῖος Σάτυρος Νεικηφόρῳ Συνέτον Λακεδαιμονίῳ τῷ καὶ Ναρκίσσῳ σεκούτορι τὸ ἡρώων κ.τ.λ.

*Philippopolis.* The sepulchral inscription found here, CIL, iii, 1,



659 = Orelli, 3746, was erected by a *IIvir et munerarius* to his son ; cf. *CIL*, iii, 1, 660 (*muner[arius] iterum [fla]men D[ivi] Vespasi[ani]*) Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 529 : sepulchral inscription of a gladiator—*Βίκτωρ Σκευᾶς* (Scaeva, see note on ii, 57, l. 16). He was of Thessalonica, and fell at the hands of *Ιλίννας*, who in his turn was slain by the *σύνοπλος Πολυνείκης*.

## THRACIA.

*Constantinopolis*. Bock, *L'amph. de Constantinople* (Bruxelles, 1849) assumes, apparently without reason, that the amphitheatre which according to the *Chronicon Paschale*, i, p. 495 was built by Severus at Byzantium (*κυνήγιον* (*sic*) *μέγα πάννυ*) was only a theatre with arrangements for gladiatorial combats. In Codin., *De Signis*, 6, p. 31, ed. Bonn (cited by Suidas, s. *κυνήγιον* : *ἐν τῷ κ. τὸ πρῶτον ἐρρίπτοντο οἱ βιοθάνατοι κ τ.λ.*), mention is made of *Μαξιμῖνος ὁ κτίσας* (*τὸ κυνήγιον*). In the old description of the city in Panciroli, *Notit. dign. utr. imp.*, p. 259 the amphitheatre in the *regio secunda* is mentioned (at the end of the Golden Horn ; cf. Fries, *Byzantium*, *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 2620). Cf. *Cod. Theod.*, xiv, 6, 5 (419 A.D.) : *inter amphitheatrum et D. Juliani portum per littus maris*. According to Bock, p. 36, the latest mention of the amphitheatre occurs in the twelfth century : Banduri, *Imp. orient.*, ed. Paris, p. 26. Sepulchral relief of a *Samnis* (*Ποπλᾶρις τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ μνείας χάριν* from the Dardanelles : Gurlitt, *Antike Denkm., etc.*, in *Epigr. archäol. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, i, 7.

## CRETA AND THE OTHER ISLANDS.

**Creta.** Maffei, *Verona ill.*, iv, p. 62, cites a MS. *Trattato dell' isola di Candia* by Onorio Belli Vicentino, who went thither in 1583 as physician to the *provveditore generale* (l'opera è scritta con erudizione e con senno, e non si ha sopra quel paese alle stampe cosa di gran lunga paragonabile). According to Magrini, *Scritture inedite in materie di architettura* (Padova, 1847), p. 10, this treatise is lost ; the two letters of Belli there printed only deal with theatres and temples. He maintained that besides seven theatres he had discovered five amphitheatres, and he gives views of two. Of the one at *Gortyn*, ch'ei rappresenta secondo il costume con pianta affatto simile a quella del Coliseo Romano nel portico raddoppiato e nelle quattro vie diametrali, benchè poi di soli archi 56, dice ch'era tutto di mattoni e senza nissun ornamento d'architettura. L'altro dice ch'era a Gerapetra (*Hierapytna*). It is said to be partly hewn out of two hillsides, and completed in elliptical form with six contraforti di muraglia soda senza ornamento. Maffei, who was generally inclined to call in question even the most trustworthy reports on amphitheatres, admitted that this information might be correct, as he relied on the judgment 'd'un uom si intendente e sensato'. The existence of the amphitheatre at Hierapytna is confirmed by G. Perrot (*Rev. des deux mondes*, 1864, p. 1004, and *L'île de Crète* [1867], p. 123). It is 60 paces in diameter. No tiers of seats now exist. Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, ii, 578.

**Melos.** The statement in *CIG*, 2432 : In Melo in marmore supra amphitheatrum, is hardly worth notice.

**Lesbos.** Inscription on the common tomb of a gladiator *familia*

at Mitylene (*CIG*, ii, *Add.*, 2194 b, p. 1028): *φαιλία μονομάχων πατρ.* (?) *Κλαν. Τρυφωνιανου νέου καὶ ἀρχιερείας Ὀρφίας Λαυλίας* [*Σ* or *Ζ*] *ωτίου γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ*. Probably Claudius Tryphonianus was a chief priest, and that they provided games in Lesbos, as elsewhere, is shown by inscriptions 2184-94. According to Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, p. 5, there are to be seen in the bell-tower of the castle of Mitylene four stones, each with the figure of an armed gladiator holding his shield before him, and with illegible inscriptions. Two other stones in the same place show sculptures in relief of *bestiarii* fighting with lions. By the *thermae* (where also is the inscription quoted above) there is a stone which beneath the name "Ελιξ displays a rude relief of a bull goring a prostrate man. *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1842, *tav. d'agg.* Q. Tombstone of *Πολύδρομος*, a gladiator *Mithh.* d. *Archäol. Instit. zu Athen*, xi (1886), 273, 17.

**Thasos.** *CIG*, 2164: inscription of the gladiators (*myrmillones* and *essedarii* of a certain Hecataea, from which, however, it can by no means be concluded that gladiatorial games were held here, as islands (e.g. Cos, *CIG*, 2511) were often chosen for the residence of 'families' of gladiators.

#### ASIA AND THE OTHER ANATOLIAN PROVINCES.

In the Asiatic countries, as elsewhere, the most important spectacles were those organized by the provincial associations (*Communia*, *κοινά*) of the separate provinces under the lead and at the cost of the priests who presided over them: cf. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 503 ff., and Kuhn, *Verfassung des Röm. Reichs*, i, 111-115.<sup>1</sup> The last mention of these games is in the year 465, when the gladiatorial combats had long ceased: *Cod. Just.*, l. un. de officio comit. Orientis (*Cod. I.T.*, xxxvi). There is ample evidence that gladiators were exhibited at these games in earlier centuries. A document written by the emperor Alexander Severus (*Cod. Just.*, x, 61) expressly mentions gladiatorial games given by the high priests of the provinces, as does the account of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp (in the year 155; cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 514 note), in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, iv, 15, p. 135, 27, ed. Schwegler; Ruinart, *Acta mart.*, p. 42; Rufinus translates *Ἀσιάρχης munerarius* (Kuhn, *loc. cit.*). Hence gladiatorial families are often found in the inscriptions as possessions of these priests (*CIG*, 2511, 3213, 3677; ii, 2194b, 2759b). Galen relates that after the completion of his medical studies at Alexandria he was appointed by the high priest of Pergamus (158-164) physician to his gladiators, and employed a new method of treatment: *κατὰ τύχην δὲ πολλῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἔτεσιν ἐμοὶ δὲ οὔτε τῶν ὡς εἴρηται τετρωμένων ἀποθανόντος τινὸς οὔτ' ἐξ ἄλλου τραύματος*. In consequence of this, he says he was chosen for the same office by succeeding high priests: *De compos. medicam. p. genera, lib. iii*, cap. 2, ed. Kuehn, v. xiii, p. 599; cf. ed. Kuehn, xiii, 564; xviii B, 561 (which shows that these games took place in summer).

<sup>1</sup> According to Monceaux, *De communi Asiae provinciae* (Paris, 1885), pp. 56-67, the *Ἀσιάρχης* was the *ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας* holding office in the year of the great provincial games, which he organized at his own expense. These games were held at the same periods as the Olympic and Actian games.

The gladiatorial schools were doubtless generally in the cities in which the provincial festivals were held. Such schools were found in fact at Smyrna, Philadelphia, Cyzicus and Pergamus, all cities of this kind; cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 513; *id.*, *De concil. et sacerdotibus prov.*, in *Ephem. epigr.*, 1872, p. 209; Monceaux, *l.l.*, p. 38. But citizens of other cities belonging to the festal association were also eligible for the priesthood, and they could keep and train their gladiators at their own places of residence or at other convenient places. If therefore monuments relating to gladiators are found in a place, the most that can be asserted is that there was a school there, but not that gladiatorial games were held there. There is no doubt that in many cities gladiatorial games took place on many other occasions besides the festivals of the provincial associations. On the imperial gladiators in these provinces and in Cyprus, cf. ii, 54, 26 and note.

The following places, arranged according to provinces, are those for which there is evidence of amphitheatral shows or of matters connected therewith.<sup>1</sup>

**Caria.** *Cos.* *CIG*, 2511: *φамиλία μονομάχων καὶ ὑπόμνημα κνηγεσίων Νεμερίου Καστρικίου, Λευκίου, Πακωνιανοῦ, Ἀσιάρχου, καὶ Ἀυρηλίας Σαφφούς, Πλάτωνος, Λικιννιανῆς, ἀρχιερείας, γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.* Biagi rightly refers this to a common burial-place of the gladiators and *venatores* belonging to the married couple, such as are to be found elsewhere (*CIG*, 3942 and *IRN*, 736 = *CIL*, ix, 465). Presumably the residence of the Asiarch was Halicarnassus, and he had merely chosen the island of Cos as a place of abode or of burial for his gladiators.

*Halicarnassus.* *CIG*, 2663, inscription of a *retiarius* regarding gifts which he offered to the goddess Nemesis.

*Stratonicea.* *CIG*, 2719, inscription of one T. Flavius, Leontis f. Quir. Aeneas, *ἀρχιερατεύσαντος μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐν ᾗ ἀρχιερωσύνη καὶ μονομαχίας καὶ κνηγεσίας ἐπετέλεσεν*, according to Böckh of the age of the Antonines. What highpriesthood is here meant is uncertain; cf. Marquardt, p. 513.

*Caryanda.* The inscription here, mentioning a bull-fight and a *κυνήγιον* is referred by the editor, Lebas-Waddington, 499, to the pre-Christian period.

*Mylasa.* Cousin and Diehl, *Inscr. de M.* (in *Bull. de corresp. Hellén.*, 1888, p. 11 f.). A very mutilated honorary decree for an *ἀρχιερεύς* (l. 19 *ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχιερατείας χρόνῳ*) who among other things had given gladiatorial games. L. 8: *πάντες τοὺς ὑποπεσόντας μονομά-* (9) *[χους τοῦ]ς τε σὺν τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐξοπλάσιαις (sic) ἀναλωμέ(10)νοις . . . δ]ιὰ τῶν καὶ ἄλλων μονομάχων τριῶν (?) τοῖς μὲν κ.τ.λ.* L. 16 . . . *διδασχῇ ποικίλῃ καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ὀπλισμοῦ διακρί[τους (?)]* . . .

*Miletus.* *CIG*, 2880, inscription of a prophet of the temple of Branchidae, a son *ἀρχιερέων τῶν Σεβαστῶν* (probably = Asiarchs, cf. Marquardt, *loc. cit.*) *ποιησάντων θεωρίας ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ μονομαχίας ἀποτόμους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δεκαδύο* (Also in *CIG*, 3422 a wild beast fight is praised as *ἀπότομος*, as in the inscription at Minturnae, *CIL*, x, 6012, see vol. ii, 83, l. 37. *CIG*, 2889 contains a list of three *murmillo*nes, two *Thraeces* and one gladiator who fought from a chariot, belonging apparently to two masters, Samia and Eucarpus;

<sup>1</sup> As the documents are mainly taken from the *CIG*, I follow the order of that collection.



the numbers of their victories (ΝΙ) and crowns (ΣΤ) are added to their names; ΕΛΕΤ which occurs twice does not, I think, denote ἐλεύθερος (Böckh) but ἐλευθερωθείς (liberatus); see note on ii, 51, l. 26). An epitaph: Ἀβάσκαντε πρωβοκάτωρ χρηστέ χαῖρε. Rayet, *Inscr. inéd. d. trouvées à Milète*, in *Rev. archéol.*, N.S., xv, 28 (1874), p. 112.

*Tralles*. Inscription in a burial-place for gladiators: Μονομάχαι Ποπλίου Λουκιλίου Πεισωνίνου. Lebas-Waddington, 615. Epitaphs on individual gladiators, CIG, 2942 b and c = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 290 and 291.

*Nysa*. The amphitheatre, described by Strabo, xiv, p. 639, lay, like that of Corinth, ἐν χαράδρᾳ.

*Aphrodisias*. CIG, ii, *Add.*, p. 1109, no. 2753 b: φαμίλια Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ὑψικλέους τοῦ Ὑψικλέους τοῦ φύσει Ζήνωνος Ὑψικλέους, ἀρχιερέως. μονομάχων καὶ καταδικῶν καὶ ταυροκαθαπτῶν. Texier, *Asie mineure* (Didot, 1862), p. 647: à l'une des extrémités (of the *stadion*) on voit a fleur de terre un mur circulaire, qui paraît avoir formé un petit amphithéâtre, dont la construction est du temps de la décadence. Je ne mentionne ce fait que parceque j'ai trouvé de semblables constructions dans deux autres stades que j'ai mesurés sur les côtes d'Asie, celui de Perga et celui d'Aspendus. I am indebted to my colleague G. Hirschfeld for this notice.

*Lydia*. *Smyrna*. CIG, 3123: φαμίλια μονομάχων Λ. Τίμωνος Ἀσιάρχου νεωτέρου; also inscriptions of individual gladiators: 3275 (*retiarii*); 3291 ἵπποδιώκτης seems to be rightly taken by Böckh for a gladiator); 3368; 3374 (*Thraeces*); 3392 (*murmiliones*). Also a relief, found in Spiegelthal's excavations, a wild-beast tamer with a panther (*Programm der Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1860, vi) seems to have been found near Smyrna. A representation of *venationes* and gladiators ("Ἰστρος, Εὐρώτας) in the Gonzenbach collection. Stark, *Nach d. griech. Orient*, pp. 173 ff., 374 ff. Keller, *Thiere d. klass. Alterth.* p. 70. According to Eusebius the martyrdom of St Polycarp took place in the στάδιον (according to Jerome *De viris illustribus*, xvii, ed. Villars ii, 858, in amphitheatro). Maffei, *Degli anfit.*, p. 91: Equivoco però prese, com'è solito, nelle reliquie d'antichi edifizj Tomaso Smith, che nelle notizie delle chiese d'Asia disse vedersi a Smirna avanti di tale anfiteatro.

*Philadelphia*. CIG, 3422 (apparently of the age of the Aurelian emperors):—ἀρχιερασάμενον καὶ δόντα κοντροκνηγέσιον ἐνόζυγον ἀπότομον ἐκ θείας φιλοδορίας. Francke explains rightly as I think: fight of a single wild beast fighter or of several individuals with one beast each, the men being armed with κοντάρια or hunting javelins. Cf. p. 180.

*Cyzicus*. Texier, *Description de l'Asie mineure*, ii, p. 174: Une rivière qui prend sa source dans un des acrotères du Dindymon, forme à l'ouest une vallée assez profonde, sur laquelle est placé l'amphithéâtre, qui s'appuie sur les deux mamelons inférieurs. Il n'est guère possible que dans l'antiquité ce ruisseau ait eu un autre cours; par conséquent il passait sous l'arène de l'amphithéâtre, ce qui me porte à penser qu'elle était construite en bois. . . . Les vomitoires sont au nombre de 32; la plupart de deux du rez-de-chaussée sont encore conservés; ils sont construits en blocs de granit à bossage; mais cet ouvrage est très-peu soigné, et annoncerait



plutôt l'époque de Gallien, qui celles des Antonins . . . cet édifice est indigne de la renommée de Cyzique. Il n'y avait pas de portique extérieur ; les vomitoires conduisaient directement aux précincts. Plate 106 gives a view (Il ne reste plus dans l'intérieur que les massifs que supportaient les gradins. . . . L'amphithéâtre de Cyzique ressemblait beaucoup, comme disposition, à celui de Fréjus). Perrot and Guillaume, *Explor. de la Galatie et de la Bithynie*, p. 74 : On distingue encore deux rangs d'arcades superposées. The building was erected in haste, chiefly with older materials including *stelae*, the examination of which gives the date of erection at about the middle of the third century, at which time the Romanization of the city had proceeded very far, as is shown by the extant lists of names. On the exterior it seems not to have had the slightest architectural ornament, yet it was one of the largest amphitheatres. According to Texier (ii, 227) the amphitheatres of Cyzicus and Pergamus are the only ones in Asia Minor. The ruined circus which could be flooded, mentioned by Marquardt (*Kyzikos*, p. 148) is probably the amphitheatre. CIG, 3677 monument of a *familia* of gladiators belonging to an Asiarch, Aurelius Gratus and his wife, who was a highpriestess. Inscription of a *Thraex* in *Rev. arch.*, 1846, 2 ff. Epitaph on a certain Danaus δεύτερος πάλος Θρακῶν (έννεάκκις πυκτεύσας ᾤχετο εἰς Ἀϊδὸν). Lebas-Waddington, 1757.

**Mysia.** *Pergamus*. Detailed description of the amphitheatre in Texier, ii, pp. 227-230, cf. pls. 120, 121. The natives call the ruin Gun-ghel-mess, i.e. le jour n'y vient point, à cause des galeries souterraines. . . . Il est établi sur un ravin profond, dans lequel coule un ruisseau qui forme un des affluents du Selinus ; all this proves that the arena could be flooded. It has the same proportions as that of the small amphitheatre at Cimiez (Cemenelum), an indication of the unpopularity of amphitheatral shows in Asia Minor. There are no traces of stone benches, although the rock-walls on both sides of the ravine are slightly cut into steps ; probably the wooden benches rested on these steps. L'édifice est bâti avec une simplicité toute rustique ; mais . . . dans son ensemble cet amphithéâtre devait présenter une belle et sévère composition. Cf. Donaldson, *Architectura numism.*, p. 149. Welcker, *Tagebuch einer griechischen Reise*, ii, 195, also the passages from Galen cited above (p. 246), and Aristides, *Orat.*, xxv, p. 324, ed. Jebb : θεωρία τις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει πάνυ λαμπρά, ἣ ταύρων θήρα μοι δοκεῖν ἢ τι τοιοῦτον. Epitaph on a gladiator, Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, *Add.*, 333 a.

**Phrygia.** *Laodicea ad Lycum*. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, vi, 3, 9. CIG, 3935 : Νεικόστρατος Λευκίου τοῦ Νεικοστράτου νεώτερος τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον λευκόλιθον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν . . . καθιερώσαντος Μάρκου Οὐλλπιανοῦ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου (father of the emperor, 79 A.D.). Cf. 3936 and 3982 : μνημα μονομάχων τῶν δοθέντων ὑπὸ ἀρχιερέως καὶ στεφανηφόρου Διοκλέους τοῦ Μηναφίλου.

CIG, 3905 is said to have been found at *Hierapolis* 'inter rudera amphitheatri'. Kaibel, *l.l.*, 389 (epitaph) εἰδεῖω ἀνδρὶ θηροτρόφῳ.

CIG, 3847 b (vol. iii, *Add.*), of uncertain origin, ascribed to the city of *Nacolea*, contains the words κινήγιον πολυτελές καὶ παράδοξον.

**Bithynia.** *Nicaea*. CIG, 3674 (monument to a *retiaris*), probably also the similar inscription 3675. Cf. *Nicomedia*.

*Nicomedia.* Pliny, *Epp. ad Traj.*, 31 sq.: to Trajan regarding the criminals who were condemned in *ludum* here and at Nicæa. See vol. ii, 44, l. 14.

**Galatia.** *Ancyra.* On the left door-post of the temple of Augustus is a list (CIG, 4093) of the five years' games which Γαλατῶν τὸ κοινὸν ἱερασάμενον θεῷ Σεβαστῷ καὶ δεῷ Ῥώμῃ held in honour of the Emperor. The names written before the several years are those of the Galatarchs. The principal festivities mentioned are public banquets (δημοθoinia), spectacles (θείαι), gymnastic and gladiatorial contests, wild beast baiting, bull-fights (θηρομαχίαι, ταυρομαχίαι, ταυροκαθάψια). At the first festival, which, according to the probable supposition of Franz, took place in the year 10 A.D., the giver of the entertainment provided μονομάχων ζεύγη τριάκοντα and κυνήγιον ταύρων καὶ θηρίων. Gladiators fought also at the third, fourth and fifth festivals, but the numbers of the pairs are not stated. CIG, 3847 b = Lebas-Wad., 1011 : κυνήγιον τε πολυτελές καὶ παράδοξον μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς παρασχόμενον.

**Paphlagonia.** *Amastris.* Lucian, *Toxaris*, 57s., makes the Scythian Sisinnus fight here with a gladiator for a prize of 10,000 *drachmae*, in order to support his friend. A wild beast baiting precedes the gladiatorial combat. See vol. ii, 49, l. 1.

**Pontus.** *Sinope.* The inscription of a Pontarch, CIG, 4157 (for Franz's restoration p. 4 πο[ντάρχῃ]ν is undoubtedly right) mentions ταυροκαθάψια καὶ κυνηγέσιον καὶ — — μαχίαν.

**Lycia.** [*Xanthus.* Remains of an alleged amphitheatre, see *Monum. d. Inst.*, iv, pl. 2. Cf. *AdI*, 1844, p. 134. But according to G. Hirschfeld this statement is based on an error. In Spratt and Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, etc.* (London, 1847) there is no trace of it, either in the text (i, 13) or plan.]

*Telmisso (Makri).* Tombstone of a *retiararius* with the inscription : Ἐρμεῖ Παιτραεῖτης μετὰ τῶν συγκελλαρίων. (There was therefore certainly a school for gladiators there.) Benndorf-Niemann, *Reise in Lykien und Karien*, pp. 41 and 157.

**Pisidia and Lycaonia.** *Sagalassus.* CIG, 4377 (epitaph in the form of a eulogy):—

πάντη μὲν κῶδος Τερτύλλου . . .

ἐκ τε σοφῶν ἔργων ἐκ τ' ἀγαθῶν πατέρων.

νῦν δ' ἔτι που καὶ μάλλον, ἀρηιφίλων ὅτε φωτῶν

τόσσην ἐν σταδίοις ἐστόρεσεν στρατιήν,

ἄρκτους παρδάλιάς τε κατέκτανεν ἡδὲ λέοντας

σοφῶν κτεάνων πάτρην πρεσβυτέραν θέμενος.

Εστόρεσεν is Franz's restoration, for ΕΞΕΝ which is said to be the reading on the stone; perhaps, however, it has been copied erroneously and should be ἐστόλισεν. With O. Müller, Welcker and Franz, one can understand στάδιον to include an amphitheatre such as is mentioned in the case of Aphrodisias.

*Antiochia Pisidiae.* Henzen, 6156 = CIL, iii, 1, 293 : Cn. Dottio Dotti Marullini fil. Ser. Planciano patr. col. flam. Ilvir IIqq. vir muner. II (munerario iterum) et agonothet. perp. certam. qq. talant. asiarch. templ. splend. civit. Ephes. etc.

*Iconium.* Ammianus, xiv, 2 : (Isauri) apud Iconium Pisidiae

oppidum in amphitheatrali spectaculo feris praedatricibus objecti sunt.

**Pamphylia.** *Perge* and *Aspendus*: cf. remarks on Aphrodisias above.

**Cilicia.** *Aegae*. Philostrate, *Vit. Apoll.*, II, xiv, ed. Kayser, p. 31, 21 makes Apollonius say: *φώκη μὲν, ἣν εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐν Αἰγαῖς καθειργμένην εἰς κυνήγια, οὕτως ἐπένθησεν ἀποθανόντα τὸν σκύμνον, ὃν ἐν τῷ οἰκίσκῳ ἀπεκύθησεν, ὥς μὴ προσδέξασθαι τριῶν ἡμερῶν σίτον, καίτοι βορωτάτη θηρίων οὔσα.* 'According to the *Acta S. Thallelaei* (*Acta Sanctorum Maii*, T. v, p. 14\* [20 May], St. Thallelaeus was thrown to the wild beasts in the στάδιον here; the place is also called τὸ θέατρον.' Jordan.

**Tarsus.** The martyrs Tarachus, Probus and Andronicus are said to have suffered here in the year 304. *Acta Mart.*, ed. Ruinart (1731), p. 391: ὁ ἀνσιώτατος Μάξιμος (governor of Cilicia) μετακαλεσάμενος Τερεντιανὸν Κιλικάρχη, αὐτὸν φιλοτιμῶν (?) ἐκέλευσε τῇ ἐξῆς πάνδημον θέαν ἐπιτελεῖν τῶν κυνηγίων τῇ πόλει. Καὶ ὁ Τερεντιανὸς παραχρῆμα τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι τῶν θηρίων ἐτοίμοις γίνεσθαι διέταττεν. Πρωίως δὲ γενομένης πᾶσα ἡ πόλις σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδίοις ἐξήρσαν ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον· ἦν γὰρ ὁ τόπος τοῦ θεωρίου τούτοις ἀπὸ μηλίου μικρὸν πλείονος ἐνός· πληρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀμφιθέαματος τῶν ὄχλων κ.τ.λ.

## SYRIA WITH PHOENICIA AND PALAESTINA.

**Antiochia.** An amphitheatre, alleged to have been built by Caesar on the acropolis (Malalas, p. 217, 91, V) is said to have been turned by Valens into a place for wild beast fights, and to have been destroyed by Theodosius. O. Mueller, *Antiq. Antiochenae*, p. 79 (ii, 2, note 10). But there seems to have been more than one amphitheatre: Libanius, *Orat. Antioch.* (i, p. 345 Reisk): *τίς δ' ἂν ἐφίκοιτο διεξιὼν ἕτερα θεάτρων εἶδη, τὰ μὲν ἀθληταῖς ἐναγωνίασθαι πεποιημένα, τὰ δ' ἀνδράσι πρὸς θηρία*; Gladiators must have appeared at Antioch a few years after Constantine's prohibition of bloody spectacles (325), as Libanius, who was born about 314, boasts (*De vita sua*, p. 3, ed. Morell.) that at the age of 15 he despised this spectacle. He often mentions gladiatorial games, as in *Epp.*, 218 (cf. 220), where he laments that his cousin had wasted his fortune with the purchase of beasts and beast-baiters. Other passages are cited by Gothofredus, *ad Cod. Theodos.*, xii, 1, 103 (wild beast fights more popular at Antioch than the shows of the theatre or the race-course: *Epp. ad Caesarium*, 1454 Wolf. Kuhn, *op. cit.*, i, 113). He accuses Tisamenus of having brought an entertainer from Beroea to Antioch with all the apparatus of beast-baiting (*In Tisam.*, ed. Reisk., ii, p. 447). That the prohibited certamina pugilum in which the Caesar Gallus took delight at Antioch (Ammian., xiv, 7, 3) were gladiatorial games, as Lipsius thought, has been rightly contested by Valesius, *op. cit.*, and Gothofredus, *ad cod. Theodos.*, xv, 13, 1.

**Phoenicia.** *Berytus*. Agrippa, king of the Jews, built an amphitheatre here, in which he caused two troops of 700 criminals each to fight one another (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix, 7, 5). At the same place Titus had a large number of Jewish prisoners killed in a gladiatorial show (*B.J.*, vii, 3, 1). Josephus does not say that this took place in an amphitheatre; and Maffei, *Degli anf.*, p. 85, supposes that Agrippa's amphitheatre was only of wood. Gothofredus

remarks (*ad cod. Theodos.*, xv, 12, 1) that it is no accident that Constantine's prohibition of bloody spectacles (325) was published here.

**Palaestina.** *Tiberias.* 'The ruins of an amphitheatre are still to be seen in the neighbourhood'. K. Furrer, *Wanderungen durch Palästina* (1865), p. 316.

**Caesarea.** Herod built an amphitheatre here, πολλὸν ὄχλον δέχεσθαι δυνάμενον καὶ κείμενον ἐπιτηδεύς ἀποπτεύειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xv, 9, 6. He there celebrated the periodic ἁγών, which he founded (Ol. 192 = 8 B.C.) in honour of Augustus, παρεσκευάκει δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων, ἵππων τε δρόμον καὶ τὰ πολυτελέστερα τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. Cf. *B.J.*, 1, 21, 8; vii, 2, 1; vii, 3, 1, and Euseb., *De Martyr. Palaest.*, iv, 13, *Acta mart.*, ed. Ruinart, p. 283.

**Hierosolyma.** Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xv, 8, 1: παρασκευὴ δὲ καὶ θηρίων ἐγένετο (at the celebration of the above-mentioned ἁγών) λεόντων τε πλείστων αὐτῷ συναχθέντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα καὶ τὰς ἄλλὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας ἔχει καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐστὶ σπανιώτερα · τούτων αὐτῶν τε πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπλοκαὶ καὶ μάχαι πρὸς αὐτὰ τῶν κατεγνωσμένων ἀνθρώπων ἐπιτηδεύοντο, τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἐκπληξίς ὁμοῦ τῆς δαπάνης καὶ ψυχαγωγία τῶν περὶ τὴν θέαν κινδύνων, τοῖς δ' ἐπιχωρίοις φανερά καταλύσις τῶν τιμωμένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐθῶν. Maffei, *op. cit.*, p. 75 considers that these two amphitheatres were also built of wood. Oros., vii, 30, 5, ed. Zangemeister = p. 546 Hav.: (Julianus) amph. Hierosolymis extrui iussit. As Zangemeister observes, the source of this statement is unknown; for it is not in the authors used here by Orosius, viz. Jerome, *Chron.*, 2379; Eutrop., x, 16; Rufinus, *H.E.*, x, 36.

**Canatha.** An amphitheatre here is mentioned in the inscription CIG, 4614.

**Gerasa.** The foundations of an elliptic amphitheatre without the city were seen by Count Bertou, *BdI*, 1837, p. 166. R. Dörrens, *Das Báb-el-Ammán in Gerasa* (Erbkam, *Ztschr. f. Bauwesen*, xvi, p. 350) mentions two amphitheatres.

**Hiericus** (Jericho). After Herod's death (4 B.C.) Σαλώμη καὶ Ἀλεξᾶς συναγαγόντες τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον τὸ ἐν Ἱερικούντι πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέγνωσαν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας γεγραμμένην κ.τ.λ., Josephus, *A.J.*, xvii, 8, 2; *Id.*, *B.J.*, i, 33, 8: Σαλώμη . . . συνῆγεν αὐτοὺς (τοὺς στρατιώτας) εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους ἐν τῷ καθ' Ἱερικούντα ἀμφιθέατρῳ.

## ARABIA.

**Bostra.** From the time of Trajan the location of the legio III Cyrenaica (Lebas-Wadd., p. 461). Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Haurán und die Trachonen*, p. 59, mentions amphitheatres at S'uhbe and Bosrá. (Burckhardt, *Reise in Syrien*, p. 368 ff., where the ruins of the latter city are described, mentions no amphitheatre.) Inscriptions in the amphitheatre at Bosrá, Mordtmann in *N. Rhein. Mus.*, 1872, p. 148.

## AEGYPTUS.

**Alexandria.** The amphitheatre in the suburb Nikopolis must have been built immediately after the occupation of Egypt by the



Romans in 724, as Strabo, who was in Egypt in 730, already knows it. (xvii, p. 795 : ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ στάδιον καὶ οἱ πεντετηρικοὶ ἀγῶνες [see note on vol. ii, p. 113, l. 35] ἐκεῖ συντελοῦνται.) There was also an imperial school for gladiators here as early as the time of Augustus (see note on vol. ii, p. 54, l. 14). It was from this amphitheatre that the *papyrus amphitheatrica*, so called a *confecturae loco*, Pliny, *N.h.*, xiii, 75 and 78, took its name (Birt, *D. antik. Buchwesen*, 248). Josephus, *B.J.*, ii, 18, 7 : καὶ δὴ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησιαζόντων περὶ ἧς ἐμελλον ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβείας ἐπὶ Νέρωνα, συνερρήσαν μὲν εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον ἅμα τοῖς Ἕλλησι σαυχοὶ Ἰουδαίων.

### CYRENAICA.

*Cyrene.* Beechey, *Proceedings of the Expedition to explore the N. Coast of Africa from Tripoli eastward 1821 and 1822* (1828), p. 529. The amphitheatre seems to have been circular, and the diameter of the arena more than 160 ft. The entrance was from above, and the seats on the slopes of the hill, as at Ptolemais. P. 530 : 'The seats seem to have occupied a space of above 80 feet in depth ; if we reckon the level space (or platform) inclosing the amphitheatre at 20, the whole building will have stood upon 300 feet of ground'. It seems to have had no subterranean rooms. C. Pachó, *Voyage d. l. Marmarique*, pls. 52, 53 gives representations of beast-baitings and gladiators in the necropolis.

*Ptolemais* (Ptolemeta). Beechey, *op. cit.*, p. 381 : 'The amphitheatre has been chiefly excavated in the quarry in which it stands, and a small portion of it only has been built, where the rock could not be made to serve. There appear to have been no interior communications, and the approach to the seats was probably from above as well as from below by means of the staircases between the several cunei only, no passage being anywhere observable'. The diameter of the whole building (which, it appears, was circular, like the last, including the arena and the seats is about 250 ft.

*Berenice*, CIG, 5362 : Δέκιμος Οὐαλέριος Γαίου υἱὸς Διονύσιος τοὺς οἴκους ἐκονίασεν καὶ τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον κατεσκεύασε τοῖς ἰδίοις δαπανήμασιν Βερενικέων τῷ πολιτεύματι *Ib.*, 5361 : Ἐτους νῆ Φαῶφ κᾶ a monument raised by the Jewish community to a certain Μάρκος Τίττιος Σέξτου υἱὸς Αἰμιλία— παραγενηθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐπὶ δημοσίων πραγμάτων κ.τ.λ., which is to be set up εἰς τὸν ἐπισημότατον τόπον τοῦ ἀμφιθέατρον. Böckh considers that the first year of the local era was 67 B.C., so that the date of the decree is 22 Oct. 13 B.C.

### DIMENSIONS OF 71 AMPHITHEATRES.

The following measurements, even when they are given for the internal as well as the external axes, cannot give more than an approximate idea of the size of the buildings. For, in spite of apparent precision, the various measurements of the same amphitheatre hardly ever agree. Taking, for instance, the amphitheatre at Thysdrus, we find that Pellissier gives the following dimensions of the long and short axes of the whole building : 137.65 metres, 115.90 m. ; Pelet gives 130.35 m. and 119.53 m. ; Coste 150 m. and 130 m. ; Guérin, 149 m. and 129 m. For the amphitheatre at Puteoli

Pelet gives the following dimensions of the axes of the building and of the arena:  $190.95 \times 144.87$  and  $111.95 \times 65.85$ , which are greater than the corresponding dimensions of the Colosseum. On the other hand, Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 138 gives:  $147 \times 117$  and  $72 \times 42$ , with the remark that the larger dimensions commonly given are false. I have in every case reduced the measurements to metres, following the tables in Silber, *Die Münzen, Masse und Gewichte aller Länder der Erde*. The measurements marked P are taken from Pelet, *Description de l'amphithéâtre de Nîmes*, 54, and the rest from the most trustworthy sources cited in the foregoing list.

|                                          | Longer<br>Axis<br>of the whole building. | Shorter<br>Axis | Longer<br>Axis<br>of the Arena. | Shorter<br>Axis   |
|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Abella (Beloch) . . . . .                | c. 79 m.                                 | c. 53 m.        | —                               | —                 |
| Alba Fucentina . . . . .                 | 93                                       | 35              | 79 m.                           | 21 m.             |
| Alba Intemelium . . . . .                | 35                                       | 31              | —                               | —                 |
| Aquae Segete (Jollois) . . . .           | 108                                      | 90              | 48.3                            | 31.8              |
| Aquincum . . . . .                       | —                                        | —               | 53.36                           | 45.54             |
| Arelate P. . . . .                       | 136.47                                   | 107.29          | 69.5                            | 39.35             |
| Ariminum . . . . .                       | 120                                      | 91              | 76.40                           | 47.40             |
| Augusta Praet. Salass. . . . .           | 86.14                                    | 73.86           | —                               | —                 |
| Augusta Treverorum . . . . .             | —                                        | —               | c. 72.5                         | c. 48.6           |
| Augustodunum <sup>1</sup> . . . . .      | 154                                      | 130             | 74                              | 49                |
| Augustomagus (Silvanectes) . .           | —                                        | —               | 75                              | 68 <sup>1</sup>   |
| Augustoritum, <i>see</i> Limovices       |                                          |                 |                                 |                   |
| Aventicum . . . . .                      | 109.8                                    | 88.2            | —                               | —                 |
| Baeterrae . . . . .                      | 86                                       | 70              | 76                              | 58.5 <sup>2</sup> |
| Burdigala . . . . .                      | —                                        | —               | 73.45                           | 53.95             |
| Caesarodunum (Salmon) <sup>3</sup> . . . | 135                                      | 120             | 68                              | 30                |
| Cales . . . . .                          | 87.17                                    | 58.98           | —                               | —                 |
| Capua P. . . . .                         | 169.89                                   | 139.60          | 76.12                           | 45.83             |
| Caralis (Maltzan). . . . .               | 84                                       | 70              | 47.37                           | 33.1              |
| Carnuntum . . . . .                      | 97.66                                    | 75.25           | 72.2                            | 44.25             |
| Carthago . . . . .                       | —                                        | —               | 79.2                            | —                 |
| Casinum . . . . .                        | —                                        | —               | c. 63                           | —                 |
| Catana . . . . .                         | —                                        | —               | 70.7                            | 49.5              |
| Cemenelum <sup>4</sup> . . . . .         | —                                        | —               | 51                              | 37                |
| Colonia Agrippinensis . . . .            | 100                                      | 60              | —                               | —                 |
| Corinthus . . . . .                      | —                                        | —               | 88.4                            | 57.9              |
| Cyzicus (Perrot & Guillaume) .           | 150                                      | —               | —                               | —                 |
| Cyrene . . . . .                         | —                                        | —               | more than<br>48.8               | 48.8              |
| Emerita . . . . .                        | 75.4                                     | 52.6            | —                               | —                 |
| Ercavica . . . . .                       | 58.6                                     | 48.7            | —                               | —                 |
| Faleria (Picenum) . . . . .              | 178.8                                    | 106.2           | —                               | —                 |
| Falerii (O. Hirschfeld) . . . .          | —                                        | —               | 54.3                            | 32.7              |
| Florentia . . . . .                      | 100.96                                   | —               | —                               | —                 |
| Forum Julii . . . . .                    | 113.85                                   | 82.20           | 67.71                           | 39.7              |
| Grumentum . . . . .                      | —                                        | —               | 62.6                            | 60                |

<sup>1</sup> From the *Comptes rendus* cited above, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> The first two figures from the *Bull. d. l. Soc. archéol. d. B.*; the last two from Caumont.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Texier on the amphitheatre at Pergamus, above p. 249.

|                                                                   | Longer<br>Axis<br>of the whole building. | Shorter<br>Axis | Longer<br>Axis<br>of the Arena. | Shorter<br>Axis |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| Italica . . . . .                                                 | 156·5                                    | 134             | —                               | —               |
| Julia Caesarea . . . . .                                          | 168                                      | 88              | 140                             | 60              |
| Lambaesis . . . . .                                               | 104                                      | —               | —                               | —               |
| Leuci . . . . .                                                   | 137·6                                    | 61              | 58·5                            | 19·5            |
| Limovices . . . . .                                               | 137                                      | 113             | —                               | —               |
| Luca . . . . .                                                    | 123·9                                    | 96·4            | 80·1                            | 53·4            |
| Lugdunum (M. Daussigny) <sup>1</sup>                              | 140                                      | 117             | 64                              | 41              |
| Luna . . . . .                                                    | —                                        | —               | 63                              | 37              |
| Lutetia Parisiorum . . . . .                                      | 128                                      | —               | 55                              | 49              |
| Mediolanum Santonum . . . . .                                     | c. 129·5                                 | 105·3           | 78                              | 45·6            |
| Nemausus P. . . . .                                               | 132·18                                   | 101·38          | 69·14                           | 38·54           |
| Orciculum . . . . .                                               | c. 75                                    | c. 51·54        | —                               | —               |
| Octodurum . . . . .                                               | 64·2                                     | 60·3            | —                               | —               |
| Paestum . . . . .                                                 | 56·9                                     | 34·4            | —                               | —               |
| Patavium . . . . .                                                | —                                        | —               | 77·40                           | 39·65           |
| Pergamus . . . . .                                                | 136·16                                   | 128·08          | 51                              | 37              |
| Pictavi (Caumont) . . . . .                                       | 138                                      | 115             | 86                              | 68              |
| Pola P. . . . .                                                   | 137·8                                    | 112·6           | 70                              | 44·8            |
| Pompeii P. . . . .                                                | 135·65                                   | 104·05          | 66·65                           | 35·05           |
| Ptolemais . . . . .                                               | 76·2                                     | 76·2            | —                               | —               |
| Puteoli (Beloch) . . . . .                                        | 147                                      | 117             | 72                              | 42              |
| Rastiatum . . . . .                                               | 65                                       | 48·75           | —                               | —               |
| Roma                                                              |                                          |                 |                                 |                 |
| 1. Flavium P. . . . .                                             | 187·770                                  | 155·638         | 85·756                          | 53·624          |
| 2. Castrense (Canina, <i>Edif. d.</i><br><i>R. a.</i> ) . . . . . | 52                                       | 40              | 38                              | 25              |
| Sarmizegetusa . . . . .                                           | —                                        | —               | c. 40                           | c. 20           |
| Sutrium . . . . .                                                 | —                                        | —               | 50                              | 40              |
| Syracusae . . . . .                                               | —                                        | —               | 70·9                            | 40              |
| Tarraco P. . . . .                                                | 148·12                                   | 118·89          | 84·45                           | 55·22           |
| Theveste . . . . .                                                | —                                        | —               | 45·50                           | 45·50           |
| Thysdrus P. . . . .                                               | 139·35                                   | 119·53          | 77·31                           | 57·32           |
| according to Guérin . . . . .                                     | 149                                      | 124             | 94                              | 60              |
| Tolosa . . . . .                                                  | —                                        | —               | 48·75                           | 26              |
| Tusculum . . . . .                                                | 70                                       | 52              | 48                              | 29              |
| Urbs Salvia . . . . .                                             | 60 ? (80 ?)                              | 50 ? (60 ?)     | —                               | —               |
| Utica . . . . .                                                   | —                                        | —               | 41                              | —               |
| Venusia . . . . .                                                 | —                                        | c. 58           | —                               | —               |
| Verona P. . . . .                                                 | 153·18                                   | 122·89          | 75·68                           | 44·39           |
| Vindonissa . . . . .                                              | c. 69                                    | —               | —                               | —               |

### XXXVII. THE PERFORMANCE OF COMEDIES UNDER THE LATER EMPIRE.

(Vol. II, p. 95, 2 lines from bottom.)

DOWN to the beginning of the second century the performance of comedies is attested by Quintilian and Juvenal (*e.g.* 5, 157). The continuance of the practice in that century is proved by M. Antonin., *Comm.*, xii, 36, where a κωμῳδός is mentioned as playing in a five act comedy (τὰ πέντε μέρη; Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 24, 17: περὶ τρίτον ἢ

<sup>1</sup> From Gsell-Fels, *Oberitalien* (1872), p. 1, 144.

τέταρτον μέρος, in the third or fourth act). Cf. also Phrynichus, p. 163 Lobeck, s. θυμέλην—: ἐνθα μὲν κωμῳδοὶ καὶ τραγωδοὶ ἀγωνίζονται λογεῖον ἐρεῖς· ἐνθα δὲ οἱ αὐληταὶ καὶ οἱ χοροὶ, ὀρχήστραν· μὴ λέγε δὲ θυμέλην. For the beginning of the third century cf. Dio, lxxvii, 12 : οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς κωμῳδαῖς οἱ ποιηταὶ ἔτι αὐτῷ (Getae nomine) ἐχρῶντο, where the ποιηταὶ can only be adapters of older pieces for the stage. The passage lxxix, 2 : ὥσπερ γὰρ προσωπεῖόν τι ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἐν τῷ διακένῳ τῆς τῶν κωμῳδῶν ὑποκρίσεως εἰσεφέρετο (read εἰσφέρεται) κ.τ.λ. . . . is not clear. Most of the texts cited by Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 1477 ff., are too vague to serve as proofs for contemporary public performances of *entire* comedies. Evidence for the fourth century is found in Donatus, *Ad Andr.*, iv, 3 : sive haec (persona feminea) personatis viris agitur, ut apud veteres, sive per mulierem, ut nunc videmus, where one can hardly suppose that mimes are meant. For the beginning of the fifth century, Augustine, *C.D.*, ii, 8 (*op. cit.*, p. 1481) : et haec sunt scenicarum tolerabiliora ludorum, comoediae scilicet et tragoediae, hoc est fabulae poetarum agenda in spectaculis, multa rerum turpitudine, sed nulla saltem sicut alia multa (mimes) verborum obscenitate compositae. *Id.*, *Epp.*, 202 : tot locis pingitur, funditur, tunditur, sculpitur, legitur, cantatur, saltatur Juppiter adulteria tanta committens. *Cantatur* refers to the tragic actors, *saltatur* to the pantomimes, *agitur* suggests the comic actors in such pieces as the *Amphitruo* of Plautus (the acting of which at this period is not however proved by Arnob., vii, 33), but the word may merely refer to mimes and Atellan actors.

### XXXVIII. THE PERFORMANCE OF TRAGEDIES UNDER THE LATER EMPIRE.

(Vol. II, p. 97, l. 16.)

EVIDENCE, in my opinion irrefutable, for the really dramatic performance of tragedies at Smyrna under Antoninus Pius is afforded by Philostratus, *Vitt. Sophist.*, i, 25, 3, ed. K., p. 229 (cf. Suidas, s. ἐφίεσθαι): ὑποκριτοῦ δὲ τραγωδίας ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ὀλυμπίων, οἷς ἐπιστάται ὁ Πολέμων ἐφίεσθαι φήσαντος, ἐξελαθῆναι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ δράματος κ.τ.λ. In Lucian, *Nigrin.*, c. 8 : ἤδη τραγικοὺς ἦ καὶ νῆ Δία κωμικοὺς φαύλους ἐώρακας ὑποκριτάς, τῶν συριττομένων λέγω τούτων καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ ποιήματα καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐκβαλλομένων, καίτοι τῶν δραμάτων πολλάκις εὖ ἐχόντων τε καὶ νενικηκότων, one might think of the representation of single scenes from dramas which had won prizes in earlier times. Also in Pausanias, i, 3, 2 : τοῖς πολλοῖς . . . ὅποσα ἤκουον εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἐν τε χοροῖς καὶ τραγωδαῖς πιστὰ ἡγουμένους the word τραγωδαῖς might be interpreted as recitals of single choric scenes by τραγωδοί, just as in the numerous passages quoted in Welcker's *Die Griechische Tragödie*, which do not prove the performance of entire tragedies. Cf. e.g., Philostratus, *l.l.* ; Dio Chrysost., *Or.*, xxiii, p. 336, 15 and Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 1319. The passage in Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xix, p. 261, reads with the correct punctuation given by Welcker p. 1320 : καὶ τὰ γε πολλὰ αὐτῶν (the words recited by actors) ἀρχαῖά ἐστι καὶ πολὺ σοφωτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἢ τῶν νῦν· τὰ μὲν τῆς κωμῳδίας ἅπαντα, τῆς δὲ τραγωδίας τὰ ἰσχυρά, ὥς ἔοικε, μένει· λέγω



δὲ τὰ ἱαμβεῖα · καὶ τούτων μέρη διεξίασιν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις · τὰ δὲ μαλακώτερα ἐξεργήθηκε τὰ περὶ τὰ μέλη. Perhaps by μέλη Dio only meant the choruses, which indeed had no existence in the later comedy, and had begun to be abandoned in tragedy centuries before Dio's time, for the lists of τεχνῖται appearing in the Σωτήρια, or commemorative festival at Delphi, soon after its foundation in 279 B.C., show that even at that time the tragic companies only consisted of three actors with a flute-player and a διδάσκαλος (Lüders, *Die Dionys. Künstler*, p. 112 ff.; Anhang, no. 112). The recitation of the iambic pieces is designated as λέγειν as well as ᾄδειν, and was therefore probably a kind of recitative; cf. vol. ii, p. 337 ff.; Plutarch, *De sera num. vind.*, c. 11: τῆς Ἰνούς καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις λεγούσης ἀκούομεν; followed by an iambic passage. On the other hand, Lucian, *Saltat.*, 27, says of the tragic actor: ἐνίοτε καὶ περιάδων τὰ ἱαμβεῖα καὶ τὸ δὴ αἰσχιστον μελωδῶν τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ μόνης τῆς φωνῆς ὑπεύθυνον παρέχων ἑαυτόν. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 46: observatum etiam fuerat, novissimam fabulam cantasse eum publice Oedipodem exulem atque in hoc desisse versu: Θανείν μ' ἄνωγε σύγγαμος, μήτηρ, πατήρ. Also the passage in Libanius, iii, p. 375, ed. Reiske, cited by Welcker, p. 802, and by P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, p. 137, as showing the continuance of the acting of tragedies, is no proof that entire plays were put on the stage: λέγε δεῖν κεκλείσθαι τοῖς ὑποκριταῖς τὸ θέατρον, ἵνα μὴ τραγωδὸς εἰσελθὼν Πασιφάνη μιμήσῃται τὴν ἐξοκέλασαν εἰς ἀλλόκοτον ἔρωτα, μηδ' αὖ κωμωδὸς τὰς παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ τικτούσας καὶ πολλὰ ἔτερα.

### XXXIX. ON THE FREQUENT USE OF FAMOUS ARTISTS' NAMES.<sup>1</sup>

(Vol. II, p. 107, line 12 from bottom.)

THE well-known passage in Seneca, *Q.n.*, vii, 32, 3: at quanta cura laboratur, ne cujus pantomimi nomen intercitat? stat per successores Pylades et Bathylli domus, harum artium multi discipuli sunt multique doctores, was interpreted by Scaliger on Euseb., 1995, as if the pupils of Pylades were called Pyladae, and those of Bathyllus Bathylli; similarly Salmasius, on *Scr. Hist. Aug.* (L.B., 1679), ii, p. 829 sqq.; Lessing, *Abhandlung v. d. Pantomimen der Alten*, xi, 14 (Lachmann); and Mommsen, *ad CIL*, v, 2, 7753. We know a pantomime Theocritus, who also bore the name Pylades. Or., 2629 = Wilmanns, *E.I.*, 2623 = *CIL*, v, 2, 5889 (Mediolani): D. M. | CVRANTE CALOPODIO LOCATORE | THEOCRITI | AVGG. LIB | PYLADI | PANTOMIMO | HONORATO | SPLENDIDISSIMIS | CIVITATIB. ITALIAE | ORNAMENTIS | DECVRIONALIB. ORNAT. | GREX | ROMANVS | OB MERITA EIVS | TITVL. MEMORIAE POSVIT. Ab altera parte SVI TEMPORIS PRIMVS | TROADAS. A tertia IONA. The words Theocriti Augg. lib., which are written in larger characters than the rest, give the name of the person commemorated, who was later called Pylades; but in this case the older name had not been so fully ousted by the new one that it could not have been used as a designation. Pylades and Bathyllus are however by no means the only names which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. two 'programme' of Königsberg University (1859), *De nominibus clarorum artificum frequentatis*.

were assumed by later pantomimes or attached to them. In the biography of L. Verus (c. 8) it is said : *habuit et Agrippum histrionem, cui cognomentum erat Memphi, quem et ipsum e Syria veluti tropaeum Parthicum adduxerat : quem Apolaustum nominavit, and further, histriones eduxit e Syria, quorum praecipuus fuit Maximinus, quem Paridis nomine nuncupavit.* (Cf. *CIL*, xii, 3347, p. 624, 1.) It is clear that as L. Verus gave these dancers the names of famous artistes, so the names Pylades and Bathyllus were given to other pantomimes by their masters or patrons, friends or admirers, to encourage or honour them, or were assumed by the mimes themselves out of respect for their patterns and teachers, or in the feeling that they had themselves attained pre-eminence. These names then often acquired such general vogue that they quite superseded the original names.

One of the most celebrated pantomime names was Paris. The earliest dancer known to us who bore it lived at Nero's court, and was executed in 67 A.D. (vol. ii, 114) ; on his art see ii, 102. The second lived under Domitian (ii, 114 f. and i, 247 and n.) ; he is mentioned in Juv., vi, 87 (*utque magis stupeas ludos Paridemque reliquit* ; Statius sold his *Agave* to him (vol. ii, 100), and Martial wrote an epitaph on him (xi, 13). Cf. on the two Eckstein in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, sect. iii, pt. xii, p. 104. The third is the above-mentioned favourite of L. Verus (see ii, 115), referred to by Galen (see vol. ii, 106). The Paris mentioned Grut., 332 : *Athenodorus xysticus Paridi thymelico benemerenti fecit*, seems to have been a fourth. A fifth is mentioned by Libanius, ed. Reiske, iii, p. 362, 13 : *καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν παρ' ἡμῶν (at Antioch) ποτὲ λάμψαντα [καὶ] τὸν ὁμώνυμον τοῦ παλαιοῦ βουκόλου, παρ' ᾧ καὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἐκρίθησαν αἱ θεαί, σοφιστῆς Τύριος (ὅς τῇ γλώσσῃ τὰ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἴσχυε, σείων τε καὶ τινάσσων ἅπαντα) τοῦτον οὕτως ἐθρήνησε κείμενον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐντάφιον αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον ἔδωκεν, ὥστ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι ἂν ἐξήτησε μείζον, εἰ σοφιστὴν οἰχόμενον ἐτίμα, ὅς γε καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ προσεῖπεν ἥξιωσε τὸν ὀρχηστὴν.*

It may be supposed that Memphis or Memphius was a celebrated pantomime name from the fact that the above-mentioned Agrippus assumed it. Perhaps it was this Memphis whom Athenaeus (i, 20 C.) calls *τὸν ἐφ' ἡμῶν φιλόσοφον ὀρχηστὴν* (cf. vol. ii, 104 bottom). There is another in *Anthol.*, xi, 255, Pallad. 57 :

*Δάφνιν καὶ Νιόβην ὠρχήσατο Μίμφις ὁ σιμὸς  
ὥς ξύλινος Δάφνην, ὥς λίθινος Νιόβην.*

Apolaustus, the second name that Agrippus assumed, was also famous. The first distinguished dancer known to us who bore it was a freedman of Trajan. Grut., 331, 6 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 114 : *M. Ulpus Aug. lib. Apolaustus maximus pantomimorum coronatus adversus histriones et omnes scaenicos artifices xii.* (A certain M. Ulpi Apolausti ser. Dionysius, *IRN*, 5194 = *CIL*, ix, 709 ; a M. Ulpius Apolaustianus, Or., 2598). The second Apolaustus (freedman of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus) is mentioned with his earlier name Memphius in the following inscription in Rome (Orelli, 2160 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 117) : *Aurelio Apolausto Memphio Augg. lib. hieronicae coronato et ton diapandon Apollinis sacerdoti soli vittato, archieri synodi et Augg. L. Aurelius Panniculus*

qui et Sabanas. Patrono optimo. So also at Tibur, *CIL*, xiv, 4254 (beneath three wreaths and the list of some of his rôles, of which *Τρωάσιον* and *Ὀρέστη* are still legible): L. Aurelio Augg. | lib. Apolausto | Memphio | pantomimo | hieronicae ter te(m)poris sui primo | vittato Augg. | sacerdoti Apolli|nis Herculano | Augstali | s.p.q.T. | item ornamentis decurionatus honorato. On the side of the base: . . . Aug. edente | L. Aurel. Augg. l. Apolaus(to) | Memphio | magistro. So again in an inscription erected by himself near Fundi, *IRN*, 4140 = *CIL*, x, 6219: L. Aurelius Aipolaustus pantomimus Memfis Mercurio invicto votum solvit,<sup>1</sup> and in a fragment at Veii, *CIL*, xi, 1, 3822: pantOMIMO | . . . O PROVECTO | ab imp. anTONINO | et | aurelio CAESARE | . . . apolausTI. MEMPHI | . . . SENIORIS | . . . IN VRBE | . . . dOM | . On the other hand, in two other inscriptions, which attest his public appearance in the cities of S. Italy, he is called only Apolaustus. *IRN*, 652 = *CIL*, ix, 344 (Canusii): L. aELIO AVG. LIB. | aurELIO APOLAVSTo | PaNTOMIMO | augVSTALIVM QQ hierONICE TEMPORIS | SVI PRIMO | colONIA AVRELIA | auG. PIA CANVSIVM | D.D., cf. Mommsen's note. Orelli, 2628 = *CIL*, x, 3716 (Litternum): . . AVREL . . . APOLAVSTO HIERONICO BIS CORONATO | ET DIAPANTON, PARASITO ET SACERDOTI APOLLINIS | AVGVST. CAPVAE MAXIMO. At court he was naturally only called by the name bestowed on him by Verus. Fronto, *Epp. ad L. Ver. Aug.*, i, 2: et te si spectaveris teste revincam, Pyladem magistro suo istum tanto meliorem esse, quanto sit Apolausto similior. And in general this name superseded his earlier name, as he is certainly the person of whom it is said in *Vit. Commod.*, c. 7: Apolaustus aliique liberti aulici pariter interempti sunt. Cf. Casaubon on this passage, and Mai on Fronto, *loc. cit.*

The Pylades mentioned by Fronto is the third of this name known to us. The second was a favourite and presumably a slave of Trajan — Dio, lxxviii, 10: καὶ τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐπαγγάγε· καὶ γὰρ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ Πυλάδου ἦρα. Hadrian manumitted him Grut., 331, 1 = *CIL*, v, 7753 (Genua): P. Aelius Aug. lib. Pylades pantomimus hieronica instituit; L. Aurelius Augg. lib. Pylades hieronica discipulus consummavit. He was therefore the instructor (also mentioned by Fronto) of the third Pylades, who evidently took the name from him. This third Pylades, originally named Theocritus according to *CIL*, v, 2, 5889, quoted above, p. 257, and *Augg. lib.*, i.e. a freedman of Marcus Aurelius and Verus, was a tragic dancer specially distinguished in the *Ion* and *Troades*, and according to Galen, ed. K., xiv, 631 (cf. vol. i, 247), was, with Morphus and a third (probably the second Apolaustus), the most celebrated artist of this class in his day. An inscription erected by him near the amphitheatre at Puteoli (*Mith. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1888, p. 79) reads: L. Aurelio Aug(ustorum) lib. Pyladi pantomimo temporis sui primo, hieronicae coronato iiii, patrono parasitorum Apollinus, sacerdoti synodi, honorato Puteolis d.d. ornamentis decurionalib. et duum-

<sup>1</sup> *CIL*, xii, 3347 (Nemausus: D. M. | Afrodis . . | symmele(s) ?) | grex Gall. | Memphi et | Paradis p.m. (pantomimorum ? Publio Marco ?) et | Sextis administrantibus is enigmatic in several respects.



viralib., auguri, ob amorem erga patriam et eximiam liberalitatem in edendo muner(e) gladiatorum venatione passiva ex indulgentia sacratissimi princip(is) Commodi pii felicis Aug. centuria Cornelia, Cf. Mommsen's notes, pp. 79-83. Probably it was he with whom, according to Dio, lxxiii, 13, Didius Julianus played at dice after the murder of Pertinax. It is perhaps no accident that the name Theocritus, which occurs in the above inscription, appears again as that of a dancer, who was a favourite of Caracalla (Dio, lxxvii, 21).

In addition to the first Bathyllus (for whom see also Phaedrus, v, 7, 5; cf. Jahn on Persius, v, 123) we only know one of this name, the one mentioned by Juvenal, vi, 63 as a dancer of the part of Leda, who therefore lived under Domitian or Trajan (cf. vol. ii, 106). This Leda may have belonged to the humorous kind of dance, invented by the first Bathyllus, but it may well be that famous names were assumed by artists who could claim no distinction in the specialities of the original bearers.

The practice thus attested was by no means confined to pantomimes, but was common among artistes of all kinds. Of course here also many names often recur, simply because they were popular, e.g., Eutychus, a charioteer under Caligula (vol. ii, 25); another charioteer, Grut. 340, 4; a third, Zangemeister, *Ril. de Foligno*, in *AdI*, 1870, p. 257 n.; a mime L. Acilius Eutychus, Orelli, 2625 = *CIL*, xiv, 2408; an Aurelius Eutychus stupidus gregis urbani, Orelli, 2645 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 433. Fortunatus and Felix, Gruter, 342; a M. Vipsanius Felix, Gruter, 340, 3, and the Felix mentioned by Pliny, *N.h.*, vii, 186 (vol. ii, 29 bottom), all charioteers. Gladiators of this name, Gruter, 334, 3; Orelli, 2566 = *CIL*, vi, 631, and on tesserae, Faustus, Felix and Fortunatus. Also such names as artists chose in special reference to their art or their successes, as Lepos (a dancer in Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 6, 70), Favor (archimimus, Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 19), Crotus (choraules, Martial, vi, 39, 19) may have been adopted just as well by later artists, without allusion to their predecessors. Thus we find in a list of mimes, *CIL*, xiv, 2408, a Petronius Favor and a Volumnius Favorabilis. The same may be said of the name Thymele (Juv., i, 36; vi, 66; viii, 197) which is also found in a *columbarium* in the Vigna Amendola: Thymele Anni Pollionis. The assumption that this Thymele was also a performer on the stage is rendered plausible by the occurrence of another inscription in the same *columbarium*: C. Annius C. l. | Lepos. vixit an. xxviii | obiit vii Idus April. C. Caesare | L. Paulo cos. (754) hic situs adquiescit (Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, iv, 477)—perhaps the epitaph of the dancer mentioned by Horace. As for the occurrence in the list *CIL*, xiv, 2408 of an Aelius *Hylas*, the identity of his name with that of a famous pantomime (vol. ii, 105) probably is merely due to the frequency of the name. On the other hand, the name of Apolaustus' freedman Panniculus, Orelli, 2160 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 117, who was certainly a stage artist, is perhaps borrowed from Panniculus the well-known mime under Domitian (Martial, ii, 72, 4; iii, 86; v, 63). So too in the above list an Aelius *Latinus* may have borrowed the name of a more celebrated mime, who was a favourite of Domitian (vol. ii, 114; i, 60), and an Aelius *Urbicus* the name of that Urbicus who in Juvenal, vi, 71 exodio risum movet



Atellanae gestibus Autonoës. (A *secutor* Urbicus, p. 174.) Perhaps also it is no accident that two dancers bear the name Septentrio (Orelli, 2607 = *CIL*, xii, 188, Orelli, 2627 = *CIL*, xiv, 2977, see n. on ii, 107, l. 40).

The runner Ladas mentioned by Martial, ii, 86, 7 ; x, 100, 5 and Juvenal, xiii, 97, may indeed be the famous Olympic victor of that name (cf. Krause, *StRE*, iv, 721) whose swiftness of foot was proverbial among the Romans (Catullus, lix, 3, etc.), but it is more natural, especially in the case of Martial, to attribute the name to some contemporary foot-racer. The name Artemidorus perhaps first became celebrated among athletes through Artemidorus the *pancratiastes* of Tralles, who in Ol. 212 (69 A.D.) was victorious in the contest for men at Olympia (Pausanias, vi, 14, 1). The same name is borne by T. Flavius Artemidorus (mentioned below, app. xlii), a citizen of Adana and Antioch, who also was a *pancratiastes* and victor in the *Agon Capitolinus* in 86 A.D. (*CIG*, 5806 = *Bull. d. Inst.*, 1877, p. 110) ; also by M. Aurelius Artemidorus of Settae in Phrygia, who among other victories gained the *Κύζικον Κομμόδεια ἀγώνων*, and died 26 years old, about the beginning of the third century. For his inscription found at Capua, cf. Sauppe, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1864, sect. 24, p. 958.

The *citharoedus* Amoebeus (Athen., xiv, p. 622 D.) took his name from a celebrated predecessor (*StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, s.v.) whose name, according to Philostratus, *Apollon. Tyan.*, v, 7, ed. K., p. 88, seems also to have been assumed by a *citharoedus* of the first century. The name of the two Theban flute-players Antigenidas (*StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, s.v.) was borne by a P. Aelius Antigenidas, whose inscription has been edited by Minervini in *BdI*, 1859, p. 73 : *Δόγματι βου[λῆς ἡ πόλις] Π. Αἴλιον Ἀντιγενίδα[ν τὸν ἴδιον πο]λίτην δημαρχήσαντα . . . ἀρχιερέα ἱερᾶς συνόδου θυ[μελικῆς τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον] πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ἀπ' αἰῶνος νεικήσαντα [τὸ διηκεῖς πάντας τοὺς] ἀγῶνας οὕσπερ καὶ μόνους ἡγωνίσαστο, ἀλειπτos ῥώμην β', Νεάπολιν γ', καὶ τὸν διὰ πάντων καὶ Ποτιόλιν τὰ πρῶτα διατεθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνείνου Εὐσέβεια, καὶ ὁμοίως τὰ ἐξῆς ἔχει [δύο] (?) καὶ τὰ ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι ἐπιλεγόμενα Ἀσκληπίεια τῷ αὐ[τῷ] ἀγῶνι ποθαύλας χοραύλας· ἐπαύσατο δὲ ἐτῶν μέ, αὐλήσας δῆμω Ῥω[μαί]ων ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι. Minervini has already remarked the borrowing of the name, and also mentions a still later flute-player, M. Aurelius Septimius Nemesianus Antigenides (*κύκλιος αὐλητής*, *CIG*, 1587). Further, Glaphyrus, a famous musician under Domitian (Martial, iv, 5 ; Juvenal, iv, 77), bears, hardly by accident, the same name as the flute-player whom Antipater of Thessalonica (*Epigr.*, 28 and 29, *Anthol.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, 102 sq.) compares with Orpheus. This latter Glaphyrus is perhaps identical with one mentioned in Orelli, 2633 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 120 : Heriae Thisbae monodiariae Ti. Claudi Glaphyri choraulae Actionicae et Sebastonicae. An Ibycus psaltes occurs in Gruter, 331, 2 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 100.<sup>1</sup>*

This custom seems also to have existed among the gladiators (cf. vol. ii, p. 57). Doubtless here too many names are repeated without any intentional reminiscence of a famous predecessor, e.g., Trium-

<sup>1</sup> *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 124<sup>b</sup> = Grut., 580, 3 : Dis Manibus. Amphion C. Salari Capitonis citharod. vixit ann. L. Zethus fratri piissim. Hic situs est,

plus in Seneca, *Prov.*, iv, 4, and Martial, *Spect.*, xx, 1; Carpophorus, *ib.*, xxiii, 27, and Orelli, 2566 = *CIL*, vi, 631 (a bearer of this name in Juv., vi, 199). Similarly, on the gladiatorial *tesseæ* A.U.C. 683-701 Pilodamus (Philod.) occurs thrice (a fourth in 681 is doubtful). Philargurus (684-695) thrice, Antiochus twice (693, 701), Hermes (813=60 A.D.) a namesake of the man celebrated in Martial, v, 24 (90 A.D.), not to speak of other examples (cf. p. 167). On the other hand, the Pacideianus mentioned in Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 7, 97, apparently as a well-known gladiator of his day, takes his name from the contemporary of Lucilius, optumu' multo post homines natos gladiator qui fuit unus (Cic., *Tusc. quaest.*, iv, 21, etc.).

It is also well known that physicians often assumed the name Asclepiades, even as their sole designation, e.g. *CIG*, 4566: Ἀσκληπιάδης ἰατρός λεγεῶ[νος] β. Τρα[ιανῆς] ἰσχυρᾶς, A.D. 147; *ibid.*, iii, *Add.*, 4778d: Ἀσκληπιάδης ἰατρός. *CIL*, ix, 5462: Ὅστᾶ Ἀσκληπιάδου Περγαμηνοῦ ἰατροῦ. Cf. the treatise of Harless, *Medicorum veterum Asclepiades dictorum Iustratio historica*, Bonn. 1828, 4 (unknown to me), in which thirteen, and Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.*, xiii, p. 89 sq., in which eight physicians of this name are enumerated. A certain C. Calpurnius Asclepiades (*sic*) Prusa ad Olympum medicus, born 5 March, 87, resident at Capena, studiorum et morum causa probatus a viris clarissimis, etc. (*CIL*, xi, 1, 3943 = Orelli, 3039), was born in the same city (Pliny, *N.h.*, vii, 124) like the first famous physician of this name (vol. i, p. 183).<sup>1</sup> Hippocrates is found as the name of a physician, Martial, ix, 94, 2, and *CIL*, viii, 9618, Hippocratis medici Bodmilcaris f. The well-known physician Thessalus of the time of Nero (cf. i, pp. 170, 182) took his name perhaps from a son of Hippocrates (Galen, xvii a, 314, 579). Similarly a contemporary of Galen, the physician Antigenes, bore the name of a famous predecessor in his art (*StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, p. 1108). Apuleius, *Apol.*, c. 33: Themison servus noster, medicinae non ignarus; c. 48: Themison medicus, probably the same. Lips., *El.*, i, 18: Themisones aliquot inter primores medicos: ideo medicorum pueri amabant id nomen. A physician under Domitian (Martial, vi, 70, 6) called himself Alcon, like the celebrated surgeon of the time of Claudius (vol. i, p. 171); the same name designates an unskilful physician in Ausonius, *Epigr.*, 73, 74. Among the names often borne by physicians was probably also Metrodorus (cf. *StRE*, s.v., 7-9); it was the name of a freedman of Cicero's who was a physician (*Ad Fam.*, xvi, 14, 20; *Attic.*, xv, 16; Drumann, *RG*, vi, 405). *CIL*, xiv, 2652 (Tusculum): A. Clodius Metrodorus mdicus (*sic*). So also Heras, a name perhaps first made illustrious by the immediate predecessor of Andromachus (Cels., v, 22). *CIL*, v, 2, 6064 (Mediolani): M. Petronius Herasmidicus (read Heras medicus, Gruter). Martial, vi, 78, 3: Huic Heras medicus 'bibas caveto'.

That this custom also existed among sculptors and painters cannot be proved, as Löwy (*Inscr. griech. Künstler*, p. 318) remarks, as names like Praxiteles and Leochares were common, and besides a family of artists descended from the celebrated Praxiteles may

<sup>1</sup> A certain G. (*sic*) Licinius Asclepias medicus, *CIL*, x, 6471. *CIG*, ii, 2987 = Lebas-Wadd., iii, 161, p. 53 (cf. 68), Ephesus: [ἸΑΤΤ]αλον Ἀσκληπιάδου Πρεῖσκον φιλοσέβαστον ἀρχίατρον διὰ γένους.

perhaps have existed for centuries. Considering, however, that in the imperial age artists and craftsmen often belonged to the slave class or had risen from it, one cannot be surprised that their masters should choose famous names for them, just as they might confer the name Amphion on a *citharoedus* or Themiso on a surgeon. It is then at least a plausible supposition that a family of artists is referred to in the inscription on the figure of an Egyptian monkey erected 159 A.D., and now in the Vatican: Φιδίας καὶ Ἀμμώνιος ἀμφότεροι Φιδίου ἐποίησαν (Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.*, i, 610 f.; Löwy, no. 382), although considering the frequency of the name Phidias (Löwy on no. 536), this must remain a mere supposition. I also adhere to my opinion, in view of all the examples quoted, that the *decurio* and *duumvir* Q. Lollius Alcamenes, who appears in the relief in Zoega, *Bassir. ant.*, i, 23, holding a bust in his hand, was at least a *dilettante*, if not an artist.

#### XL. THE PYRRHIC OF ASIA MINOR.

(Vol. II, p. 108, l. 7.)

SUETONIUS, *Caesar*, c. 29: pyrrhicham saltaverunt Asiae Bithyniaeque principum liberi. Josephus, *Ant. J.*, xix, 1, 14; Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 58; Dio, lx, 7 and lx, 23; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12. I think these passages make it certain that the following passage of Lucian refers to the Pyrrhic, which here was chiefly Bacchic; *De Saltat.*, 79: ἡ μὲν γὰρ Βακχικὴ ὀρχησις ἢ ἐν Ἰωνίῳ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν Πόντῳ (part of the province of Bithynia, which was also called Bithynia et Pontus or Bithynia-Pontus) σπουδαζομένη, οὕτως κεχεῖρωται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ, ὥστε κατὰ τὸν τεταγμένον ἕκαστοι καιρὸν ἀπάντων ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων κάθηται δι' ἡμέρας τιτᾶνας καὶ κορύβαντας καὶ σατύρους καὶ βουκόλους ὁρῶντες καὶ ὀρχοῦνται ταῦτα οἱ εὐγενέστατοι καὶ πρωτεύοντες ἐν ἑκάστη τῶν πόλεων κ.τ.λ. In Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, iv, 2 ed. K., p. 66, the inhabitants of Ephesus are ὀρχηστῶν ἡττημένοι καὶ πρὸς πυρρίχαις αὐτοὶ ὄντες, αὐλῶν μὲν πάντα μεστὰ ἦν, μεστὰ δὲ κτύπων. It appears from Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, ix, 2, that in his time in Greece as elsewhere the Pyrrhic was danced by boys of good family. Also the dances performed in Athens at the Dionysia (Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, iv, 21, p. 73, ed. K.) seem to have been Pyrrhics. Two prizes for Pyrrhics in a pentaeteric *agon* at Aphrodisias: Lebas-Waddington, 1620 d.

#### XLI. THE CONTESTS IN THE ACTIAN AGON AT NICOPOLIS.

(Vol. II, p. 118, l. 20.)

EVIDENTLY all the usual gymnastic and musical contests took place here. The former are mentioned generally in Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 6 (cf. vol. ii, p. 118):—

Huc me post patrii laetum quinquennia lustris,  
quum stadio jam pigra quies, canusque sederet  
pulvis, ad Ambracias conversa gymnade frondes, etc.

Cf. also Henzen, *AdI*, 1865, p. 99, *Iscriz. Atlet. Napol.* (ξυστάρχης Ἀκτίων κ.τ.λ.; cf. p. 105). *CIG*, 2723 (Stratonice)—παγκράτιον? Ἀκτια ἀγ[ελεῶν]. Lebas-Waddington, 1540 (Erythrae): πυγμῆν. *CIG*, 4472 = Lebas-W., 1839—παίδων πυγμῆν (time of the Severi, *CIL*, iii, 730). *CIG*, 5913, 24 (Alexandria) παγκράτιον. Ditten-



berger, *Inscr. v. Olympia in Archäol. Ztg.*, xxxv, 190, 90: a victor in the *διαυλος* and *ὀπλίτης* δρ. at Olympia καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν περιόδον σὺν Ἀκτίοισιν. *Ibid.*, xxxviii, p. 164, 366: Ἀκτίους ἄνδρας παγκράτιον.

Musical contests. *CIG*, 1420 = Lebas-W., ii, 179 A. (Sparta)—Ἀκτια τραγῳδοῦς. 1719 (Delphi)—Ῥώμην Πυθαύλας Ἀκτια χοραύλας. 1720 (Nicomedia)—τὸ β' Ἀκτια κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς πυθαύλας καὶ χοραύλας. 2810 (Aphrodisias)—κυκλ. αὐλήτ. Ἀκτια. 3208 (Smyrna)—κιθαρωδ. Ἀκτια β'. 4801 (Pessinus)—κυκλ. αὐλήτ. Ἀκτιόνεικος. *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 120. Ti. Claudi Glaphyri choraulae Actionicae et Sebastonicae. —*CIG*, 1068 (Megara)—Ἀκτια ἐν Νικοπόλει β.

Contest of heralds. Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, p. 100, 68. Inscription of a κῆρυξ who was victorious at Olympia in 137/8, see below, p. 266.

## XLII. THE CONTESTS IN THE CAPITOLINE AGON.

(Vol. II, p. 120, l. 12.)

WHEN Suetonius wrote his lives of the emperors, in 120 A.D., several of the original contests had already been discontinued, especially (Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 4):—

(1) The contest in Greek eloquence.

(2) The contest in Latin eloquence. The praise of Capitoline Jupiter had been a regular theme in this contest, Quintilian, iii, 7, 4; Palfurius Sura had once received the prize. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 13. Haupt, *Colloq. ex cod. Montepess.*, s. ix, *Ind. lect. Berolin. hib.*, 1871, p. 6, 7: Ἐγκώμιον ἔγραψα. Τίνος; Ζητὸς Καπιτωλίνου. Ἀνάγνωθι. . . . Μεγάλως εἶπας. ἄρον τὸν στέφανον. οὐδεὶς σοι ἀντιλέγει. Cf. also the passage Auson., *Proff.*, v, 5, quoted in the next appendix.

(3) The contest of the *Chorocitharistae*.

(4) The contest of the *Psilocitharistae* (*cithara* playing without accompaniment).

(5) The girls' race.

There remained the following:—

The contest in Greek poetry. For this the poet Diodorus wished to travel from Alexandria to Rome in the year 94 (Martial, ix, 40). In that year no less than 52 Greek poets competed, among them the Roman boy Q. Sulpicius Maximus with 43 improvised hexameters on the theme "How Zeus spoke, when he rebuked Helios for lending his chariot to Phaethon" (see vol. iii, p. 45). The Latin inscription on his monument (C. L. Visconti, *Il sepolcro del fanciullo P. Sulpicio Massimo*, p. 5) reads: Deis manibus sacrum. Q. Sulpicio Q.f. Cla. Maximo domo Roma vix. ann. xi. m. v. d. xii. Hic tertii certaminis lustro inter Graecos poetas duo et L professus, favorem quem ob teneram aetatem excitaverat, in admirationem ingenio suo perduxit et cum honore discessit. Versus extemporales eo subjecti sunt ne parent(es) adfectib(us) suis indulsisse videantur. Q. Sulpicius Maximus et Licinia Januaria parent(es) infelicissimi f. piissim. fec. et sib. p. s.

The contest in Latin poetry. In the year 86 Collinus, celebrated by Martial, iv, 54, obtained the prize; cf. also Morcelli, *De agone Cap.*, p. 21. Statius was an unsuccessful competitor in 90, or perhaps 94, cf. Appendix LVII. The rhetorician P. Annius Florus says that the audience had unanimously demanded the prize for him, invito



quidem Caesare et resistente, non quod sibi puero invideret, sed ne Africa coronam magni Jovis attingeret (*P. Anni Flori fragm.*, in Jahn's edition of Jul. Florus, p. xli). If the subject of his poem was the Dacian triumph (*op. cit.*), this need not as Jahn thinks (p. lxxv) be that of Trajan (102 A.D.), since Domitian also held a Dacian triumph at the end of 89, so the poem might have been composed in the year 90. Martial, ix, 35, 10, alludes to the approaching *agon* of the year 94: *Destinet aetherius cui sua sarta pater*. In the year 106<sup>1</sup> the prize for Latin poetry was given by a unanimous vote of the judges to L. Valerius Pudens of Histonium, a boy of thirteen: Mommsen, *IRN*, 5252 = *CIL*, ix, 2860 (cf. n. on ii, 120, 22). The tragic poet Memor, a brother of the satirist Turnus, is called by Martial, xi, 9 (cf. 10), *clarus fronde Jovis, Romani fama cothurni* (cf. vol. iii, p. 45 and n.), and must have obtained the prize in one of the first three *agones*, for the eleventh book of Martial appeared soon after Domitian's death. (In *Numerian.*, c. 11: Olympius Nemesianus . . . *quique omnibus coloniis illustratus emicuit*, Casaubon emends the meaningless *coloniis* to *coronis*.)

Singing. Inscription of one Aurelius Charmus of Philadelphia, *CIG*, 3425: *ψδὸν παράδοξον, περιδονεῖκην στεφανωθέντα ἱεροῦς ἀγῶνας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης πάντας ἀπὸ Καπετωλείων ἕως Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας*, Citharoedic contests. Juvenal, 6, 387:—

Ianum Vestamque rogabat,  
an Capitolinam deberet Pollio quercum  
sperare et fidibus promittere.

Cf. on Pollio, Martial, iv, 61, 9. *Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, ix, 1885, p. 124 (Nyasa). II. Αἰλίου . . . Κυζικηνοῦ κιθαρωδοῦ καπετωλονεῖκου.

Flute-playing. Monument of a *Pythaulēs* of Nicomedia, who obtained the prize ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καπετώλειᾳ πνθαύλας, *CIG*, 1720. Cf. *CIG*, 1719, quoted above, p. 264. *CIG*, 6788 (Nemausus): — — χοραυλῆς γ Καπετ. According to Minervini the words Ῥώμῃ β', in the inscription of Antigenidas (above, p. 261) refer to the Capitoline games. The question must however remain unanswered whether the fairly common statement in inscriptions of Greek musicians and athletes that they were victorious 'at Rome' always has this meaning. If it is true, as is reported, that in an inscription on the Appian Way (*CIG*, 5919) the words Ῥώμῃ τραγωδοῦς are enclosed in a laurel wreath, this inscription cannot refer to the Capitoline *agon*, in which the prizes were wreaths of oak.

Organ-playing? Quintilian, ix, 4, 11: In certaminibus sacris (organorum soni) non eadem ratione concitant animos ac remittunt.

Dramatic representations and recitations. In the inscription *CIG*, iv, 6829 (198–210 A.D.) occur the words: Καπετωλιονεῖκου παραδόξον . . . Ἐφεσίου κωμωδοῦ. Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*, iv, 33: Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Θυατηρηνὸς ὁ τραγωδὸς μέλλων ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν τῶν τραγωδῶν ἀγῶνα. It is possible (as Morcelli thought, *Sull' agone Cap.*, p. 16), that certain expressions occurring in inscriptions relating to pantomimes—*coronatus contra omnes scaenicos*, *hieronica coronatus* (in urbe coronato, Orelli, 2627)—refer to the Capitoline *agon*.

<sup>1</sup> I follow Mommsen in explaining *lustrum sexto* as the beginning of the sixth *lustrum* i.e. the sixth *agon*.

In the inscription *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 114 (see above, p. 258): M. Ulpius Aug. I. Apolaustus | et maximus pantomimorum | coronatus adversus histriones | et omnes scaenicos | artifices xii, the number xii, may, as Wilmanns, *E.I.*, 2619, supposes, mean the twelfth *agon*, 130 A.D.

Contest of Heralds. Dittenberger, *Inscr. aus Olympia in Archäol. Ztg.*, xxxv, p. 100, 68: II. Αἴλιος Ἀρτεμᾶς Λαοδικεὺς (sic) νικήσας Ὀλυμπιάδι σκδ (Ol. 229, 1 = 137/8) Ὀλύμπια κήρυκας καὶ τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους ἀγῶνας τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καπετώλ[εια . . .] Ἀκτία κ.τ.λ. . . . ὑπὸ φωνασκὸν Λ. Τυρρώνιον Λόνγον Εἰκονέα τὸν καὶ Λαοδικέα. *CIA*, iii, 129:—T. Αἴλ. Αὐρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος Ταρσεὺς καὶ Ἀθηναῖος κωμωδὸς καὶ κήρυξ περιοδοεικής σὺν Καπιτωλίοις κ.τ.λ. *Id.*, 129: Οὐαλέριος Ἐκλεκτος Σινωπεὺς . . . κήρυξ διςπερίοδος νεικήσας ἀγῶνας ἱεροὺς οἰκουμενικοὺς τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους . . . Καπετώλεια ἐν Ῥώμῃ γ', Ἀθηναῖς Προμάχου ἐν Ῥώμῃ γ', τὸν χειλιετῇ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐτειμήθην χρυσῷ βραβεῖω μόνος καὶ πρώτος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος κηρύκων, Εὐσέβεια ἐν Ποιτίλοις δ' Σεβαστὰ ἐν Νεαπόλει δ' κ.τ.λ. The inscription was erected between 253 and 257, as is shown by a later inscription of the same herald, put up at Olympia about 261, wherein he is called κήρυξ τριςπερίοδος, and his victories in Rome are enumerated as above, the last with the designation Ῥώμης αἰώνια. Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, xxxviii, (1880), p. 165 f., 369.

Gymnastic contests. All those usual in the sacred games in Greece, both for men and boys, as may be certainly assumed from the existing evidence.

Long distance race. *CIG*, 2682 = Lebas-Waddington, 301: inscription of T. Flavius Metrobius of Iasos, who won the victory τὴν περίοδον ἀνδρῶν δόλιχον Ἰασέων πρώτος καὶ τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καπετώλεια πρώτος ἀνθρώπων (86 A.D.).

Boxing. *CIG*, 237, inscription of a boxer M. Τύλλιος of Apamea (not earlier than Hadrian).

Wrestling. Dio, lxxix, 10: Αὐρήλιος Αἰλιξ ὁ ἀθλητής . . . τοσούτον τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ὑπερῆσεν, ὥστε πάλιν τε ἅμα καὶ παγκράτιον ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀγωνίσασθαι ἐβελήσαι, κὰν τοῖς Καπετωλείοις καὶ ἅμφω νικήσαι, . . . ὁ μὴδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπεποιήκει (218 A.D.). Cf. n. on ii, 129, 5.

Pancration. *CIG*, 5806. T. Flavius Artemidorus of Adana (see above, p. 261) won τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν μεγάλων Καπετωλείων τὸν πρώτως ἀχθέντα ἀνδρῶν παγκράτιον (86 A.D.). Martial, vi, 77:—

Cum sis tam pauper, quam nec miserabilis Irus,  
tam juvenis quam nec Parthenopaeus erat;  
tam fortis, quam nec, cum vinceret, Artemidorus,  
quid te Cappadocum sex onus esse juvat?

There can be little doubt that the same Artemidorus is meant here, as Martial's sixth book appeared in the year 90. It seems from v. 3 that Artemidorus had been beaten shortly before (in the *agon* of 90).

*CIG*, 5804. T. Flavius Archibius of Alexandria: τὰ μεγάλα Καπετώλεια τὴν τρί[την] Ὀλυμπιάδα] ἀγενέων παγκράτιον στεφανωθέντα, κα[ὶ τὴν τετάρτην] ἀνδρῶν παγκράτιον νικήσαντα καὶ τὴν πέμπτην ἀνδρῶν παγκράτιον στεφανωθέντα καὶ τὴν ἕκτην ὁμοίως ἀνδρῶν] παγκράτιον στεφανωθέντα πρώτον ἀνθρώπων (94, 98, 102, 106 A.D.).

Aelius Aurelius Menander of Aphrodisias won ἐπὶ θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνον,

ὥς οὐ μόνον στεφανωθῆναι ταῖς ἐκείνου χερσὶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τειμαῖς ἐξαιρέτοις τειμηθῆναι. Lebas-Waddington, 1620 a. Καπετώλεια Ὀλύμπια ἀνδρῶν παγκράτιον πρῶτον Ἀφροδεισιέων. *Ib.*, 1620 b = CIG, 2180 b. As the seventh Panathenais, in which Menander had apparently won before, falls in the year 150/1 (Dittenberger, *Die attische Panathenaidenāra*, *Comment. Mommsen*, pp. 244, 253), the Capitoline *agon*, in which he won, must be either that of 154 or of 158.

CIG, 3674. M. Aurelius Corus of Cyzicus won Ῥώμην Καπετώλεια ἀγεγελῶν παγκράτιον (perhaps 166 A.D.).

*Ib.*, 5913. M. Aurelius Asclepiades, apparently of Hermopolis in Egypt, a very famous pancratiast, won (line 21) Καπετώλεια ἐν Ῥώμῃ δῖς, τὸ δεύτερον μετὰ πρῶτον κλῆρον στήσας τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστάς (?) (178 and 182 A.D.).

Artemidorus, *Onirom.*, iv, 42 : Μένιππος ὁ Μάγνης οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγῶνος, ἔδοξε παγκρατιάζοντος αὐτοῦ νύκτα γενέσθαι· οὐ μόνον ἐλείφθη τὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγῶνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πληγείς τὴν χεῖρα ἀπώλεσεν.

In the inscription of a victor from Megara, CIG, 1068, who won thrice in the Capitoline *agon*, there is no indication of the contest ; nor in that of a certain M. Aurelius Thelymitres (καπετωλωνέικης). Rayet, *Inscr. inéd. de Milète*, in *Rev. archéol.*, xv, 28 (1874), p. 113.

Chariot-racing. Inscription of a charioteer P. Aelius Gutta Calpurnianus : — — — In factione Veneta vici . . . sacro quinquennialis certaminis I. Cf. p. 152.

It may be concluded from the gentile names Flavius, Aelius, Aurelius, that the Capitoline victors received civil rights from the emperors, unless, like the boxer M. Tullius of Apamea, they already possessed them.

### XLIII. CONTINUANCE OF THE CAPITOLINE AGON. (Vol. II, p. 121, l. 22.)

THE ordinance of Diocletian and Maximian (*Cod. Just.*, x, 53) regarding the athletes who were coronis non minus tribus certaminis sacri, in quibus vel semel Romae seu antiquae Graeciae coronati is certainly to be referred to the *agon Capitolinus*. Bock, *Les dernières solennités des jeux Capitolins de Rome* (Bruxelles, 1849), p. 6, wrongly refers the passages in Firmic. Matern., iii, 6, 12 and vi, 31 to the same games. The 'coronarum insignia' mentioned in the first passage are priestly insignia, as the collocation with 'praetexta vestis' shows (cf. praetexta et aureae vestes atque aurearum insignia coronarum, vi, 31). The second passage speaks quite generally of sacred games : athletam faciet ista genitura, sed qui in sacris certaminibus victor, gloriosa et digna reportet insignia coronarum. This passage no more necessarily proves the continuance of the *agon Capitolinus* than iii, 12, 3 : sacris certaminibus praepositos, iii, 14, 3 : facit in sacris certaminibus esse victores . . . aut sacri certaminis principes ; iv, 7 *in f.* ; sacri certaminis palmas aut coronas largitur aut sacris certaminibus faciet esse praepositos aut templorum fabricatores aut sacrorum confectores. It is probably right with Scaliger to refer to the *agon Capitolinus* the certainly rather obscure passage Ausonius, *Proff.*, v, 5 : Tu paene ab ipsis orsus incunabulis Dei poeta nobilis Sertum coronae praeferens Olympiae puer celebrasti



Jovem; cf. e.g. Καπετώλεια Ὀλύμπια in *CIG*, 2180 b. The scholiast to Juv., 6, 387 speaks of the festival as of a thing of the past (Pollio quercum: coronam dicit; inde enim solebant coronari); Bock (p. 31) thinks it ceased after the laws in *Cod. Theod.*, App. l. x, ed. Ritter, vi, p. x; lxix, 16, 10 (de paganis sacrificiis et templis) in the year 407/8.

I add notices of some obscure or only partially intelligible pictorial representations, which Bock refers to the *agon Capitolinus*. A diptych from Monza (Gori, *Dipt.*, ii, 243 ss., pl. viii) shows a Muse with a lyre and a bald man with a scroll and a book. Two similar painted glass vessels in Buonarrotti, pl. xxx s, p. 216: three Genii fly up to a man depicted as a river-god (which Bock thinks is an allusion to the Blue faction); one Genius holds a vase over the man's head, with KAIEΘ below; beneath the Genii is written, [HILA]RIS VIVAS VALEAS VINCAS. In Garrucci, *Vetri ornati*, etc., pl. xxxiv, 1: a flute-player in a long striped sleeved gown, in his left hand two flutes, in his right a palm (?), to the left a mask on a staff, to the right a basket. On the staff, in addition to a wreath, is the inscription: ILIA CAPITOLIA. Bock describes a similar glass vessel after Boldetti, *Osserv. sopra i cimeteri de' SS. Martiri*, I, c. xxxix, p. 205; he thinks that Ilia stands for Aelia, which he supposes alludes to the alleged descent of Theodosius from Hadrian.

#### XLIV. THE EXTENSION OF GYMNASRIC CONTESTS IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES.

(Vol. II, p. 122, l. 21.)

NEAPOLIS was the chief centre from which gymnastic contests spread through Italy, beginning with Campania (see vol. ii, p. 118). The Neapolitan games, which first attained to great importance under Augustus, were called Ῥωμαῖα Σεβαστὰ Ἰσολύμπια, and were celebrated in the third year of each Olympiad. Till the founding of the *agon Capitolinus*, they were the most important Italian festival of the kind. At Olympia has been found a fragment of a document recording the permission granted there to make the Neapolitan festival 'isolympic', that is, to observe the order of the Olympic festival; see G. Hirschfeld, *Zu griech. Inschr.*, in *Ztschr. f. österreich. Gymnas.*, 1882, pp. 491-499. At Naples the *gymnasiarchia* was one of the most honoured magistracies, it took precedence of all the municipal offices, except the *demarchia*.

Puteoli. Antoninus Pius founded in memory of Hadrian (Ἀδριάνεια, *CIG*, 3208) a sacrum certamen iselasticum (*CIL*, x, 515 [142 A.D.]) quinquennale (*Vit. Hadrian.*, c. 27), generally called Εὐσέβεια (ἀγῶνες Πίλοι), *CIG*, 1068, 1720, 5810, 5913; Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*, i, 26; *CIG*, 5853; Mommsen, *CIL*, x, p. 183; Dessau, *BdI*, 1881, p. 141, 1.

At Pompeii gymnastic games are recorded as early as Augustus: *CIL*, x, 1074 d = *IRN*, 2378 (vol. ii, p. 82 f.); *CIL*, i, 1251 (Ib. vix post Augustum) NN. IIv. j. d. Laconicum et destrictarium faciund. et porticus et palaestr. reficiunda locarunt ex d. d. ex ea pecunia quod eos e lege in ludos aut in monumento consumere oportuit faciun. coerarunt eidemque probarunt. *CIL*, iv, 1177 (at a spec-



tacle given by Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius under Tiberius, p. 70) : . . . venatio athletae sparsiones vela erunt ; cf. 1181. In electioneering appeals, Pyramus Olympionica (*Ephem. epigr.*, i, no. 151 ; *CIL*, iv, 3291, p. xvii). Fructus pycta, *CIL*, iv, 387.

Beneventum. Inscription of a poeta latinus coronatus in munere patriae suae. At the end : Esterti, primus Beneventi studium orchestropales instituisti. *CIL*, ix, 1663.

Dalmatia. Epidaurus (Ragusa vecchia). Pugilum spectaculum, *BdI*, 1857, p. 46 ; cf. *CIL*, iii, 1, 1745.

Galliae. Here Massilia must have been the centre from which the practice spread. *CIG*, 3413 = Herzog, *Gall. Narb. App.*, 618 (from Boeckh) : ὁ δῆμος Δημήτριον Δημητρίου Γάλλον τὸν πρύτανιν καὶ στεφανηφόρον τῆς Μασσαλίας τὸ γί, ἥρωα, ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς γυμνασιαρχίας καὶ τῶν . . . ὦν τεμῶν Λουκίου Ἀουιδίου λειτουργίας . . . *CIL*, xii, 410 ib. : agnothet(ae) agoni(s) Iobiani ; cf. p. 812. *CIL*, v, 2, 7914 (Nicaea) : NN. q̄ IIvir Massil.—agnothetae, episcopo Nicaeensium amici (cf. p. 916).

Arelate. *CIL*, xii, 670 ; NN. (dona)vit, item HS n. cc, (ex quor. usur)is omnibus annis . . . (ludi) athletar. aut circen(ce ederen)-tur.

Nemausus. *CIL*, xii, 3232 : ψήφισμα τῆς ἱερῆς θυμελικῆς Ἀδριανῆς συνόδου τῶν περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν τὸν νεδὸν Διόνυσον συναγωνιστῶν. Archiereus sacrae synhodi 3183, xystarchus 3132.

Vienna (Vienne). Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 22 (a. 102–105) : interfui principis optimi cognitioni in consilium adsumptus, gymnicus agon apud Viennenses ex cuiusdam testamento celebrabatur : hunc Trebonius Rufus, vir egregius nobisque amicus, in duumviratu tollendum abolendumque curavit ; negabatur ex auctoritate publica fecisse. egit ipse causam non minus feliciter quam diserte . . . placuit agona tolli qui mores Viennensium infecerat, ut noster hic omnium. *CIL*, xiv, 1923 : D. m. Niciae citharoedo Iulia.

Minnodunum. Orelli, 339 = Mommsen, *Inscr. Helvet.*, 149 : Pro salute domus divin. J.O.M. Junon. regin. aram Q. Aelius Aunus sevir Aug. de suo ; item donavit vicinis Minnodunens. den. DCCCL. ex quorum usur. gymnasium in per(petuum) c(urarent).

Hispaniae. Balsa (Lusitania) *CIL*, ii, 13 : edito barcarum certamine et pugilum.

Barcino. *CIL*, ii, 4514. Legacy of a centurion under Marcus Aurelius to the city of den. vii. D. ex quorum usuris semissibus edi volo quodannis spectac. pugilum die iv Iduum Juni : usque ad den. CCL, etc.

Africa. Carthago. Tertullian, *Scorpiace adv. Gnosticos*, c. 6 : Adhuc Carthaginem singulae civitates gratulando inquietant donatam Pythico agone post stadii senectutem. Cf. for athletic exercises *id.*, *De pallio*, c. 4. The *agon*, which had probably been founded by Severus, was renewed in the year 376 : *Cod. Theodos.*, xv, 7, 3, cf. Gothofred. Tertullian, *loc. cit.*, mentions the appearance of musicians as well as athletes (corporum et vocum praestantiam). Among the victories of one of the two *CIL*, xiv, 474 (Ostia) : Pythia Karthaginis, Asclepia Karthaginis ; which Dessau, *BdI*, 1881, pp. 137–

141, considers to refer to only one festival, dedicated to the two gods. Cf. vol. iii, 47, 4-8 and n.

In the cities of the *provincia proconsularis*, gymnastic games (always called *gymnasium*) often combined with banquets (*epulum*) of the *decuriones* and citizens, were among the most common festivities: *CIL*, viii, 754, 769, 858, 860, 895 (*spectaculum pugilum et gymnasium*),<sup>1</sup> 937, 1323, 1353, 1361, 1414, 1449, 1501, 1574, 1577. Cf. the index, p. 1117. *Ephem. epigr.*, v, p. 283, n. 293; p. 291, n. 320; vii, n. 127, 238, 256, 258, 714.

Numidia. Theveste. *CIL*, 1858 sq.: will of C. Cornelius Egrilianus praef. leg. xiii geminae, who left a fund that on certain days every month gymnasia populo publice praeberentur in thermis.

Mauretaniae. Caesarea. *Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 477, 1036: Greek epitaph on an athlete (παγκράτιον νικήσας).

#### XLV. THE TAXES OF THREE ROMAN PROVINCES.<sup>2</sup>

(Vol. II, p. 133, l. 2.)

JOSEPHUS gives the following account of the division of Palestine between the sons of Herod the Great, which Augustus effected in 4 B.C., and of the revenues which they drew from their allotted districts (*Ant. Jud.*, xvii, 11, 4; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, 1<sup>a</sup>, 409 f.): 'Ἀρχέλαον . . . τοῦ . . . ἡμισέος τῆς χώρας ἥπερ Ἡρώδῃ ὑπετέλει, ἐθνάρχην καθίσταται . . . τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν ἡμίσειαν . . . παρεδίδου Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ἀντίπα· καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἡ τε Περαιὰ καὶ τὸ Γαλιλαῖον ὑπετέλουν, φορὰ τε τῇ διακόσια τάλαντα τὸ ἐπ' ἔτος, Βαταναῖα δὲ σὺν Τραχωνίτιδι καὶ Αὐρανίτις σὺν τινι μέρει οἴκου τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου λεγομένου Φιλίππῳ τάλαντα ἑκατὸν προσέφερε, τὰ δὲ Ἀρχελάφ συντελοῦντα Ἰδουμαία τε καὶ Ἰουδαία τὸ τε Σαμαρειτικόν, τετάρτου μέρους οὗτοι τῶν φόρων παρελέλυντο . . . προσήει δὲ Ἀρχελάφ φορὰ χρημάτων τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τάλαντα ἑξακόσια ἐξ ἧς παρέλαβεν ἀρχῆς. If then to the 900 talents which the sons of Herod received between them, we add the 200 from the payment of which Augustus released the subjects of Archelaos, it results that the districts in question had previously paid 1100 talents annually in taxes. To this must be added the 60 talents which Augustus assigned as a yearly allowance to Herod's sister Salome (*A.J.*, xvii, 11, 5) and perhaps further revenues used for contesting the legacies which Herod left to his relatives. Palestine then paid about 1200 talents a year to the successors and heirs of Herod. If, as Marquardt (p. 408, 2) and Momm- sen (*RG*, v, 511, 1) assume, Hebrew talents are to be understood (equivalent, according to Hultsch, *Metrol.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 606, to 7830 marks or £383 5s.) the revenue would amount to £459,895. However this may be, Herod the Great's grandson, Herod (or M. Julius) Agrippa, who in the last years of his reign (37-44 A.D.) ruled as king over the whole kingdom of his grandfather (Marquardt, p. 411), derived from it a revenue of 12,000,000 drachmae, or £461,633. Josephus, *A.J.*, xix 8, 2: προσωδεύσατο δὲ ὅτι πλείστας αὐτῶν προσφοράς, διακοσίας ἐπὶ χιλιάσι μυριάδας. It may be assumed with certainty that under the administration of Roman procurators the country had to pay at least as much, which quite agrees with the statement of Josephus,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Henzen, 6599 (ex agro Tunetano): pugilum certamina . . . et populo gymnasium.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my Königsberg 'programm', *Acad. Albin. Regim.* 1880, i.

that in the spring of the year 64 the arrears of taxation amounted to 40 (Hebrew) talents. Josephus, *B.J.*, ii, 17, 1: καὶ οὐ βουλευταὶ μερισθέντες τοὺς φόρους συνέλεγον, ταχέως δὲ τὰ τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα (τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἔλιπεν) ἡθροίσθη.

On this basis can be reckoned the approximate amount of the money taxes of Egypt under Vespasian, for according to the speech which, as Josephus relates, Agrippa made to the Jews in the year 64, they amounted (apart from the contribution in grain) to more than twelve times the taxes of Palestine. Josephus, *B.J.*, ii, 16 (ed. Bekker, v, p. 186 f.): (ἡ Αἴγυπτος) τοῦ ἐνιαυσίου παρ' ὑμῶν φόρον καθ' ἓνα μῆνα πλέον Ῥωμαίοις παρέχει, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἔξωθεν τῇ Ῥώμῃ σίτον μηνῶν τεσσάρων. I have already shown (Appendix V, p. 22) that the statistical statements in this speech are drawn from an official document, a *Breviarium totius imperii*, compiled on the same plan as that of Augustus. Josephus would hardly have an opportunity of using such a document before his residence in Rome, where he wrote the history of the Jewish war about 75 A.D. Therefore at that time the annual payment in specie on the part of Egypt amounted to more than 24,000 Greek talents, or £5,540,000.

The annual Egyptian contribution of grain, which under Augustus had amounted to 20 million modii or 600,000 quarters, must have been considerably higher under Vespasian (cf. Rodbertus in the present work, App. v, p. 22). Now as the average price of wheat, as I have already shown (*Ind. lect. Regim.*, 1866, v) amounted in the period from Nero to Trajan to 4-5 sesterces the modius, the value of the Egyptian contribution of grain must have been rather above than below 100 million sesterces or £1,065,000. But, as Mommsen remarks (*RG*, v, 560), part of this contribution must have come from the domains, and another part perhaps was delivered in return for payment, so that it is impossible to calculate the total amount of the Egyptian revenues. It may however be safely said that it exceeded the sum of £5,530,000 in modern money. For in the first place part of the corn contribution was undoubtedly payment of taxes in kind, and secondly, as Josephus tells us, the taxation in specie amounted to more than twelve times that which was due from Palestine. Supposing the total taxation amounted to £6,000,000, the contribution per head of the population would be less than 15s., for Egypt certainly had more than 8 million inhabitants under Vespasian.

Diodorus, i, 31, gives the total population of Egypt (undoubtedly including Alexandria) as seven millions, Josephus, *B.J.*, ii, 16, 1, excluding Alexandria, as seven millions and a half. In Diodorus's time Alexandria had 300,000 free inhabitants (xvii, 52 s). Its prosperity had greatly increased since his time, and the ease with which a livelihood could be made, together with the pleasures which the city offered, must have allured a constant stream of immigrants from the country districts and the other towns. We may therefore conclude that in the time of Josephus its population, inclusive of slaves, was rather above than below a million. That the 'gens fecundissima' (Pliny, *N.h.*, vii, 33; Pliny, *Paneg.*, 31) in nearly a century had only increased from 7 to 8½ millions (while that of Germany, for instance, increased by nearly 54 per cent. between 1815



and 1865) is probably to be explained on the supposition that at the time of Diodorus the density of the population had nearly reached the limit fixed by the quantity of land available for cultivation. Even if we make a very high estimate of the land capable of cultivation in Egypt in Roman times (cf. Klöden, *Handb. der Erdkunde*, iii, 472), e.g. 11,000 to 12,000 English square miles, we find that when Diodorus wrote the density was 580-640 per square mile, and when Josephus wrote 710-770.<sup>1</sup> At the present time it exceeds 500 in Middle and Upper Egypt (Wagner-Guthe, *Lehrb. d. Geographie*, p. 229).<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that if what Diodorus says about Egypt is to be understood literally (i, 31: πολυανθρωπία . . . καθ' ἡμᾶς . . . οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων δοκεῖ λείπεσθαι), there were other countries as thickly populated. In any case Wietersheim's (and still more Beloch's) estimates of the population of the Roman provinces are in many cases too low.<sup>3</sup>

A total fiscal burden of about 15s. per head of the population is exceptionally low, judged by modern standards; for at the present day it stands in France at £2 18s. 8d., in England at £2 5s. 5d., in Italy at £2 3s. 10d., and in Germany at £2 2s. 3d. (E. Reclus, *Géog. univers.*, iii, 948, 2).

Although this estimate of the total amount of the Egyptian taxes may arouse doubts as to its correctness on account of the relative lowness of the figures, it agrees very well with a statement of the taxes of Egypt under Ptolemy Philadelphus. He received, according to Jerome, *In Dan.*, xi, 5 s, 1122 (Bened.) from Egypt annually quatuordecim milia et octingenta talenta argenti (£2,790,000) . . . et frumenti artabas (quae mensura tres modios et tertiam modii partem habet) quinque et decies centena milia (203,000 quarters). Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 193, 3, and for this and the other data for the Egyptian revenues see F. Rühl, *Der Schatz des Ptolemäus Philadelphus*, in *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 1879, p. 621 ff. It is not at all surprising to find that the country with a considerably increased population was able and obliged to bear, when under the Romans, money taxes twice as high as under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and a tax in corn about thrice as high.

Now Velleius says that the revenues which the Roman treasury derived from Egypt were almost as high as those from the Gaul which Caesar conquered. Velleius, ii, 39: Divus Augustus praeter Hispanias aliasque gentes quarum titulis forum ejus praenitet, paene idem facta Aegypto stipendiaria quantum pater ejus Galliis in aerarium reditus contulit. Equally well known are the statement of Suetonius (*Caesar*, c. 25, where according to Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 242, 4 instead of CCCC, the reading of the Vatican MS., we should read [CCCC]), and the statement of Eutropius (undoubtedly based

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *RG*, v, 578, assumes a maximum cultivable area of 700 German sq. m., or 15,335 English, with a density of about 500 to the English sq. m.

<sup>2</sup> [The density of population in Egypt is now, according to the census of 1907, estimated at 939 per sq. m., exclusive of desert. This gives a non-desert area of about 12,000 sq. m., but of this less than 10,000 are regarded as cultivable under present conditions. Tr.]

<sup>3</sup> Hartel's estimate (*Griech. Papyri des Erzherzogs Rainer*, pp. 22 f. and 58 f.) drawn from the Arab conscriptions, that the population of Egypt amounted to 15 millions in the year 640 appears to me impossible.



on Suetonius), vi, 17, that Caesar 'Galliae . . . tributum nomine annuum imperavit sestertium quadringentis'. Therefore according to Velleius Gaul paid more than £6,000,000, and according to Suetonius and Eutropius only about £350,000. O. Hirschfeld (*Antiquar. krit. Bemerk. z. röm. Schriftstellern*, in *Wiener Studien*, 1880, p. 110 f.) regards the passage in Velleius as corrupt, and for 'paene idem' reads 'paene vicies' (or 'p. v. tantum'). I am more disposed to think that Velleius means the taxes paid in his own day by the Gallic provinces, a revenue for which the treasury was indebted to the conqueror of Gaul, although he had not himself raised it. It is not improbable that Velleius derived his information from the *Breviarium totius imperii* of Augustus, as he also seems to have used the latter's *Index rerum gestarum* (Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 3 s.). It may well be supposed that Caesar imposed very light taxes on the exhausted country; and it may be taken for granted that sixty years later they were very much heavier. As early as the time of Augustus Gaul was one of the most wealthy provinces, and its population must have considerably exceeded that of Egypt. If we estimate the mean density of the population of Gaul in Caesar's time at only 46 per square mile (Mommsen, *RG*, iii<sup>5</sup>, 216, 1000 per sq. German m.), the whole of Roman Gaul had then already more than ten million inhabitants, and in sixty years the population must not only have made good the losses caused by the war, but must have increased very materially.

Finally, it may be noted that the sum which, according to Philostratus, *Vitt. Soph.*, ii, 3, was to be paid as *φόρος* by the province of Asia under Hadrian, amounted to seven million drachmae (*i.e.* 28,000,000 sesterces, or less than £300,000), a sum far too low, as the above results show, to be accepted as the total fiscal contribution of this province. For it is hardly conceivable that this populous flourishing country with five hundred cities paid much less than Palestine.

#### XLVI. RODBERTUS ON THE COMPARISON OF ANCIENT WITH MODERN WEALTH.

(Vol. II, p. 139, l. 19.)

I HAVE often corresponded with Rodbertus (d. 6 Dec. 1875) on economic and statistical questions which arose in the course of my studies, and his letters were sometimes complete dissertations. I insert here the letter of 4 December, 1871, which he wrote on the receipt of the first edition of this volume. I preface it with the remark that I greatly doubt whether it is possible to prove, as he maintains, that the value of money measured by wheat alone was six times as high in Rome as it is to-day, and that I not only entirely dissent from his opinion that the income of Narcissus exceeded an average income of his day in a far higher degree than that of [W. B.] Astor exceeds an average modern income, but that I do not know on what this opinion is based.

'Your comparison of private wealth in Roman times and our own was extraordinarily interesting to me, for such a comparison is one of the most difficult questions known to political economy. It is

*not* covered by the question of the real value of precious metal (in so far as that is only measured by a wheat standard), in other words the value of money measured in terms of wheat at different periods is no true standard for the comparison of private wealth at the respective periods. I am confident that I can prove from the sources that the value of money, measured merely by *wheat* was at least six times as high in Rome as it is to-day, but I do not consider the conclusion justified that the real value of money *in general* was six times as high, or that the same sum of money would have represented six times as much *private wealth*. For wheat alone does not make wealth, indeed one must first turn it into bread to be able to use it.

‘But measured by *bread* the difference in the value of money at the two periods is not nearly so great as it is when measured by the raw material, for the manufacture of flour was enormously more laborious in ancient times than it is to-day. Moreover it was just the same with *all manufactured articles*, and these are the material of *wealth*. The labour of manufacture and transportation very much diminished the real value of money *in general* in antiquity, and if the same sum of money purchased six times as much wheat, it did not represent anything like six times as much *wealth*, for this consists in the *manifold* means of enjoyment ready for use, which one person has at his command as compared with other persons at a given time. For example, measured by silken fabrics, the same sum of money, which purchased six times as much wheat as to-day, would be worth many times less than it is now. All this of course tells in favour of your view, that even if the value of money on a wheat standard was six times as high as it is now, a private income measured by the same standard would nevertheless not have exceeded a modern one in the same proportion.

‘And now, how shall we decide the question of comparative private wealth at different periods, even supposing we know the real value of money *in general* at two periods, if the material of wealth, *viz.* the means of enjoyment, is to a great extent of different kinds? Here the money standard is of no use.

‘I have therefore always thought that the question as to the difference in wealth at *different* times must be put in another form, and so I will formulate the question as follows:—

‘Which enjoyed an income surpassing in a higher degree the *average income* of his day, Narcissus or Astor?

‘Whichever it was, he was the richer man of the two. I may say that I believe, compared thus, Narcissus would beat Astor by many incomes’ lengths.

‘Perhaps one might object to such a method of comparison that the chief of a Kaffir tribe that knows next to nothing of agriculture might conceivably receive an income surpassing the average income of a fellow-tribesman an infinitely greater number of times than Mr. Astor’s income surpasses that of the average American, and yet one would not call the Kaffir chief richer than Astor. The objection would be valid, were it not based on an *impossible* premiss. Great individual wealth *can* only arise when, as an accompaniment, relatively great productivity of labour or dense population, social institutions (slavery or property in land and capital) exist, which bring

about the result that the wages of individual labour do not absorb the whole profits of that labour, but that the surplus accumulates in the hands of other persons, relatively few in number. In times of barbarism, which are always times of scanty productivity and scanty population, it is on these grounds impossible for many and high surpluses to accumulate in the hands of individuals, just as they could not accumulate if the above-mentioned institutions came to an end.

‘I believe also that this method of comparison which I have suggested is the only one of historical, ethical and economic interest, and I need not add that by using it we should entirely avoid the insoluble problem of the *universal* real value of money, and in each of the periods compared we could apply the money standard as commonly accepted. You, my dear Sir, know better than I whether the science of Roman antiquities has the data at its command to answer the question I have raised regarding Narcissus and Astor.

‘You are too modest in your preface.<sup>1</sup> In Heaven’s name do not believe in the wisdom of us modern political economists. No science makes bricks with less straw nowadays than ours. There are but few who have even tried to cast a glance *behind* that wall of metal currency which has been built up on property in land and capital, and only too effectually conceals from us the real nature of economic relations. We have, so to speak, always been looking at the facts through distorting spectacles, and almost contracted cataract in the effort. What is called capitalism—it would be better to say ‘capitalistics’ on the analogy of chrematistics, which according to Aristotle broke up the older economic order, for in the same way capitalism is breaking up our modern political economy which is based on property in land and capital and on the freedom of labour—what, I say, is called capitalism is entirely based upon these optical illusions, which are due to the wall of metal currency. Only the social question will cough the cataract—unless it kills us first’.

#### XLVII. THE DISSOLUTION OF PEARLS IN VINEGAR.

(Vol. II, p. 140.)

KING, *Natural History of the Precious Stones and of the Precious Metals*, p. 273, says with regard to the pearl worth ten million sesterces, which Cleopatra swallowed dissolved in vinegar: ‘It is unfortunate for this good story that no acid the human stomach can endure is capable of dissolving a Pearl even after a long maceration in it. Barbot has found by actual experiment, that one layer was reduced to a jelly, whilst the next beneath was completely unaffected. No doubt, the wily Egyptian swallowed her Pearl safe and sound, and in some more agreeable potation than vinegar, secure of its ultimate recovery uninjured: and invented the story of its complete and instantaneous dissolution, which be it remembered, rested entirely upon her own testimony, in order to gain her wager.’ Also Ernst v. Baer, (*Historische Fragen mit Hilfe der Naturwissenschaft beantwortet*, 1873, p. 3 ff.) declares on the ground of an experiment either

<sup>1</sup> Not included in the translation.



that the story is a myth or that Cleopatra swallowed the pearl whole.

The former of these statements appeared to me so decided and apparently trustworthy that I applied to my former colleague Prof. C. Gräbe for information on the subject, and he declared the statement to be entirely erroneous. I am indebted to him for the following communication.

‘A 5 per cent. solution of acetic acid, equivalent in acidity to a strong vinegar, when used cold, dissolves pearls very slowly; several hours are required to make them disappear. Boiling immediately induces a fairly strong development of carbonic acid, and after 8–15 minutes small pearls are dissolved. A 3 per cent. solution acts in almost the same way, but the effect is noticeably slower with a 1 per cent. solution. The pearls are dissolved more quickly if the liquid is boiled or agitated; by these means the bubbles of carbonic acid, which are evolved and hinder the contact of the liquid with the pearls, are removed. Vinegar produced by fermentation contains from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 8 per cent. of acetic acid.’

#### XLVIII. A CATALOGUE OF TABLE DELICACIES FROM A GREEK COMEDY.<sup>1</sup>

(Vol. II, p. 147, l. 19.)

THE following passage from Clement of Alexandria contains a slightly altered fragment from the New Comedy, which has escaped the notice of Meineke. Clemens Alex., *Paedagog.*, ii, 1, 3, p. 164 Pott (ed. Klotz): Καὶ μοι μὲν ἔλεος ὕπεισι τῆς νόσου, οἱ δὲ ἐξυμνεῖν, οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τὰς σφετέρας ἡδυπαθείας, τὰς ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ τῷ Σικελικῷ σμύραινας πολυπραγμονοῦντες καὶ τὰς ἐγχέλεις τὰς Μαιανδρείους (sic Kl.) καὶ τὰς ἐν Μήλῳ ἐρίφους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σκιάθῳ κεστρεῖς καὶ τὰς Πελωρίδας κόγχας καὶ τὰ ὄστρεα τὰ Ἀβυδηνά, οὐ παραλείποντες δὲ τὰς ἐν Λιπάρῃ μαινίδας οὐδὲ τὴν γογγύλην τὴν Μαντινικὴν, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀσκραίοις τεύτλα, κτένας τε ἐκζητοῦσι Μηθυναίους καὶ ψήττας Ἀττικὰς καὶ τὰς Δαφνίους κίχλας Χελιδονίους τε ἰσχάδας, δι’ ἃς εἰς Ἑλλάδα πεντακοσίαις ἡμα μυριάσιν ὁ κακοδαίμων ἔστειλατο Πέρσης · ὄρνεις ἐπὶ τοῦτοις συνωνοῦνται τοὺς ἀπὸ Φάσιδος, ἀτταγᾶς Αἰγυπτίους, Μῆδον ταῶνα. Lehrs (d. 1878) restored the fragment as follows:—

ἐκ Σικελικοῦ πορθμοῦ μὲν ἡδίστην ἔχε  
σμύραιναν, ἐγχέλεις δὲ τὰς Μαιανδρείους,  
Μήλου δ’ ἐρίφους, τοὺς ἐν Σκιάθῳ κεστρέας,  
κόγχας Πελωρίδας, ἐξ Ἀβύδῳ δ’ ὄστρεα ·  
οὐ δ’ αὖ παραλείψεις ἐκ Λιπάρας τὰς μαινίδας,  
οὐ Μαντινικὴν τὴν γογγύλην, οὐ τευτλία  
Ἀσκραῖα μὰ Δία· τοὺς δὲ Μηθύμνης κτένας  
ζητητέον, ψήττας τε μάλα τὰς Ἀττικὰς,  
Δαφνίους κίχλας Χελιδονέους τ’ ἰσχάδας.

Kock, *Com. Att. fr.*, iii, 426, quotes two lists, Athen., i, 4 c, and Pollux, vi, 63, in support of his view that the above catalogue is not derived from a single passage, but from several united, and that therefore no restoration is possible. But the list in Athenaeus is evidently identical with that in Clement, for it contains not only the

<sup>1</sup> Already published in *Program. Acad. Alb. Regimont.*, 1869, v.



first nine articles enumerated by the latter, exactly in the same order (only omitting the sixth the *ὄστρεα Ἀβυδηνά*), but also the correspondence in the expressions of the two authors in the seventh cannot be accidental (*τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀσκραίοις τεύτλα* Clem., *τὰ παρ' Ἀσκραίοις τεύτλα* Ath.), seeing that in every other case the place of production is given with *ἐν* or with an adjective. The articles not found in Clement, but mentioned by Athenaeus (*τῶν Παχυνικῶν θύννων τὰς ἡτριαίας* between the second and third, and *τὰς ἐκ Θηβῶν βουνιάδας* between the eighth and ninth of Clement), as well as the addition of *πλωτάς* to *ἐγγέλεις* (with the omission of *Μαιανδρίους*) are certainly derived from the original catalogue, for they naturally fit into the iambic metre (e.g. *πλωτάς ἐγγέλεις Μαιανδρίους, Θύννων μὲν ἡτριαῖα τῶν Παχυνικῶν, Ἐκ Θηβῶν—βουνιάδας*).

Also the list of the first ten articles in Pollux is derived from the same source, although the divergence in expression and forms (e.g. *κόγχοι Πελωριναί, τεύτλον ἐξ Ἀσκρης, μαινίδες ἐκ Λιπάρας*) make it appear at least possible that Pollux quoted not from the original, but from some secondary source. The order is deranged, but not essentially: articles 2 and 6 of Clement are absent from Pollux, 4 stands before 3, and 9 before 7; the addition to 1 (*καὶ μύραινα Ταρτησία*) and the designation of the *θύννοι* as *Τύριοι* (perhaps a mistake, at least such tunny are mentioned nowhere else)—these discrepancies are of no great importance.

That Athenaeus and Clement quote from a prose paraphrase of a passage from a comedy, is shown by their verbal correspondence in expressions which do not fit into the iambic metre. Traces of the elegiac metre, which Kock, p. 427, recognizes 'in *haud paucis*', I can only find in the passage in Clement: *δι' ἃς ἐς Ἑλλάδα πεντακοσίαις ἅμα μυριάσιν ὁ κακοδαίμων ἐστείλατο Πέρσης*, which is of quite a different character and is obviously derived from another reminiscence. It is not in Athenaeus, and in Clement it is immediately followed by a passage which easily falls into iambic rhythm (*ὄρνεις ἐπὶ τούτοις — ὦ τοὺς ἀπὸ Φάσιδος, Μῆδον ταῶνα τ' ἀτταγὰς τ' Ἀίγυπτίους*).

The catalogue of table delicacies given by these three authors differs widely from other well-known lists. It agrees neither with the fragment of Antiphanes (*ἐν Προβατεί*), Meineke, iii, 108 (*ed. min.*, i, 544):—

*Βοιωταῖαι μὲν ἐγγέλεις, μὺς Ποντικοί,  
γλαῦκοι Μεγαρικοί, μαινίδες Καρύστιαί,  
φαγροὶ δ' Ἑρετρικοί, Σκύριοι δὲ κάραβοι,*

nor with the fragments of Arcestratus of Gela, in which, it is true, oysters of Abydos occur, but also cockles of Mitylene (Athen., iii, 92D, *Ennii Heduphag.*, ed. Vahlen, p. 106, 2, 3). *Σύκα Χελιδόνεια* (edd. *χελιδόνεια*) are known from Epigenes (*ἐν Βακχεία*, Athen., iii, 7, p. 75 c, D). Varro's list (Gell., vi, 16) is quite different: *pavus e Samo, Phrygia altagena, grues Melicae, haedi ex Ambracia, mur-aena Tartesia, ostrea Tarentina*, etc.).

XLIX. SPECIFICATION OF SILVER PLATE ACCORDING TO THE WEIGHT.<sup>1</sup>

(Vol. II, p. 209, l. 31.)

MARTIAL repeatedly speaks of presents of gold and silver in such a way that one might think he was referring to ingots. So xiii, 48 :

Boleti.

argentum atque aurum facile est laenamque togamque  
mittere : boletos mittere difficile est.

This is specially the case in those passages where the weight of gold and silver presents (at the Saturnalia) is stated. vii, 86, 6 : nulla venit a me Argenti tibi libra pustulati. (Sueton., *Nero*, c. 44 : exegitque ingenti fastidio et acerbitate nummum asperum, argentum pustulatum, aurum ad obrussam.) x, 14, 7 : Quando brevis gelidae missa est toga tempore brumae ? Argenti venit quando selibra mihi ? x, 57 : Argenti libram mittebas ; facta selibra est, Sed piperis : tanti non emo, Sexte, piper. xi, 105 : Mittebas libram, quadrantem, Garrice, mittis. Saltem semissem, Garrice solve mihi. xii, 36 : Libras quatuor aut duas amico Argentemque togam brevemque laenam, Interdum aureolos manu crepantes—Quod nemo, nisi tu, Labulle mittis, Non es, crede mihi, bonus. vii, 58 he complains that he has received such a quantity of worthless Saturnalia presents from Umbricius, that eight slaves had to carry them, and he concludes, line 11 :

quanto commodius nullo mihi ferre labore  
argenti potuit pondera quinque puer.

The same kind of expression is found where purchases and bequests are spoken of. Martial, ii, 44 : Emi seu puerum togamve pexam Seu tris, ut puto, quattuorve libras, etc. ii, 76 : Argenti libras Marcus tibi quinque reliquit. Cui nihil ipse dabas, hic tibi verba dedit. *Vita Persii* : scriptis . . . ad matrem codicillis Cornuto rogavit ut daret sestertia, ut quidam centum, ut alii volunt\* et argenti facti pondo viginti. Silver plate of the weight of twenty pounds might be worth 100,000 sesterces, but only if its artistic merit was unusually great. Martial, iii, 62 :—

Centenis quod emis pueros et saepe ducenis,  
quod sub rege Numa condita vina bibis ;  
quod constat deciens tibi non spatiosa supellex,  
libra quod argenti milia quinque rapit

haec animo magno credis te, Quinti, parare ?

In fact, however, in all the above quoted passages silver and gold plate are meant, just as in xii, 66, 7 : argentum atque aurum non simplex Delphica portat. The designation by the mere statement of the weight is to be explained by the fact that it was regularly engraved on the plate, and could be stated at once as its most obvious property.

Numerous passages show that at the Saturnalia it was not really

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *De donis saturnalicis aureis et argenteis*, *Progr. Acad. Alb. Regimont.*, 1876, iii. W. Gilbert, *Zu Martialis*, in *N. Jahrb.*, 1882, p. 131f., has reached the same conclusions by the same arguments, without having seen my treatise,

unwrought silver or gold, but always plate, that was presented. Poor people gave larger or smaller silver spoons (Martial, viii, 33, 3: *quid tibi cum phiala, ligulam cum mittere possis, Mittere cum possis vel cochleare mihi*; cf. the passage quoted below, viii, 71, 9; v, 8, 2: *graciles lingulae*; xiv, 120: *lingula argentea*); richer or more liberal people gave dishes and goblets (Horace, C., iv, 8, 1: *Donarem pateras*, etc.; Martial, vii, 72, 4: *tibi . . . December . . . lances ferat et scyphos avorum*). It is shown most clearly by Martial, viii, 71 that silver plate is always to be understood when a certain weight of silver is mentioned. Here Martial laments that the Saturnalia presents of a certain Postumianus grow smaller from year to year; ten years before he had received four pounds of silver from him, soon after only about two, in the fifth year a pound of Septician silver. (This, which is also mentioned iv, 88, 3, evidently took its name from a manufacturer or dealer, like the Furnian, Clodian and Gratian vessels [Marquardt, *Pril.*<sup>2</sup>, 696, 1].) Martial continues:—

Bessalem ad scutulam sexto pervenimus anno,  
post hunc in cotula rasa selibra data est.  
octavus ligulam misit sextante minorem,  
nonus acu levius vix cochleare tulit.

Similarly, v, 19, 11:—

Saturnaliciae ligulam misisse selibrae  
e lamnisve Tagi scripula tota decem,  
luxuria est, tumidique vocant haec munera reges.

I have written the second line according to Munro's emendation;  $\frac{1}{2}$  libra = 163.73 grams, 10 scripula = 11.37 grams. As at that time the value of gold was more than twelve times that of silver (Hultsch, *Metrol.*, p. 238), a *selibra* of silver and ten *scripula* of gold were of about the same value. Embossed golden bowls were among the lottery prizes of the rich at the Saturnalia, Martial, xiv, 59; that the gold was sometimes extremely thin is shown by viii, 33. Cf. also *CIL*, viii, 1858 (Theveste): — *datasque ? a]d Kapitol. arg. lib. clxx id est lances iiii . . . . . [et au]ri lib. xiiii id est pihal[as (sic)] iiii scypos ii.*

#### L. PRICES OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS.

(Vol. II, p. 217, l. 33.)

Roman numerals denote the volumes of the *CIL*, arabic the numbers of the inscriptions; where arabic numerals stand alone, the reference is to vol. viii; L = Lambaesis; W = Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum*.

200 Sest. 2787 L. dec(urioni) coh. II Hisp.<sup>1</sup>

400 — 3191 L. militi leg.

— — 3006 L. — ex testam. suo fieri mo(num) den. c — — patrono.

— — ix, 4017 Alba Fucens. — — fab. ex tes | HS CCCC.

500 — 3572 L. filiae annorum XII.

600 — x. 4929 Venafrum. — — ex testamento HS DC.

800 — 3254 L. mil leg. III Aug.

<sup>1</sup> The lowest sums may be the prices of the tombstones usual in Africa (there called *cupula*, French *caisson*), see J. Schmidt, *Philol.*, xxvi, 1886, pp. 163-167.

- 1000 — 3334 L. D. m. s. L. Aelius L. f. Papi Macer Vix. ann. LX qui testamento monimentum sibi fieri jussit ex HS D n. quod ut fieret adjectis insuper HS D n. Octavia Saesula conjunx pia carissima faciendum curavit.
- — W. 1513 = Henzen, 6832. Roma. mil. nu(meri) stator. pr(aetorianorum). — fecer. heredes—ex den. CCL.
- — 2845 L. optio leg. III Aug.
- — 3001 L. centurio leg. III Aug.
- — 4332 L. vet. ex adjutore princ(ipis) leg. III Aug.
- — 2823 L. bf. leg. (beneficiarius legati).
- — 2896 L. A leg. III Aug.
- — 2981 L. adjutori.
- — 3109 L. conjugii — NN vet.
- — xi, 1, 2803 Volsinii. — ex testamento HS M.
- 1200 — 2815 L. sig(nifer) leg. III — — ex HS mille CC n.<sup>1</sup>
- — 2877 L. centurio leg. III Aug.
- — 3016 L. vet. leg. III Aug.
- — 3654 L. — parenti monimentum ex HS mille ducentis n. ex praescripto ejus.
- ? 4387 Seriana. — monimentum sibi — et conjugii — faciendum locavit SS OVCC num. (HS M ? CC nummis).
- 1600 ? — 3055 L. (vet.) ? leg. III Aug. ex HS (X) DC.
- 2000 — 2783 L. imag(inifer) leg. III. Aug.
- — 2817 L. centurio leg. III.
- — 4180 L. maritus (conjugii).
- — 2886 L. optioni leg. III Aug.
- — 4055 L. matri — it cot testamento legavit fecit ex HS II n.<sup>2</sup>
- — 2953 L. filiae virgini — quae vixit annis xii, etc. (pater centurio leg. III.).
- — ix, 5809 Potentia. — — optio in | centuria hoc fieri jussit | honoris pietatisque causa et C. Lucilio Secundo | patri et Lose | — ti matri et — e | aviae | ex HS M M praelegatis.
- — x, 3360 Puteoli. militi ex class. pr. Miseniens.
- 2000—2500 — 3079 L. vet. leg. III — cum sibi in funus et monimentum HS II mil. erogari cavisset — filius et — liberta adjectis de suo HS D n.b.m.f.
- 3000 — Eph. ep., v, 1255 Thibursicum. — Vaga — veterano — ex HS III m.n.
- — ix, 4269 Amiternum (apparently for three persons). test. (fie)ri jussit HS M M M.
- — x, 1327 Nola. uxori ex testamento HS M M M.
- — x, 5753 Sora. — ex testamento HS III.
- — x, 6186 Formiae. HS M M M.
- 3400 — ix, 1077 ager Compstinus. — ex testamento IIICCCC.

<sup>1</sup> In the index to *CIL*, p. 1118. erroneously given as 200,000 sest.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. ex qua summa ut idem opus post mortem suam perficeretur, item testamento suo caverat. Mommsen.



- 4000 — 3025 L. veteranus — sibi et — conjug.
- 5000 — 811 Avita Bibba. A family grave—heredes ex HS V mil. n. faciendum curaverunt eo amplius solo a se comparato.
- — 2185 vicinia Theveste. — — HS n. V m. ejusdem memoriae posuere sepulcrum incolumes parentes.
- — ix, 707 Teanum Apulum.  $\overline{V}$ .
- 6000 — W. 1897. Nola. — aid. iterum IIvir quinq. Pompeis decurio adlectus ex veterib. Nola. — matri — vitrico decurioni Nola.—
- — iii, 2, 5780. Abudiacum Raetiae (Epfach). — (decurioni municipi (sine dubio Augustani Mommsen) — fila (sic) et heres patri sicut testamento praeceperat sestertis  $\overline{VI}$  milibus faciendum curavit.
- — 8840 Ticlat. — decurioni allecto secundum voluntatem testamenti ejus ex HS VI milib.
- — xii, 324 Narbonensis inter oram et Verdonem. filio — (parentes) commun(i) in(pensa) s(ua) HS VI.
- ? — xiv, 1307 Ostia (piccolo monum. sepolcr.). HS  $\frac{1}{2}$  M. Fuit fortasse  $\overline{V}$  M.
- 6400 — vi, 3, 21458. Roma. — patrono ex testamento ejus HS  $\overline{III}$  m.n. et ex suo amplius adjectis HS  $\overline{III}$  CCCC m.n.
- 9200 — 3005 L. centurio.
- 10000 — and more. vi, 1924. Roma. Diis manibus L. Tulli Diotimi viatoris qui consulibus et praetoribus apparuit posterisque ejus et Brittia Festae uxori sanctissimae et pientissimae de HS  $\overline{X}$  quam summam Diotimus impendi jussit Brittia Festa adjecta impensa consummavit.
- — vi, 10,027. Roma. (C. Suf)enas C.f. Pup. Niger | . . . ab Jano medio sibi et | Sufenatiae C. l. Urbanae etc. ex testamento HS CCIOO | arbitrato | Arginnae C. l. Veranae.
- — vi, 2, 12,692 *Ib.* — ex testame. HS  $\overline{X}$ .
- — — — 13,087 *Ib.* — ex HS  $\overline{M}$  n.
- — x, 3749 Atella. — ex testamento HS  $\overline{X}$ .
- — xi, 1, 217 Placentia. — factum ex testamento HS  $\overline{X}$
- 11000 — x, 3888 Capua. — HS n.  $\overline{X}$  M.
- 12000 — *CIL*, i, 1199. Sinuessa. — — IIvir patri.
- — 2764 L. T. Flavio Maximo praef. leg. III Aug. heredes Juli Secundi quondam  $\Lambda$  leg. s.s. cui idem Maximus testamento suo monumentum sibi ex SS.  $\overline{xii}$  nummum faciendum delegaverat.
- — *CIL*, x, 4727 ager Falernus. —  $\overline{X}$  M M.
- 18300 — x, 3361. Neapolis. — — sibi et — uxori et libertis libertab. posterisque eorum t.f.c. ex HS CCIOO adjecit eo — conjunx HS IOO M M M CCC.
- 20000 — vi, 2, 11,504 Roma. — ex testamento — HS  $\overline{XX}$ .

- — vi, 3, 22107. *Ib.* — ex testamento X X.
- — ix, 2365 Allifae. — (ex) testamento suo X X.
- — 4731 Reate. — ex testamento ejus — de HS XX.
- — x, 2402 Puteoli (tit. mausolei rotundi). HS X X.
- — x, 4795 Teanum Sidicinum. X X.
- — xi, 1, 4009 Capena. — patrono — ex sestertiorum xx quae eis reliquit ut curent fecerunt.
- 24000 — 9109 Auzia. — mausoleum operae (*sic*) quadratorio secundum verba testamenti ejus super HS XVI quae dependi mandaverat additis de suo HS VIII n. (233 A.D.).
- 25000 — vi, 2, 14,215 Roma. — HS X X V (nisi pro X scribendum est C).
- 26000 — 2851 L. — centurioni leg. III Aug.
- — 4524 Zarai (*Zraia*), family grave of a veteran. — — expensa ex xx n.
- 20-30000 — ? Thibursicum Bure. Aedem quam NN . . . uxoris suae SS xx mil. n. ex t. (f. debuit) multiplicata pecunia excoluit et omni re per(fecit).
- 50000 — 2841 L. — princ. leg. III Aug. — heredes ejus patrono b.m.f. nam mesolaenum Romae in praedis suis ex HS L m.n. factum est.
- — W. 1298. Coazzo prope Romam in via Nomentana. trib. mil. leg. III Cyrenaicae srib. q. vi primo harispic. maximo testamento fieri jussit sibi et fratri suo HS L m.n. arbitrato heredum.
- — xiv, 480 Ostia v. 5 : — heres
- Quinquaginta meis milibus, ut volui,  
Hanc aedem posuit struxidque novissima templa, etc.
- 63000 — 2224 Mascula (Numidia). — A leg. III Aug. — — se vivo cum liberis ex HS LXIII n.
- 80000 — 21 Leptis. — — (monumentum) quod opere Signino pater — — fecerat sibi posterisque suis — — (res-tit)uit et a fundamento erexit HS Lxxx milib. n.
- 100000 — vi, 2, 176 Roma. (sacerdoti) pontifici? Laurentium Lavinatium — ex testamento suo monum(enti sump-tum) de HS C mil. n. erogari praecepi(t).
- — vi, 2, 14,706 Roma. — at the end : ex m. SS c (Momm-sen : ex m[andatu] s[estertiis] C.).
- — x, p. 979 Casinum. NN. quae testamento dedit coloniae Minturnensi HS C et municipio Casini C ita ut VII Idus Mart. natali suo quotannis crustulum et mulsum detur, ex testamento fieri jussit HS C. (The name of the person who erected it is absent.)
- — xiv, 367 Ostia. — sevir Augustati negotiatori ex Hispania citeriore et — uxori ex testamento ita uti caverat factum HS C.
- 192000 — Plutarch, *Cato min.*, c. 11 : ἐμπαθέστερον ἔδοξεν ἢ φιλοσοφώτερον ἐνεργεῖν τὴν συμφορὰν—μνήματος ξεστοῦ

λίθων θασίων ἀπὸ τάλαντων ὀκτὼ κατασκευασθέντος ἐν τῇ Αἰνίων ἀγορᾷ.

200000 — *BdI*, 1885, p. 72, Roma. — mil. coh. vi pret., etc. — milit. l. i adjutrice — NN, etc. (four names) et omnes comanipuli sui de re ipsius b.m.f. ex *den. L milibus*.

Uncertain. 2451 Saltus Aurasius (Numidia). — mausoleum ex HS . . xii n.

—— 10,781 Macomades. — sumptus erogatus — x — x (10,000 denarii? Index, p. 1,118).

—— 10,970 Fezzan. — sumptos — in numo *den. follis m.* — — praeter cibaria sol(ita) — —.

There are also some statements as to cost on some Syrian sepulchral monuments, probably all of the fourth century A.D.

Lebas et Waddington, *Voy. archéol. en Asie mineure*. Syrie, Section III Royaume Nabatéen. VIII Salkhad 1999. Monument of two *centuriones ordinarii* 345 A.D. — ἀνηλώθησαν (δηναρίων) ιγ μ(υριάδες). Ce tombeau devait être un édifice considérable, probablement une de ces tours carrées, comme il en existe encore beaucoup dans les ruines du Haourân.

Ib. 2000 — τὸν τάφον ἀνήγειραν [ἀνήλωσαν ἐπτ]ὰ μυριάδας χιλίας.

Ib. 2036. Mothana. Monument of a woman of Rotomagus, which her husband erected ἀναλώσας δηνάρια μύ[ρια] πεντακισχίλια. 342 A.D.

Ib. 2037 — actuaries vexillationis Moθανῶν. [Ἀνήλωσα δραχμάς] μ(υρίας) χιλίας Σύρου. 350 A.D.

Ib. 2053. Meschquouq. Εὐτυχῶς ἐκοδομήθη ὁ πύργος.

Veteranus ex ordinario qui stipendia meruit in Mesopotamia.

Σονάνιος οἰκοδόμος. Ἦτους σμέ (Bostra era 245 = 350 A.D.) Ἀνελόθ[η] *den. μύρια*.

To all appearance the sums here, with the exception of 2037, are given in *denarii* of Diocletian. According to the latest investigation of Hultsch (*Der Denar Diocletians*, in *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 1880, p. 27 ff., and *Metrol.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 333) 36,000 of them go to the pound of gold, *i.e.* they are equivalent to 2981 d. or 3·133 centimes. The reduction of the sums to English money therefore gives:—

|           |                               |                |
|-----------|-------------------------------|----------------|
| No. 1999. | 130,000 <i>den.</i> of Diocl. | = c. £161 10s. |
| „ 2000.   | 71,000 „ „                    | = c. £88 4s.   |
| „ 2036.   | 15,000 „ „                    | = c. £18 13s.  |
| „ 2053.   | 10,000 „ „                    | = c. £12 8s.   |

The value of the Syrian *drachmae* (2037) has not yet been determined. Hultsch, *Metrol.*<sup>2</sup>, 338, 1: 'At the lowest these *drachmae* were equal to those of Diocletian, possibly they were somewhat higher'.

The price of a piece of ground bought for the erection of a monument is mentioned in *CIL*, vi, 3, 23,851—(emerunt) locum HS  $\bar{C}$ ; further Wilmanns, 2573 = Marini, *Atti*, ii, p. 712 (Roma): LVCRINAE IVCVNDÆ | P. LUCRINVS P. L. THALAMVS | A. CORINTHIS FABER | LOC. ENP. EST *den. C M. ARGENT* | SIBI. ET. SV. POS.

I am indebted to Prof. Hultsch for the following communication :  
 'The rendering of  $\overline{M}$  by *minutulus* is I think open to serious objection ; I explain it as a numeral, reserving the inquiry whether this letter occurs elsewhere combined with the ideogram for  $\overline{C}$ . The price of the piece of land would then amount to :—

'£4,500 if the *argenteus* is reckoned at its nominal value of  $\frac{1}{20}$  of the *aureus* of Caracalla (*Metrol.*<sup>2</sup> 323 ff.) or at

'£2,545 at the metallic value of the *argenteus* under this emperor, or at

'£1,762 at its metallic value under Elagabalus.

'The later the period assigned to the inscription, the lower will the value have to be reckoned ; but I do not think one would in any case have to put it as low as £500, still less £170 as might be reckoned from the passage cited from my *Metrologie*, but I suppose one might stop at the X of the Diocletianic system (i.e.  $\frac{1}{100}$  of the *aureus* : *Der Denar Diocletians*, p. 28). At that rate the *argenteus* = 1.79 d. and the price of the ground at about £750.'

According to the two inscriptions from Narbo, *CIL*, xii, 4354—*inlatis arcae seviror. ob locum at tuitionem statuæ HS n. IIII l.d.d. IIIII viror.* and 4397—*inlatis arcae IIIII viror. ob tuitionem statuæ HS n. M l.d.d. IIIII viror.*, there seem to have been paid 3000 sest. for the ground in the first case.

## LI. LATRINES IN ROME.

(Vol. II, p. 224 ff.)

PERHAPS the ancient Italian towns excelled the modern in nothing more than in their sanitary arrangements.<sup>1</sup> Latrines (amphoræ in angiportis) are mentioned in Rome as early as the speech of Titius for the *Lex Fannia* 593 = 161 B.C. ; Macrobian. *Sat.* iii, 16, 15 ; cf. Lucret., iv, 1026 ; Martial, xii, 48 ; 77, 9 (sellæ Patroclianæ) ; Schol. Juv., 3, 38 ; Cujac., *Obs.*, xxiii, 34 ; *StRE*, s.v. *Dolium*, *Latrina*, *Lavatio* ; Jordan, *Topographie*, i, 445 f. Beside the latrines erected by private enterprise, there were, it seems, public ones as early as Tiberius, Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 58 ; cf. Preller, *Reg.*, 234 ; certainly under Nero, Sueton., *Vit. Lucani*, ed. Roth, 299, 27. One such appears to have been discovered near the *castra Praetoria*. *Bulletino municip.*, 1878, p. 243, pl. ii, 3. We do not know which kind of convenience was provided by the *conclavia*, which, according to Martial, v, 44, 6 ; xi, 77, were evidently much frequented. Rodbertus points out (in Hildebrand's *Jahrb. f. Nationalökonomie*, v, 1865, pp. 309–314, n. 81) that Vespasian taxed the private latrine industry (sale of excreta to gardeners, etc.).<sup>2</sup> Similar arrangements may be assumed at least in the cities of Italy, as they existed at Pompeii ; cf. Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*<sup>4</sup>, p. 72 (public closet in the

<sup>1</sup> According to Baudrillart, iii, 228, in the seventeenth century, in the majority of European cities, not even the houses had privies. Francis I ordered that new houses in Paris should be provided with them. Charles III was the first to purify Madrid. 'L'infection était si épouvantable, que l'on la sentait six lieues à la ronde. Il n'y a sorte de difficultés et d'oppositions qu'il n'éprouvât dans son projet. Il fallut faire venir des Napolitains pour établir de force des latrines'.

<sup>2</sup> Auction of the contents of the latrines at Bassora under the Khalifs : Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 332.



*forum civile*), 133 (in the building of Eumachia), 201, 233-235 (in the older, newer and central baths), in the great theatre 162. Cf. Michaelis, *Arch. Anz.*, 1860, 115 f.; Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 169. The Aurelian wall, restored by Honorius in 403, had, according to the description of the monk of Einsiedeln, 116 privies in it (*necessariae* cxvi), *ibid.*, 158, 580.

That in addition to the sewers, carts were used for removing excreta from the latrines is not (as Pöhlmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 131 remarks) to be inferred from the passage in the *lex Julia municipalis* in which an exception is made from the prohibition to drive vehicles by day, in favour of 'plostra stercoris exportandei causa', for undoubtedly these carts that were driven through the city *by day* were not used for cleaning out the latrines, but for removing filth from the streets. The former object was effected by means of the *cloacae*, and 'the juridical sources prove the great extent of the private drains, by means of which the latrines of the houses were emptied into the public sewers'. The latter were continuously and abundantly flushed, so that in the imperial age Rome possessed a most efficient system of sewerage. Frontinus comments on the extraordinary improvement in the cleanliness of the city and purity of the air which Rome owed to the application of the surplus water from the aqueducts to the flushing of the drains. Besides Rome, we know of several cities in which a sewerage system was carried out, and there can be no doubt that it was not uncommon (Pöhlmann, pp. 123-126). This conclusion is further supported by the following passages. Columella, *De cult. hortor.*, 81 sq.: Pabula nec pigeat fesso praebere novali Immundis quaecunque vomit latrina cloacis. Galen, ed. K., xvi, 360: δεῖ μέντοι φυλάττεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κήποις ἀέρα διὰ τοὺς ὀχετοὺς, ὥς τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς ἀποπάτους ἐκκαθαίροντας εἰς τοὺς κήπους, καὶ τὴν μεγάλην δυσωδίαν.

## LII. CIVITATES MUNDI.

(Vol. II, p. 232, l. 10.)

THE following notice following a list of the provinces of the empire in a Paris MS. of the ninth century, has not yet been satisfactorily explained: S[unt in] hoc mundo civitates VDCXXVII (Mommsen, *Die Städtezahl des römischen Reichs*, in *Hermes*, xxi, 1886, p. 491). K. J. Neumann's attempt (*Civitates mundi*, in *Hermes*, xxii, p. 160) to connect this sum with the figures of the Anonymus Ravennas is mistaken, as Kubitschek (*Civitates mundi*, *ibid.*, p. 465 ff.) remarks, who seeks the source of the statement in Ptolemy's Geography. Here he counts 'rather less than 5675' names of cities and tribes. It may be added that the number 5627 will not be found too great even for the cities of the Roman empire, if one considers the facts that in the political handbook (Append. v. p. 22) used by Josephus, 500 cities were assigned to Asia and 1200 to Gaul; also that a similar work, or indeed the same, may be the source of the statement in Aelian that there were 1197 cities in Italy (*Var. Hist.*, ix, 16: καὶ ὅτι πόλεις ᾤκησαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν πάσαι ἐπὶ καὶ ἐνεήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν πρὸς ταῖς χιλιάς); and further that Ptolemy speaks of 248 cities in Tarraconensis and 324 in the African provinces (vol. ii, pp. 232 and 237).

## LIII. MARBLE AND BRONZE AS MATERIALS FOR STATUES.

(Vol. II, p. 319 f.)

ACCORDING to the investigation by Max Fraenkel, *De verbis potioribus, quibus opera statuaria Graeci notabant* (Berlin 1873), ἀγάλμα generally signifies a marble statue and ἀνδριάς one of bronze, hence a mention of the material is only quite exceptionally added, as ἀγάλματι μαρμαρίνῳ CIG, ii, 3085 (Teos); on the other hand ἀνδριάντα μαρμαρίνον CIG, ii, 2384 in an inscription from Paros, where also ἀνδριάντες were exceptionally of marble (p. 34 sq.). Εἰκών is used both of statues and paintings, in the former case as an equivalent of ἀνδριάς, Fraenkel, p. 37; of busts or herms, e.g. Lebas-Waddington, ii, 194 c. l. 3 (εἰκὼν est un buste en forme de Hermès); εἰκὼν ἔνοπλος a bronze medallion in relief; of paintings, εἰκὼν γραπτὴ τέλεια a full-length portrait, εἰκὼν γραπτὴ ἐν ὄπλῳ or ἔνοπλος, a half-length portrait. Where εἰκὼν is used of sculptures the material is generally mentioned, and, except in Paros, it is almost always bronze (Fraenkel, p. 34).

That in Greece bronze was practically always the material for honorary statues is shown for the earlier period by the expression χαλκοῦν τινα στήσαι or ἀναθεῖναι, and by the passages cited by Fraenkel, p. 32, from Aristotle and *Anthol. Pal.*, ii, 727: ἔπρεπέ μιν χρυσῷ ἐν ἀγάλματι μήδ' ἐνὶ χαλκῷ τοῦτον τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰκελὼν ἐστάμεναι, and for the later period especially the Rhodian oration of Dio of Prusa, *Or.*, 31, p. 313 M., 340, 343 (of Athens, Byzantium, Lacedaemon, Mytilene): ἀλλ' ὅμως ὅταν δόξῃ τινα στήσαι χαλκοῦν ἰστιάει κ.τ.λ., 344 s., 346 (Athens). That in Rome also in the earlier period public statues were generally of bronze is shown by a passage of Lucilius (*frag.* ed. L. Mueller, xv, 2): ut pueri infantes credunt signa omnia athena Vivere et esse homines. Augustus ordered that the erection of a bronze statue should accompany the honour of a triumph, Mommsen, *StR.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 436 f.<sup>1</sup> Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 3, 183: Laetus ut in circo spatieri et aeneus ut stes. At a later date bronze remained the usual material for honorary statues. Apuleius, *Florida*, iii, 165: Quid igitur superest ad statuæ meæ honorem, nisi aeris pretium, artificis ministerium? quæ mihi ne in mediocribus unquam civitatibus defuere, ne ut Carthagine desint, etc. Ammianus Marc., xiv, 6, 8: Ex his quidam aeternitati se commendari posse per statuas existimantes eas ardentèr adfectant quasi plus præmii ex figmentis aeriis sensu carentibus adepturi quam ex conscientia honeste recte factorum: eas auro curant imbractari, etc. The *Breviarium* of Zacharias mentions in Rome only the 3785 aenea simulacra regum et ducum. Jordan, *Topographie*, ii, 576.

From the beginning of the empire, especially from the time when the Carrara quarries began to be used for sculpture, marble was used for statues of all kinds. The various kinds of marble, as of bronze, differed of course in price (see vol. ii, p. 297). When both bronze and marble statues of the same person were erected (see vol. ii, p. 291), probably, when executed in the usual style, both cost about

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Vit. Alexandri Severi*, c. 28: exemplo Augusti qui summorum virorum statuas in foro suo [e marmore] collocavit additis gestis. The words in brackets must be a gloss.

the same price and were equally esteemed. This was the case in Rome, where Claudius *e.g.* among the honours decreed him only accepted a bust of silver and two statues in bronze and marble (Dio, lx, 5); and we find the same thing in the provinces (cf. the Langres will, vol. ii, p. 297, and the inscription of Teos, *CIG*, 3085: *εἰκόνη χαλκῇ καὶ ἀγάλματι μαρμαρίνῳ καὶ εἰκόνη χρυσῇ*). At the present day statues of bronze and marble can be made at about the same prices. As I am informed by my friend Prof. R. Siemering, the prices at Berlin for a statue 6 ft. high were in 1870 as follows: bronze £42, Tirolese marble £35, Carrara marble, second quality, £35, first quality £66-73 (if very clear, as much as £82). The carriage of the Tirolese marble to Berlin costs about £12.

The frequency of marble honorary statues, especially in the *municipia*, and sepulchral statues of the same material is shown by the extremely abundant remains of them. The material, as has been said above, is comparatively seldom mentioned in inscriptions. Statuas . . . aenearum, *CIL*, xii, 2231 (Gratianopolis); st. aerea duae, *CIL*, ii, 1459 sq. (Ostippo, Baetica); st. aerea cum basi marmorea, 105 A.D., *CIL*, vii, 875 (Aquileia); st. marmorea, *BdI*, 1886, p. 250 (Castel di Sangro); *CIL*, ii, 4020 (Tarraconensis); st. marmorea equestris, *CIL*, ii, 1972 (Malaca); st. marmorea, *CIL*, v, 1, 2174 (Altinum).

As a rule only statues of emperors (besides those of deities) were made of silver and gold (Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 239, 2; Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 23; Dio, lxxviii, 12; Victor, *Caess.*, 40, 28); but there are exceptions, *e.g.* Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 7, 1 (vol. ii, p. 296, l. 27), and *CIL*, iii, 2, 6308 (Moesia superior, Semendria):—ab ord]ine in se conlatam statuam arg. ex p. lib. xl; *CIL*, xi, 1, 364 (Arimini):—sign. arg. vi et imagine(m) ex auri p. ii, etc.; *ib.*, xii, 5864: posito simulacro Viennae argenteo HS n. CCCIOOO CCCIOOO (200,000 sest.); *Eph. ep.*, vii, n. 426 (Hippo Regius): statuam argenteam ex HS LCCCCXXXV tribus libel(lis), sing(ula), terr(uncio) et aeris quad(rante) (51,335  $\frac{1}{16}$  sest.); *Eph. ep.*, v, 756 (Lambaesi): (st)a-tuncula argen[tea adjecta] Mercuri ex HS XIII m. *Εἰκόνας χρυσᾶι* (Fraenkel, p. 34) are with the exception of statues of emperors and deities) probably as a rule *ἐπίχρυστοι*.

#### LIV. PRICES OF STATUES.

(Vol. II, p. 319 f.)

THE earliest of the Greek notices of the prices of statues known to me is the fragment of an Attic inscription, *CIA*, 318, 319, mentioned by U. Köhler in *AdI*, 1865, p. 325, if his view is correct that it refers to the same object as the fragment on p. 315 s. with the date Ol. 89, 4 = 421 B.C. The former inscription specifies the costs for material, work and erection of two statues (*ἀγάλματα*, but probably of bronze), together with all that belonged to them, as scaffolding and pedestals. The total amount is 5 talents 3310 *drachmae* = £1281 5s. A talent (= 26.20 kil.) of copper cost in this case 35 *drachmae* = £1 6s. 11d; a talent of tin 230 dr. = £8 17s.<sup>1</sup> For

<sup>1</sup> In 1870 an equal weight of Paschkoff copper cost £3 5s. to £3 14s., of Swedish copper £2 1s. 6d., of Banca tin £3 1s. 6d. to £4.



a decoration, apparently consisting of leaves (*ἀνθεμον*) beneath or upon the shield (*ὑ[πὸ] τὴν ἀσπίδα*) of one of the two figures 1½ talent 23½ minae = 49.4 kil. of tin were employed. A comparison with the ancient prices immediately to be quoted, shows at least that these statues were colossal, and perhaps that the material and artistic execution were especially costly.

In the account of the cost of the frieze of the Erechtheum in Ol. 93 (Böckh, *Staatshaushalt*, i<sup>2</sup>, 150, cf. Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bildhauer*, p. 356 f.) the sum for a single figure without accessories is 60 dr. = £2 6s. 2d., for a man on horseback 120 dr., for a chariot with two horses and a youth 24 dr., for a woman with a child 80 dr. The figures are 2 ft. high, very finely worked in front, but left flat behind. The low price makes it certain that only the work and not the material is included.

Diogenes is reported to have said (Diog. La., vi, 2, 35; Schol. Pind., *Nem.*, 6) that the most precious things are sold for the lowest prices and *vice versa*; a statue for 3000 *drachmae* (£115) and a peck of meal for two small copper coins. Of course an honorary statue is meant. An express confirmation is afforded by the inscription *CIA*, ii, 251 (307–301 B.C.): *στήσαι τὸν δῆμον εἰκόνα χαλκῇ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Ἀσκληπιάδου ἀπὸ τρισχιλίων δραχμῶν*. Cf. the Cnidian inscription (of about the Christian era) in Newton, *Discoveries*, p. 763, n. 49: *ἐλεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα ὅστις ἀποδεξάμενος παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀφεςτῆρος* (president of the *βουλὴ*) *>γφ'* (3500 dr.). *τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν τὰς εἰκόνας τὰς ἀναστάσιος ἐν τάχει ποιησέται*. So when the citizens of Oreus in Euboea promised to erect a bronze image (*χαλκῇ εἰκόνα*, undoubtedly a statue) of Demosthenes, if he would release them from their debt of a talent (6000 dr.; Aeschin., *In Ctesiphont.*, p. 495 sq.; Köhler, *Ges. Schr.*, vi, 346), they would have saved half the sum they owed.

When Dio of Prusa in his Rhodian oration, in which only honorary statues of bronze are dealt with (cf. 286 above), says that they can be erected for 1000 or even for 500 *drachmae* (Dio, *Or.*, xxxi, p. 597 R.), the statement is fully confirmed by the records on the bases of statues. For probably Dio did not reckon by Attic *drachmae* (in which the two prices would correspond to £38 10s. and £19 5s.), but by denarial *drachmae* (Hultsch, *Metrol.*<sup>2</sup>, 250–253), and meant prices of 4000 and 2000 sesterces (£42 12s. and £21 6s.), the latter of which occurs sometimes. The great difference between these prices and that mentioned by Diogenes is no doubt to be explained not by a rise in the value of money, but chiefly by the mechanical execution of the ordinary decorative and honorary statues turned out under the empire. Also some estimates in an account of the expenditure on certain spectacles at Aphrodisias (*CIG*, ii, 2758) agree with the other notices of the imperial age. Here we find twice *ἀνδριάντος*—*δην. α.*, and once *ἀγαλματοποιοῖς*—*δην. [α.] φ.* (1000 den. = 4000 sest., 1500 = 6000). Similarly in the inscription from Philadelphia in Lydia, Lebas-Waddington, 648 = *CIG*, 3422 (see vol. ii, p. 229):—*—φυλαῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐστακταῖς τοὺς ἀνδριάντας πρὸς δηνάρια χεῖλια*. In general agreement with these facts are the statements that equestrian statues could be delivered for 6000 sest. (*Ephem. epigr.*, vii, n. 247 [Africa procons., 196 A.D.] *statuas*



equestres [dua]s ex HS  $\overline{\text{XII}}$  n.—posuit), and portrait herms for 400. At the Leonidea at Sparta, the victors received by a foundation of C. Julius Agesilaus, about the time of Nero, 100 *drachmae* each for such herms (*op. cit.*, ii, 194 c, l. 3 : *καὶ εἰς εἰκόνα λαμβάνοντες* > ρ.).

Prices under 2000 sest. must refer to statuettes, even when it is not expressly stated.

100 sest. *CIL*, iii, 633 (catalogue of temple gifts at Philippi) : — — *tabula picta Olympum den. xv, sigillum marmurium Liberi den. xxv.*

Homolle, *Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, v, 1881, p. 468 (Delos) : — — *παρὰ Σαρπηδόνοσ ἀγαλμα τῷ Διονύσω ΔΔΙ'* (middle of the third cent. B.C., Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bildh.*, no. 530).

*CIL*, vii, 180 (on the basis of a very elegant, small figure of Mars, found near Lincoln, from the lettering probably of the second cent.) : Deo Mar(ti) et nu(mini)b(us) ? Aug(usti) Col(l)asuni Bruccius et Caratius de suo donarunt ad sester(tios) n(umos) c(entum). Celatus aerarius fecit et aeramenti libr(am) donavit factam *den. iii.*

248 sest. *CIL*, ii, 1163 (Hispalis, basis marmorea parva) : Genium Baetis, sig(num aere)um L. Julius . . . . de salario suo annuo ex denariis lxii cum base d.d.d.

400 sest. *BdI*, 1882, p. 38 (Rome) : — —  $\Lambda$  de suo dedit manipularibus suis in genium centuriae suae ponendum HS CCCC  $\bar{n}$ ., ad quam summam adjecit  $\Lambda$  ejus HS CCC  $\bar{n}$  eisdem qui mensam aeream et protectum fecerunt (118 A.D.).

1100 (1200 ?) sest. *CIL*, ii, 2006 (Nescania, Baetica) : Genio municipi Nescaniensis L. Postumius Stico Nescaniensis signum cairae (ex aere) pecunia sua ex HS M n. fieri et Nescaniae in foro poni jussit ; quot donum ut consummari posset, M. Cornelius Niger Nesc(aniensis) h(eres) ejus adjectis de suo ad impensas operis HS C. n. (CC n ?) dedicavit.

1300 sest. *Ephem. ep.*, vii, n. 242 (Africa procons.) : Minervae Aug. sacr. — statuam ex HS DCCCC n. adjectis a se HS CCCC n.d.d. faciend. cur.

1500 sest. ? *CIL*, xii, 3058 (Nemausus) : ? signa . . . . Isis] ex [HS . . . .]—Serapis Vestae Dianae Somni (Dianaes omnia mavult Mommsen) [ex]—HS n.  $\overline{\text{vi}}$  (numero sex milibus).

In the following records of prices from 2000 sest. upwards I put those in square brackets in which the monument is not expressly called a statue. It remains doubtful whether the price of the pedestal is as a rule included in the figures. Express mention of it (as above, 248 sest., and *CIL*, viii, 8310 : statuam cum basi ; *Eph. ep.*, vii, 757 : statuas cum basibus, etc.) is not frequent. But considering that a very large pedestal only cost 400 sest. (*Eph. ep.*, vii, 792, p. 290), and consequently an ordinary one about 300,<sup>1</sup> the difference arising from the addition and subtraction of this sum is not very considerable. (An *ara* for 1000 sest., *Eph. ep.*, v, p. 452, 931).

2000–3000 sest. (£21 6s. to £31 19s.).

*CIL*, viii, 1401 (Thignica) : statuam quam pater eorum ex HS ii

<sup>1</sup> As the erection of a statue for 3200 sest. is twice enjoined in wills (*CIL*, ii, 2150, viii, 924) it may plausibly be supposed that 200 sest. were for the pedestal.

suo et liberorum suorum nomine promiserat, ampliata pecunia posuit.

*Eph. ep.*, v, p. 281, n. 289 (Zama regia) : Plutoni—ob (hono)rem flam. ampliata HS IIII mil. taxatione summa (the sum estimated for him) honoraria statuas duas posuit.

[*Ib.*, n. 1218 (prov. procons.) : (ob honorem) flamon (ex summa) honoraria SS II m.n. (promis)erat multiplicata pec(unia) d.d.]

[*Ib.*, n. 823 (Zattara) :—imp. Caesari M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. (*Caracalla*) res publica ex decreto et collatione [decur.] ex SS IICCCC n. fecerunt.]

[*Ib.*, vii, n. 207 (prov. procons.) :—ex HS II m. DCXXXII n. promississet, adjecta am(plus a) se pecunio fecit.]

*CIL*, ii, 1359 (Arunda, Baetica) : L. Junio L. f. Quir. Juniano II vir. ii, qui testamento suo caverat, sepulcrum sibi fieri ad *den.* M CC. Et voluntati patroni cum obtemperaturus esset L. Julius Auctinus lib. et heres ejus, petitus ab ordine Arund., ut potius statuas tam Juniani quam (filii) ejus Galli in foro poneret, quam(qua)m sumptu majore adgravari (se sensit, h)onestum et necessarium (duxit, vo)luntati ordinis obsecun(dando pare)re. Each of the two statues therefore cost more than 2400 sest.

3000-4000 sest. (£31 19s. to £42 12s.).

*CIL*, viii, 4601 = R., *Inscr. de l'Alg.* (Diana) : — — duumvir sign. quod ii mil. n. promiser., adjectis HS In. sua pec. fecit. etc.

[*Ib.*, 2527 = R. 62 (Lambaesis) : genio leg. III Aug. p.v. pro salute imp. (Severi et Caracallae) NN signifer ex HS mil. n. de suo posuit.]

[*CIL*, ii, 1934 (Lacippo ? [Alechipe] Baetica) : Fortunae Aug. sacrum. C. Marcius December ob honorem seviratus sui ex *den.* DCCL, remissis sibi ab ordine *den.* D, de sua pecunia d. d. The sum remitted was the legal entrance-fee; 750 *den.* = 3000 sest.]

*CIL*, viii, 8318 = R. 2529 (Cuicul) : Imp. Caes. M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. (169 A.D.) — — NN. equo (p. ab i)mp. exornatus, etc. — statuam quam ex III n. ex liberalitate sua promisit, ampliata pecunia in basilica Julia quam a solo pecunia sua exstruxit, posuit idemque dedicavit.

*Ib.*, 8319 = R. 2530 (*ibid.*) : Divo Vero fratri Caes. M. Aureli Anto(nini), etc., as above.

*Eph. ep.* vii, n. 237 (Vallis, prov. proc.) : Serapi Aug. sacrum pro salute M. Aureli Commodi — statuam quam — ex HS III mil. n. promisit, (amp)liata pecunia fecit.

*CIL*, viii, 924 (civit. Zuccharitana) : NN — qui septimo quoque anno statuam sibi poni ex HS III CCn.—jussit. See vol. ii, p. 297.

*Eph. ep.*, vii, n. 792 (Sigus, in basi calcarea praegrandi) : Balidirs Aug. sancti patrii dei statuam quam NN ob honorem fl. perpetui ex SS IICC n. summae honorariae ejus honoris pollicitus est, adjectis at ea quantitate (*sic*) ex sua liberalitate M n. et at basem CCCC n., ex III DC n. posuit idemque dedicavit.

*Eph. ep.*, v, n. 683 (Thamugadi) : Victoriae Aug. sacrum NN aedil. p. i. d. inlata r. p. legitima aedilitatis statuam quam ex HS III n. pollicitus fuerat, ex HS III DCCCC posuit id. dedic. d, d,

4000-5000 sest. (£42 12s. to £53 5s.).

[*CIL*, ix, 2553 = *IRN*, 5166 (Fagifulae): T. Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio — NN. ob honor. quinquen. de HS IIII m. n. ex d. d. cujus dedicat. epulum dedit etc. (140 A.D.).]

[*CIL*, viii, 4582 = R., 1719 (Diana): Victoriae Augustorum sac. — ex testamento NN. fl. p. p. ex HS IIII m. n.]

*Ib.*, 1548 = Guérin, *Voyage dans la régence de Tunis*, ii, p. 145, n. 371 (Agbia) l. 7: Pro salute imp. Antonini Aug. Pii — patronus — statuam genii curiae ex HS IIII m. n. in curia posuit etc.

*CIL*, ii, 1936 (Lacippo? Baetica): C. Marcio Cepharoni res p. ex X M, quos caverat ob honorem flamoni, perceptis ab heredib. ponendam decrevit etc.

*Ibid.*, 1425, cf. *Add.*, p. 701 (Sabora, Baetica): Victoriam Aug. NN. testamento fieri ponique jussit ex HS IIII. Huic dono NN her(es) XX (i.e. vigesimam) non deduxit et? alia? HS VI de? suo? dedit?

[*Ib.*, viii, 4193 = R. 1446 (Verecunda): Genio populi NN ob honorem fl. pp. additis ad leg. summam HS II n. ex HS IV n. (ut) pollicitus fuerat, NN et NN faciendum dedicandumqu. cura.]

[*Eph. ep.*, v, n. 757 (Lambaesis): Minerv. Aug. sacr. — ob honor. flam. perpet. — ex HS IIII milib. n. ampliata pecun. praeter legi[t] s. p.]

*CIL*, x, 6465 (Setia): ob quem [hon. quod in] statuam contulerunt, donavit SS IIII m. n. etc.

[*Ib.*, xii, 1159 (Carpentorate): Genio coloniae NN et NN in hoc opus IIIIIviris HS n. IIII mil. d. s. p. d.]

*Ib.*, viii, 4196 = R. 1428 (Verecunda): J.O.M. conservatori imp. Caes. (Caracallae, p. 212 A.D.) — NN. fl. pp. ob honore(m) flamoni perpetui — quod ex HS IIII n. promiserat ampliata summa faciendam dedicandamque curavit.

*Ib.*, 4197 = R., 1429 (*ibidem*): Junoni Concordiae Augustae etc. — quod NN. — ex HS IIII (n.) promiserat — frater et — filius ejus ampliata summa faciend. dedicandamque curaverunt.

*Ib.*, 4583 = R., 1727 (Diana): (V)ictoriae Parthic. (i)mpp. Caesarum (Severi et Caracallae) — NN. aed. duumviru ob honorem duumviratus quam ex IIII mil. n. pollicitus (er)at, ampliata pecunia — dedit idemque dedicavit (198 A.D.).

*Ib.*, viii, 76 (Biniana), cf. *Archäol. Ztg.*, 1872, N.F., iv, 104: Imp. Caes. M. Aurelio Commodo Antonino Felici Aug. etc. (186 A.D.) NN. flam. perp. super legitima honoris flam(onii) perpet. sui et HS duo milia nummorum patris ejus, decreto ordinis trans(l)ata, adjecta amplius pecunia fecit. 'The flamen has to pay 2000 sest. into the treasury of the city for taking over his flamine, and an equal sum for that of his father, but the senate permits him to erect a statue instead, and he adds voluntarily to the sum. *Translata* (referring to the changed application of the payment) stands in apposition to *legitima* and *duo milia*.' Mommsen.

*Eph. epigr.*, vii, n. 381 (Lambaesis): Fortunae Aug. sacr. — promissa statua ex HS IIII m. n. ampliata pecunia fecit.

*CIL*, viii, 8300 (Cuicul): Concordiae Augustor. NN aed. statuam

quam ob honorem aed. super legitim. ex HS  $\overline{\text{III}}$  mil. num. pollicitus est, ampliata pec. anno suo posuit dedicavit.

[Mommesen, *Inscr. Helv.*, 144 = Orelli, 350 sq. (Eburodunum) : ex HS n.  $\overline{\text{III}}$  — heres — (p)onend. cura(vit et) dedic. adjectis HS n. CC ad. .]

*Eph. ep.*, v, n. 822 (Zattara) : — anno suo statuam ex SS  $\overline{\text{III}}$  mil. n. fecit amplius adjectis a se SS M CC  $\overline{\text{n}}$ . etc.

[*CIL*, viii, 4235 = R., 1451 (Verecunda) : — ob honorem aug(ura-tus) ex HS  $\overline{\text{III}}$ CCCC n. ut pollicitus est, sua pecunia fecit. d. d.]

[*Ib.*, 2341 = R., 1531 (Thamugadi) : NN  $\overline{\text{II}}$  vir q. desig. inlata reipublicae sum. leg.  $\overline{\text{II}}$ vir. promissis HS  $\overline{\text{III}}$  ex HS  $\overline{\text{III}}$ ID n. posuit idemq. dedic. dec. d.]

5000–6000 sest. (£53 5s. to £63 17s. 6d.).

*Ib.*, viii, 1400 (Thignica) : Mercurio Aug. sacrum NN — cum statuam ex HS  $\overline{\text{III}}$  promisisset, adjecta pecunia . . . ex HS  $\overline{\text{V}}$  mil. posuit idemque dedicavit.

*Ib.*, viii, 2350 = R., 1529 (Thamugadi) : (S)oli Aug. sacr. NN. Augus(ta)lis conlato (in) se a sanctissi(m)o ordine ho(n)ore ornamen-(tor)um decurio(nat)us statuam, (qua)m ex HS  $\overline{\text{III}}$  pro(misi)t, ex HS  $\overline{\text{V}}$  posu(it), (id)emque d.d.d.

*Ib.*, 2362 = R., 1492 (Thamugadi) : Imp. Caes. — Antonino Aug. Pio p.p. NN ob honorem  $\overline{\text{qq}}$ . inlatis (*sic*) rp. summa honoraria, ex HS  $\overline{\text{V}}$  n. posuit idemque ded. d. d.

[*Ib.*, 2711 = R., 73 (Lambaesis) : M. Aurelio An(toni)no (*i.e.* Caracallae) NN. — ob honorem flamonis perpetui in se conlati pollicitus ex HS  $\overline{\text{V}}$  n. ampliata pecunia posuit et d. d. praeter HS XII n. honoraria summa et eo amplius HS VIII n.r.p. inlotis etc.]

[*Ib.*, 4187 = R., 1449 (Verecunda) : Genio sanctissimo ordinis NN ob honorem fl. pp. — additis ad legitima[m : 2000 sest.]  $\overline{\text{II}}$  CCCC  $\overline{\text{n}}$ . quae pollicitus erat, et amplius DC  $\overline{\text{n}}$ . ex  $\overline{\text{V}}$   $\overline{\text{n}}$ . faciend. dedic. curavit.]

*Ib.*, 4579 = R., 1744 (Diana) : Mercurio Aug. sacrum — NN q. aedil.  $\overline{\text{II}}$  viru statuam quam ob honorem ex HS  $\overline{\text{V}}$  mil.  $\overline{\text{n}}$ . pollicitus est, posuit etc.

[*Ib.*, 4874 (Thubursicum Numid.) : Fortunae reduci Aug. sacrum NN miles cohort. X urbanae — ob honorem aedilitatis inlatis r. p. HS  $\overline{\text{III}}$  n. legitimis, amplius ex HS  $\overline{\text{V}}$   $\overline{\text{n}}$ . posuit idemque dedicavit.]

*Ib.*, 9024 (Auzia, Mauret. Caesar.) : Victoriae Aug. L. Septimi Severi — NN aedilicius statuam quam ob honorem aedilitatis — super legitimam HS  $\overline{\text{V}}$  n. summam [cum] bas[i posuit]. (*Pollicitus* est is absent ; *summam* should probably stand before HS  $\overline{\text{V}}$  n.)

[*Eph. ep.*, v, no. 760 (Lambaesis) : Victoriae Aug. NN — ob honorem dumviratus (*sic*) — sicut apud acta pollicitus est, ex HS  $\overline{\text{V}}$  milibus nummum posuit etc.]

[*Ib.*, vii, no. 347 (Thamugadi) : M. Aurelio Caes. Imp. Antonini Aug. Pii filio NN ob honorem  $\overline{\text{qq}}$ . inlata rp. sum. honoraria, ex HS  $\overline{\text{V}}$   $\overline{\text{n}}$ . posuit id. ded. d. d.]

[*Ib.*, vii, no. 773 (Thamugadi) : — ex sua liberalitate ex HS  $\overline{\text{V}}$  n. donum dedit idemque dedicavit.]



*CIL*, viii, 1548 (Agbia) : — statuam Fortunae, cum ex HS V m. promississet ampliata pec. de s. p.

*CIL*, ii, 2150 (Baetica) : — heredes statuam quam is testamento ex HS  $\overline{\text{IIICC}}$  sibi poni jussit adjectis HS II posuerunt.

[MommSEN, *Inscr. Helv.*, 154 = Orelli 369 (Aventicum) : Deae Avent. NN. cur. colon. idemque all. cui incolae Aventicens. prim. omnium ob ejus erga se merita tabulam arg. p(ondo ?) L posuere, donum d. s. p. ex HS  $\overline{\text{VCC}}$ . L. d.d.d.]

*Id.*, *ib.*, 138 = Orelli 348 (Eburodunum) : Mercurio Aug. NN. nomine suo et fratrum suorum ex HS n.  $\overline{\text{IIII}}$  p. t. i. NN. heres ponend. curavit et eo amplius de suo adjecit HS n. MCCCC. A dextra intuentis : Dona venibunt ad ornamenta ejus et ex stipibus ponentur.

*CIL*, viii, 5299 = R., 2758 (Kalama) : Quod NN. — codicillis suis statuam (Nep)tuni in foro ex HS V poni jussisse(t), id heredes — ex HS  $\overline{\text{VDCXL}}$  posuerunt idemque d.

6000—7000 sest. (£63 17s. 6d. to £74 10s. 6d.).

*Id.*, 885 = Henzen, 5314 (pag. Mercurialis veteran. Medelitan.) : (J)uliae Domnae — — Q. Silicius Victor et C. Tadius Fortunatus ob honorem flam. sui perpetui statuam cum base ex HS binis milib. n. legitimis, adjectis tertis ex decreto paganor. pagi Mercurialis etc. Apparently each gave 3000 sest., so that the statue cost 6000.

[*CIL*, ii, 1424 (Sabara, Baetica) : Jovi Optimo Max. Vibius Lucanus Uro testamento poni jussit ex HS  $\overline{\text{VI}}$ .]

*CIL*, ii, 1637 (Iliturgicola or Ipolcobulcola, Baetica) : . . is ? Fortuna ex testamento L. Flavi Proculi relicta, per curatorem operis L. Juni . . . . . facta ex HS  $\overline{\text{VI}}$  secundum sententiam NN. . . . . a(rb)i(t)ri (operis et) — (a)rbitrum doni totuis. Huic dono XX ab herede [deducta non est]. I think from the analogy of the other inscriptions, that this refers to a statue of Fortuna for 6000 sest., forming a part of the *donum*, and therefore that the restoration *basis Fortunae* is wrong.

[*CIL*, viii, 4577 = R., 1735 (Diana) : Jovi (Vic)tori — NN. — ob hon. duumvir. sui praet. leg. ex HS VI mil. n. ded. dedic.]

*Id.*, 6948 = R., 1870 (Cirta) : Genio populi — NN. Divi M. Antonini statuam quam ob honorem triumviratus promisit, ex HS VI mil. n. sua pecunia posuit etc.

*CIL*, viii, 5295 = R., 2753 (Kalama) : Minervae Aug. — NN. ob honorem pontificatus ex HS VI c(entum ?) m(inus ?) n. faciendum dedicandamque curavit. Renier's solution is unsatisfactory, and with MommSEN to understamd  $\overline{\text{VI}}$  CM as sescenta milia is quite impossible. Perhaps the copy is erroneous.

[*Id.*, 5292 = R., 2754 (Kalama) : Herculi Aug. sacrum NN. IIII vir, amplius ad honorariam sum. cum HS III promississet, ex HS VI m. p. s. p. idemque dedic.]

[*Id.*, 8466 = R., 3268 (Sitifis) : Imp. Caes. (Antonino Pio) — NN. aed. ex HS VI n. quae in ornamentum civitatis ex liberalitate sua ob honorem aed. praeter legitimam summam promiserat d. d. q.]

[*Id.*, 8840 (Tupusuctu, Mauret. Sitif., bas. marmor.) : NN. decurioni adlecto secundum voluntatem testamenti ejus ex HS VI milib. patrono NN lib. — heresq. ejus p. d.]

*Eph. epigr.*, vii, no. 247 (prov. procons.): — (a. 196) NN f.p. statuas equestres (dua)s ex HS XII n. quae NN pater ejus duplicata summa honoraria f. p. ex sua liberalitate promiserat, permissu ordinis po(suit).

*CIL*, viii, 8310 = R., 2549 (Cuicul): Victori(ae) Aug. sac. NN. — (statuam q)ua(m ob) honorem auguratus sui (ex) HS VI (m. n.) s(u)per (legit)im(am) promiserat, ampliata pecunia cum(basi) posuit idemque dd.

*Ib.*, 2353 = R., 1526 (Thamugadi): Victoriae Aug. sac. L. Cestius Gallus fil. et heres L. Cesti Galli, fidejussoris Fl. Natalis pollicitatoris hujus statuae, jussus ex decret. Fonte Frontiniani leg. Aug. pr. pr. c. v. (a. 160 sq.), adjectis ad HS III n. quanti tunc hanc statuam idem Fl. Natalis rp. positurum se pollicitus erat HS III XXXX n. (ex HS VIXXXX n. posuit idemque dedicavit.)

*Ib.*, 4198 = R., 1450 (Verecunda): Minervae Aug. NN ob honorem pontificatus ex HS CXL n. faciendam dedicandamque curavit. 7000–8000 sest. (£74 10s. 6d. to £85 3s.).

[*CIL*, ii, 3390 (Acci, Tarraconensis): Ob honore(m) seviratu(s) ex HS VII de.]

*Ib.*, viii, 1842 = R., 4259 (Theveste): Mercur. Aug. sac. NN. ob honorem aed. statuam Mercuri cum suis ornamentis, quam ex HS V promiserat, (epul)o (dat)o dedicavit, inlatis reip. II HS legitimis, et amplius in pretium statuae impendit HS II.

*Ib.*, 5298 = R., 2757 (Kalama): Neptuno Aug. NN. aedil. IIvir statuam ob honorem IIvir. promissam, HS V n. amplius adjectis (ad legit)imam s(um)mam, VIICCCXXX posuit et dedicavit.

8000–9000 sest. (£85 3s. to £95 18s.).

*CIL*, ii, 2060 (Vallis Singilis, Baetica): Postumia M. f. Aciliana Baxo poni statuam sibi testamento jussit ex HS VIII m. n.; item ornamenta etc. Cf. Hübner, *Hermes*, i, 355.

*CIL*, viii, 858 (Municip. Giufitanum): Apollini Aug. sacrum — hanc statuam secutus patris exemplum HS VIII milibus n. sua liberalitate, numerata prius a se reipublicae summa honoraria posuit.

*Ib.*, 862 (*ib.*): Victoriae Aug. sac. NN q. II viral. ob honorem aedilitatis intermissae et IIviratus sui ex HS VIII mil. n., inlatis prius reip. summis honoraris, posuit etc.

*Ib.*, 863 (*ib.*). The same, with a different name.

[*Ib.*, 8835 (Tupusuctu): Imp. Caes. L. Septimio Severo (a. 195) — NN secundum decretum ordinis ex summa honoris flaroni sui, adjecta praeterea ex sua liberalitate pecunia, ex HS VIII mil. constituit.]

[*Ib.*, 2354 = R., 1480 sq. (Thamugadi): Victoriae Parthicae Aug. sac. Ex testamento M. Anni M. f. Quir. Martialis — A leg. III — missi honesta missione ab imp. Trajano — sing(ulas) HS VIII. XX p. R. min. (*i.e.* vigesima pop. Rom. minus) Annii M. lib. Protus Hilarus Eros adjectis a se HS III ponend. curaver. idemque dedicaver. d. d.]

[*Eph. epigr.*, v, no. 900 (civit. Celtianens., Numidia): Genio Celtianens. Aug. sac. NN quo (*i.e.* quo loco) numinis ejus adjumentum senserit, ex HS VIII s. p. fecit idem d.]

*Ib.*, vii, no. 757 (Thamugadi): Concordiae Auggg. dominorum nñn. Impp. L. Septimi Severi et M. Aureli Antonini (Pii Fel. Aug. Parth. Max. Brit. Ger. — haec Getae nomine eraso posita sunt) et Juliae Aug. NN ob honorem fl. pp. statuas (4), quas ex SS XX m n. cum basib. praeter legitim. pollicitus est, ampliata pec. SS XXXV m. n. posuit etc.

*Ib.*, v, no. 819 (Thagaste): — cui ordo pagi Mo . . . . statuam decrevit ex usuris *den.* II annis XX.

[*CIL*, xi, 1, 978 (Reg. Lepidum): — ioni conductori | . . . aerae *den.* M M CC (Potest fuisse statuae, ut conductor pro statua aerea accepisse videatur 8800 HS.)]

9000 sest. (£95 18s.).

*CIL*, viii, 4202 = R., 1430 (Verecunda): Victoriae Germanicae Aug. imp. (Caracallae) NN. ob honorem flammioni p. p. inla(ta) legitima HS II n. et condecursionibus sportulas duplas (*sic*) et curiis sing. HS CXX n., statuam quam ex HS VIII promiserat, faciend. dedicandamq. curavit.

10,000–11,000 sest. (£106 9s. to £117 2s.).

[*CIL*, viii, 4594 = R., 1726 (Diana): Imp. Caes. (Severo) NN. — ob honorem flam. (per)petui praeter leg. HS X mil. n. quae reip. intulit, ex HS X ampliata pecunia dedit ide)mque de.]

*Ib.*, 4596 = R., 1729 (Diana): Divo Commodio fratri imp. (Severis — NN. fl. p. p. pollicitus ex HS IIII mil. n., inlatis reip. summi) honoraris et (?) fl. pp., ex HS X mil. n. ampliata pecunia dedit idemque dedicavit.

Above 12,000 sest. (£127 15s.).

[*Ib.*, 7001 = R., 1834 (Cirta): (Imp. Caes. — Caracallae) — ex HS XII mil. n. adj(ectis de suo . . . fecit ide)mque dedicavit.]

16,000 sest. (£170 7s.).

*Ib.*, 2344 = R., 1506 (Thamugadi): Fortunae reduci Aug. — NN. statuam quam ob honorem aed. suae praeter legitimam pollicitus est, ex HS XVI n. posuit ludis editis et dedicavit.

20,000 sest. (£212 18s.).

*CIL*, v, 1, 4472 (Brixia) D. d. — — Mariano equo pub. — — Valerianus pater titul. usus test. in eam fac. leg. HS XII Eutyclus et Nicephorus libert. posuer. adjectis HS VIII.

[*CIL*, viii, 4192 (Verecunda): Genio patriae Aug. dedicante NN leg. Aug. pro praetore, quod NN testamento suo ex HS XX n fieri jussit, ordo Verecundensium faciendum curavit.]

25,000 sest. (£266).

*CIL*, xi, 1, 1946 (Perusia): — (Huic municipes et incolae in statuam HS XXV (contulerunt decurionesque titulum et in) comitio ponendum censuer.

26,400 sest. (£281).

*Eph. ep.*, v, no. 700 (Thamugadi): Anniae M. fil. Cara flaminica et Tranquilla statuam, quam testamento suo Annius Protus ex HS XXII legaverat, pecunia Proti et Anni Hilari patris sui comparatam, posuerunt et adjecta (*sic*) de suo aere [ex] HS IIII CCCC dedicaver. epulo curiar. dd.

28,000 sest. (£298).

*CIL*, viii, 1353 (Bisica, prov. procons.): — statuam (aeream ?)  
— (municipibu)s suis de den(arium) VII (milibus) ob(tulit).

30,000 sest. (£319 8s.).

*CIL*, vi, 3, 23, 149 (Roma in basi statuæ togatæ): P. Nummius  
P. f. Tro. Bassus ex testament. HS XXX arbitr. Caeciliae uxoris.

100,000 sest. (£1,064 12s.).

[*CIL*, viii (4364) 4365 (Gibba, Numidia): Imp. C. L. Septimio  
Severo — — (195 A.D.) — ex HS C n. curante Pomponio (F)austo  
Aurel. f. (fl. ?) dd. Socraten (?) pro(curatore) Augg. nn. III (trium ?)  
reg(ionum ?). If HS C n. is the correct reading this is hardly a  
statue.]



## VOL. III.

### LV. BORROWING FROM THE *CONTROVERSIAE* OF THE ELDER SENECA IN THE *GESTA ROMANORUM*.<sup>1</sup>

(Vol. III, p. 16 bottom.)

It seems not to have been observed by the earlier editors of the *Gesta Romanorum*, that Seneca's *Controversiae* are frequently drawn upon, indeed, as far as one can judge from Grässe's account of the sources, more than any other ancient source; although Seneca is expressly mentioned as an authority in cap. 134, *De innocenti morte Christi*: Seneca narrat, quod lex aliquando erat, quod quilibet miles in armis suis sepeliri deberet, et qui tantum defunctum armis spoliaret, morte moreretur etc. The relation is borrowed from *Controv.*, iv, 4. Grässe, who only thought of Seneca the philosopher, remarks (*Das älteste Märchen- und Legendenbuch des christlichen Mittelalters oder die Gesta Romanorum*, second ed., 1847, p. 272) that the passage is not to be found in Seneca, and describes the other borrowings from the *Controversiae* as cases of conscience invented by the author of the *Gesta*. I have noted the following: *G.R.*, c. 2 (*Controv.*, i, 2); 3 (i, 3); 4 (i, 5); 5 (i, 6); 6 (ii, 2); 7 (ii, 4); 14 (vii, 4); 73 (iii, 1); 90 (vi, 3); 100 (i, 4); 134 (iv, 4). Also the invention of c. 117 seems based on a reminiscence of the invented laws of the *Controversiae*. As far as I have compared them, only the *themata* have been used, and not what Seneca relates of their treatment by the orators. A few examples may illustrate the mode of treatment.

Seneca, *Controv.*, i. 1.

Liberi parentes alant aut vinciantur. Duo fratres inter se dissidebant; alteri filius erat. Patruus in egestatem incidit, patre vetante adulescens illum aluit. Ob hoc abdicatus tacuit. Adoptatus a patruo est. Patruus accepta hereditate locuples factus est. Egere coepit pater. Alit illum. Abdicatur.

*Gesta Romanorum* (ed. Keller)  
c. 2. De misericordia.

Titus regnavit, qui statuit pro lege sub poena mortis, quod filii parentes suos alerent. Accidit casus quod erant duo fratres ex uno patre: Unus filium habebat, et vidit avunculum suum egentem; statim secundum legem eum aluit contra voluntatem patris et ideo pater ejus a societate sua eum expulit. Verum tamen

hoc non obstante non dimisit quin avunculum suum egentem aleret et necessaria ei in omnibus dedit. Post haec avunculus ejus

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ind. lect. hib. acad. Alb. Regimont.*, MDCCCLXXI. Oesterley, who, without knowing this dissertation, has in his edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* (Berlin, 1872) demonstrated (p. 714ff.) the borrowings from Seneca's declamations, calls the latter (p. 251) 'a hitherto entirely unknown source of a number of the most characteristic stories in our collection.'

dives factus est et pater ejus coepit egere. Filius vero hoc videns patrem aliut prohibente avunculo et ideo a societate avunculi expulsus est dicensque (*sic*) ei: Carissime, tibi constat, quod aliquando egenus eram et contra voluntatem patris tui mihi necessaria in omnibus ministrasti, et ideo jam te in filium meum et haeredem accepi. Ingratus filius haereditatem non sequitur sed filius adoptatus, etc. (All the rest is original.)

Seneca, *Controv.*, i. 3.

Incesta de saxo deiciatur. Incesta damnata, antequam deiceretur de saxo, invocavit Vestam. Vixit dejecta. Repetitur ad poenam.

G. R., c. 3. Justum iudicium.

Quidam imperator regnavit, qui statuit pro lege, quod si mulier sub viro adulterata esset, sine misericordia de alto monte praecipitaretur. Accidit casus quod quaedam mulier sub viro

suo erat adulterata, statim secundum legem de alto monte fuit praecipitata. Sed de monte tam suaviter descendit, quod in nullo laesa erat. Ducta est ad iudicium. Iudex videns, quod mortua non esset, sententiam dedit, iterum deberet praecipitari et mori. Ait mulier: Domine, si sic feceritis, contra legem agitis, quia lex vult quod nullus debet bis puniri pro uno delicto. Ego eram praecipitata quia semel adulterata, et deus me miraculose salvavit, ergo videtur quod iterato contra legem non debeo praecipitari. Ait iudex: Satis prudenter respondisti. Vade in pace! Et sic salvata est mulier.

#### LVI. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EPIGRAMS OF MARTIAL AND STATIUS.

(Vol. III, p. 59.)

THE chronology of the epigrams of Martial and of the *Silvae* of Statius demands connected treatment, because some of the poems of the two were composed on the same occasions. The results of the investigation of the dates of composition of Martial's epigrams, which will be found in the introduction to my edition, pp. 50-67, are as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

Liber spectaculorum 80, second enlarged edition under Domitian?

|                                   |                     |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| XIII, XIV published               | December 84/85      |
| I, II                   "         | 85/86               |
| III                   "           | 87/88               |
| IV                   "            | December 88         |
| V                   "             | autumn 89           |
| VI                   "            | summer or autumn 90 |
| VII                   "           | December 92         |
| VIII                   "          | middle of 93        |
| IX                   "            | middle or end of 94 |
| X <sup>1</sup> "                  | December 95         |
| XI                   "            | December 96         |
| X and XI (anthology) published    | 97                  |
| X <sup>2</sup> published          | middle of 98        |
| (departure of Martial from Rome). |                     |
| XII                   published   | beginning of 102    |

<sup>1</sup> The section in the 5th edition, pp. 424-440 'Chronology of Martial's epigrams,' is here omitted.

Dau, *De M. Valerii Martialis libellorum ratione temporibusque. Pars I* (Rostochii, 1887) has raised several objections to these dates. He has tried to prove that the greater part of the poems in the *Liber spectaculorum* were composed under Domitian and refer to the triumphal shows after the Dacian war (therefore after 89), and further that the epigrams of Books XIII and XIV were written gradually between 84 and 92. I showed in my review of this dissertation in the *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 1889, no. 88, that both these assertions are entirely untenable. Dau then undertook to demonstrate the correctness of Schneidewin's supposition (ed. maj., p. 111 f.) that we possess Books I to VII in a second edition. The argument is principally based on the fact that in I, 2 the fourth forum, the forum Palladium, which was built by Domitian, is already mentioned, while there is no mention of four forums, instead of the three older ones, before x, 28, 51, and in a poem composed by Statius in 94/95 (*Silvae*, iv, 1, 14 sq.) the forum Palladium is called new, and the peace which the Janus dwelling in this forum was bidden by Domitian to conclude and maintain is, as Dau remarks on p. 62, the peace following the Sarmatian war (92). Dau thinks it so improbable that the building of the forum Palladium was already begun in 85/86, was afterwards suspended, and not taken up again with energy until 92/93, that he considers he can with certainty date the composition of Martial i, 2 in 93/94.

Now the history of architecture in all ages affords countless examples of buildings completed after long interruptions. It is well known that this was the case in the centre of ancient Rome. The forum Julium begun 54 B.C., which was dedicated while yet unfinished by Caesar in 46 B.C., was finished after his death by Augustus. Also the building of the forum of Augustus lasted a very long time (Richter, *Topogr. v. Rom.* in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, iii, 804 f.). It is therefore antecedently far from improbable that in 85/86 a beginning had already been made of the forum Palladium which was only finished by Nerva.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that there is much to be said for the assumption of a second edition of the first seven books. The confident tone of the poet in i, 1, compared with the hesitating tone in i, 3, the announcement of a parchment edition in i, 2, which was to be bought of a different bookseller from the one who sold the elegant separate edition of i (117)—both these facts are to be explained most naturally on the supposition that i, 1 and 2 were added in a second edition, as also the fact that Martial sent a copy of the first seven books, corrected by his own hand, to Julius Martialis, who already possessed the sixth, and certainly also the rest (vii, 17; vii, 1). No proof to the contrary is afforded by viii, 3, 4: *teritior noster ubique liber*, which in view of Martial's preference for the singular with a plural signification (see my note on iv, 64, 16), is certainly to be rendered, 'my books are read everywhere'. Also the plural (*libelli*) is found in passages referred to the second edition, viz. i, 2, 1; vii, 17, 5.

But if only one edition be assumed, these passages are by no means inexplicable. On the other hand, in the epigram i, 1, which stood beneath his portrait at the head of the volume (Crusius, *Rhein. Mus.*,

xliv, 454) Martial might very well boast of the applause which his poems had won as they circulated in small collections, and yet in i, 3 express his anxiety as to the reception which would be accorded to the complete book, now made public for the first time, and filled out as he thought (i, 16) with a good deal of indifferent and bad verse. A parchment edition does not necessarily imply a book of great length, it had a great advantage over the scroll editions which required the use of both hands, in the ease with which it could be held, and was thus specially adapted for travel (*me manus una capit*). Nor is it surprising that Martial, at the request of friends to whom he had presented copies from the book-shop, corrected them with his own hand, or sent new copies he had corrected.

The hypothesis of a second edition of the first seven books could only be proved by demonstrating that many of the epigrams were supplementary. But Dau has completely failed to prove this, as Gilbert has remarked in his review (*Wochenschr. f. klass. Philol.*, 1888, p. 1072). A second edition cannot therefore be regarded as proved, although one may regard it as more or less probable, according to the weight one attaches to the arguments based on i, 1, 2 and vii, 17. But if the edition in which we possess these seven books, is a second, it only differs from the first, so far as we can judge, by the addition of the two epigrams i, 1 and 2. Apart from these, none of my dates will be affected by the assumption.

Dau has also failed in his attempt (p. 86) to support by the help of i, 111, the theory of Borghesi and Stobbe, based on ii, 93, that ii appeared before i. If Martial gives Regulus a book, it is, I admit, most natural to suppose it is a work of his own, but that it is not, as everywhere else, designated as such, is enough to arouse doubt, which is much increased by observing that Martial describes the book as an appropriate present in view of the achievements (*merita*) of Regulus, and the fame of his wisdom, although elsewhere he refers with great modesty to his own '*nugae*'. From the manner in which Martial speaks of the present, I should be inclined to think of such a book as Cicero's *Orator* or *Brutus*.

As a test of the correctness of my dates, we may use the contemporary poems in the *Silvae*. The following refer to the same objects, persons or events.

| Mart., vi, 21               | Stat., <i>Silv.</i> , i, 2. | Marriage of Stella and Violentilla.                                  |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| „ vi, 42                    | „ „ i, 5.                   | Baths of Etruscus. <sup>1</sup>                                      |
| „ vi, 28 sq.                | „ „ ii, 1.                  | Death of Glaucias, freedman of Atedius Melior.                       |
| „ vii, 21-23                | „ „ ii, 7.                  | Birthday of Lucanus.                                                 |
| „ vii, 40                   | „ „ iii, 3.                 | Death of the father of Claudius Etruscus.                            |
| „ ix (11-13),<br>16, 17, 36 | „ „ iii, 4.                 | Dedication by Flavius Earinus of his hair to Æsculapius at Pergamus. |
| „ ix, 43 sq.                | „ „ iv, 6.                  | The Lysippic Hercules of Novius Vindex.                              |

<sup>1</sup> The poem by Statius was composed or revised after the composition of Martial's



As Statius, *Silv.*, iv, 1, refers to Domitian's seventeenth consulate (95), not only the first three books of the *Silvae*, but also books vi-viii of Martial, which were published at the same time, must have appeared before this year; we know in fact that Martial viii was published in 93. It must be admitted that this correspondence in the order of the poems of Martial and Statius is by no means necessary, for as will be seen below Statius sometimes left his poems unpublished for a considerable time, so that there is in some cases a much greater difference between the dates of their composition and publication than with Martial.

Martial's sixth book, not published before the summer of 90, contains poems written from the autumn of 89 up to this date, so the composition of the above mentioned poems of Stat., *Silv.*, i, falls within the same period. As Stobbe (*Philol.*, 26, 57 f.) has shown, no poem in this book contains a trace of composition after the Dacian triumph (end of 89), an assumption which is not even probable for a single poem in the book, with the exception of i, 5, corresponding to Martial, vi, 42, which was possibly composed in the year 90. *Silvae*, i, 1, on the erection of the colossal equestrian statue of Domitian,<sup>1</sup> was probably written about the time of the triumph, or indeed earlier, most likely before the death of Julia, which occurred at the end of 89. For among the ghosts of the deceased relatives which hover by night around this statue, hers is not found. In line 95 sqq. : *Ibit in amplexus natus fraterque paterque et soror*—if Julia were already dead, she would hardly have been left unmentioned. The sister is the elder, Domitilla, who had already died before Vespasian's accession (Eckhel, vi, 349), the son, who was born to Domitia in 73, the year of Domitian's second consulate (Sueton, *Domit.*, c. 3) was already mentioned as dead by Martial in iv, 3 (October, 88) : *Quis siccis lascivit aquis et ab aethere ludit?* Suspitor has pueri Caesaris esse nives; also Silius Italicus mentions him in his poem which was already (Martial, iv, 4) partly, if not entirely written, *Punica*, iii, 627 sqq. : *sidereum . . . natum*. Eckhel has wrongly referred Martial, vi, 3 to this boy. Kerckhoff dates the poem after the death of Julia (who, he says, is called Domitian's sister in l. 98!), but his objections (pp. 6-8) are not serious; it does not follow from the words of Statius, that the relatives, whose ghosts hover in the air are all *divi*. Flavia Domitilla was not such. The poem on the marriage of Stella and Violentilla was written about the time of the triumph, for Venus (174-181) promises the bridegroom among other forthcoming honours that the emperor 'purpureos habitus juvenique curule Indulgebit ebur Dacasque (en gloria major!) Exuvias laurosque dabit celebrare recentes'. The celebration of these games is nowhere mentioned (for those given by Stella to celebrate the Sarmatian triumph cf. Martial, viii, 78, 4 : *Hyperborei celebrator Stella triumphi*). The recent celebration of the Secular Games (Sept. ? 88) is alluded to in

epigram. (See n. on vol. ii, p. 190, l. 8.) That this could only have been done after the publication of the latter is maintained without sufficient reason by Kerckhoff, *Duae quaest. Papin.*, 1884, p. 11 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Martial, viii, 44, 7 (colosson Augusti) does not refer to this statue, as I assumed in my edition, but to the colossal statue of Augustus on the Palatine (see vol. ii, p. 301).

Stat., *Silv.*, i, 4, 17: Nec tantum induerint fatis nova saecula crimen Aut instaurati peccaverit ara Terenti; also l. 96: neque enim frustra mihi n u p e r honora Carmina patricii pueri sonuistis in ostro. (Nohl, *Quaest. Stat.*, 1871, p. 11.) Probably therefore we must also place in the year 88 the wanton nocturnal festival which Domitian gave on the 1st of December (i, 6), and this date is corroborated by the allusion in Martial, v, 49, 8: Hic error tibi profuit Decembri. Tum cum prandia misit imperator Cum panariolis tribus redisti. None of the grounds on which Kerckhoff (p. 12 sq.) assigns the poem to the year 83 are valid.

Now even if all the poems in *Silvae* i, except perhaps 5, were composed before the end of 89, the publication must have taken place considerably later, at the earliest towards the end of 91. For as *Silvae* iii probably did not appear before 94 (see below), and iv and v followed at intervals of about one year, it is not likely that the intervals were very much longer in the cases of the first two books, especially as Statius, as I have remarked, is known to have published his poems in some cases a good while after their composition. Also the death of Rutilius Gallicus (*Silv.*, i, *praef.*) is, as will be shown, to be assigned at the earliest to the year 91, or preferably to 92.

Of the poems in the second book of the *Silvae*, which was published more probably in 93 than in 92, ii, i was written immediately after the death of Glaucias, the freedman of Atedius Melior (festinanter *praef.*) and therefore before the appearance of Martial's sixth book (summer or autumn 90), which contains two poems (28 sq.) on the same event (Nohl, *Quaest. Stat.*, p. 14 n.); while *Silv.*, ii, 2 was not written before the late summer or autumn of the same year. An invitation had brought the poet to Sorrento (*Silv.*, ii, 2, 6):

Huc me post patrii laetum quinquennia lustrī,  
quum stadio jam pigra quies, canusque sederet  
pulvis, ad Ambracias conversa gymnade frondes,  
trans gentile fretum placidi facundia Polli  
detulit.

Line 6 shows that Statius had been present at the *Augustalia*<sup>1</sup> at Naples (held in August, vol. ii, p. 118) undoubtedly in the year 90, in which fell the 23rd celebration of this *agon* (*Italīs*). Franz, *CIG*, iii, 733.

The third book contains the poem (iii, 2) on the journey of Maecius Celer, composed, as Nohl, *op. cit.*, p. 16 f., has observed, on the evidence of lines 40 and 142, before the completion of the *Thebais*, which was published towards the end of 91 (see n. on vol. iii, p. 65, l. 30); further the elegy on the death of the father of Etruscus (iii, 3, corresponding to Martial vii, 40), which must have happened before the publication of Martial vii (Dec. 92), and after Martial vi (autumn 92). But as Statius in this poem speaks of the Sarmatian war, from which Domitian did not return till 93, as already ended (169: quae [clementia] Marcomanos post horrida bella vagosque Sauromatas Latio non est dignata triumpho), Stobbe (*Philol.*, xxvi,

<sup>1</sup> Kerckhoff (p. 14) remarks truly that he had received no prize; *lactus* is one of the favourite words of Statius (p. 53).

55) referred this passage to the unsuccessful expedition of the year 89 against the Marcomanni (Dio, lxvii, 7), to whom the Sarmatians had sent auxiliaries, and thereby given a pretext for the war of 92; whereas I assumed that Statius added these verses in a revision of the text early in 93 (cf. Nohl, p. 16). But as Kerckhoff, p. 17, remarks, it is most probable that the father of Etruscus did not die till December 92 (vol. i, p. 52), and that Statius composed the poem in January 93. In the same year he must have written the poem on the hair of Flavius Earinus (iii, 4, corresponding with Martial, ix 16, 17, 36), after the appearance of Martial viii in the middle of the year. The book cannot therefore have been published before the closing months of 93. But probably it did not appear till the second half of 94, for the *agon Capitolinus* in which Statius was defeated is probably that of this year; *Silv.*, iii, 5 (ad Claudiam uxorem), 31: *tu quum Capitolia nostrae Infinita lyrae, saevum ingratumque dolebas mecum victa Jovem*; especially as this event is mentioned after the prize which he won in the *agon Albanus*, and may have given occasion to the resolve of Statius, mentioned in this poem, to leave Rome. In this poem Statius adduces further motives (the advantages of Naples and its environs) for his resolve, which in the preface he had attributed to his desire for the company of Pollius Felix, and if we accept the above date, it will be the latest poem in the book. Kerckhoff, p. 18; so also Nohl, *Quaest. St.*, who considers however that Statius was defeated in the year 86 (p. 26).

The fourth book, addressed to Vitorius Marcellus, was published by Statius after his removal to Naples (*praef.*). The first three poems are devoted to the glorification of Domitian: iv, 1 (xvii consulatus Imp. Aug. Germanici Domitiani on the 1st of Jan. 95); iv, 2 Eucharisticon ad Imp. Aug. Germanicum D. (probably, as Kerckhoff remarks, p. 19, written before his failure in the *agon Capitolinus*, after which Statius would hardly have written l. 62 '*saepe coronatis iteres quinquennia lustris*', a view agreeing with the supposition that the dining-hall here described is the same one that is praised in Martial, viii, 39, published in the middle of 93); iv, 3, via Domitiana. The construction of this road from Sinuessa to Puteoli, took place, according to Dio, lxvii, 13, in the year in which Flavius Clemens was executed, *i.e.* in 95. In the dedication to Vitorius Marcellus he says of it: *cujus beneficio tu quoque maturius epistolam eam accipies, quam tibi in hoc libro a Neapoli scribo* (iv, 4, written in the summer). The poem on the Hercules of Novius Vindex, iv, 6, need not necessarily be of the same date as Martial's epigram (ix, 43) on the same subject, but is probably one of the earlier poems in the book, as well as iv, 9 (Risus Saturnalicus ad Plotium Grypum, cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, 1512; *praef.*: *Hendecasyllabos, quos Saturnalibus una* [therefore probably in Rome in December, 94—so too Nohl, p. 19] *risimus, huic volumini inserui*). The book appeared then in the course of the year 95, not earlier than summer.

The fifth book seems not to have been published by Statius, who left it unfinished (Nohl, p. 22; Baehrens, *Stat.*, i, p. 125; Kerckhoff, p. 24). The first poem to Abascantus (with the fragment of a preface in the form of a letter, referring to this poem, and not to



the whole book, Kerckhoff, p. 21) seems to have been composed before the poet's removal to Naples (end of 94); for I think it is only while he was still in Rome, and intended to remain there, that Statius could have written to Abascantus: *quam vis propiorem usum amicitiae tuae jam pridem cuperem* (Kerckhoff, p. 21). This agrees with the fact that the *templum gentis Flaviae* is first mentioned in Martial, ix (published middle or end of 94), 1, 3, 34, and in Statius, *Silvae*, iv, 3, 18, where it is spoken of as lately finished (240: *Illius, aeternae modo qui Sacraria genti condidit*). The second poem, in which Statius alludes to a forthcoming recitation of his *Achilleis* (160 sqq.) is of about the same date as iv, 4 (94: *Troja quidem magnusque mihi temptatur Achilles*) and iv, 7 (23: *primis meus ecce metis Haeret Achilles*). See Kerckhoff, p. 21 sq. The third poem, the elegy on his father, who died not long after the eruption of Vesuvius, was begun three months after his death (l. 29), and is already mentioned in iii, 3, 39 sq.; it was revised later, it is in this enlarged form that we possess it (Kerckhoff, p. 22). There is no evidence that Statius survived Domitian (d. 18 Sept. 96); the fourth poem, in which he laments that sleep has fled him for seven nights, may have been written in his last illness; the fifth (*Epicedion in puerum suum*) he may have left unfinished. The edition of his poetic remains by his friends probably took place soon after his death (Kerckhoff, p. 23 sq.).

Synchronistic survey of the epigrams of Martial and the *Silvae* of Statius.

#### MARTIAL.

V published autumn 89.

VI published summer or autumn 90.

VII published December 92.

VIII published middle of 93.

IX published middle or end of 94.

X<sup>1</sup> published December 95.

XI published December 96.

#### STATIUS.

I written before the end of 89, and probably published 92.

II written at least in part 90, probably published 93.

III written 91-93, published (summer or) autumn 94.

IV written 94 and 95, published summer or autumn 95.

V written 94-96?, published perhaps 96 or a little later.

#### LVII. THE PATRONS AND FRIENDS OF STATIUS.<sup>1</sup>

(Vol. III, p. 60.)

Of the patrons of Statius, C. Rutilius Gallicus is the one about whom we are best informed, the chief source of our knowledge being *Silv.*, iv, 1. But the allusions in this poem to his official career are so obscure that the attempts to elucidate it differ widely. The first was made by H. F. Stobbe (d. 1872) in a detailed paper, printed in the first edition of this work, 1871, iii, pp. 404-409, the chief results of which are as follows.

Rutilius Gallicus was at the time of his illness (after the Secular Festival of 88, l. 17 f.) during Domitian's absence in the Dacian War in the year 89 (ll. 91-93) rather more than 60 years old (l. 53), consequently he was born not later than the beginning of 29 A.D.;

<sup>1</sup> The section on the patrons and friends of Martial (fifth German edition, pp. 445-451) is here omitted.



according to l. 68 (genus ipse suis) he was probably a knight. If his military services are enumerated in ll. 72-79 in chronological order, he served first in Galatia, then nine years in Pamphylia, Pannonia<sup>1</sup> and Armenia; the last of these services being in the expedition of Corbulo, whose capture of Artaxata in April, 59 is alluded to (l. 79: *patiens Latii jam pontis Araxes*). Having returned to Rome, and having received the distinction of the *latus clavus*, he became praetor or *inter praetorios adlectus* (l. 80: *gemi fasces*), and *legatus pro praetore* to the proconsul of Asia, holding this office for two years, 62-64 (l. 80). Lines 83-88 may refer either to the command of the *legio III Aug.* in Numidia, or to the proconsulate of Africa. The former may have been held by Gallicus (before the consulate) in the years 64-66 or 74-76 (perhaps also 71-73); the latter not later than 76-77. There followed, l. 89 f., a governorship on the Rhine, and the capture of Velea. If Gallicus had been from 64-66 *leg. leg. III Aug.*, he may have been the immediate successor in Lower Germany of Petilius Cerialis, who was transferred to Britain in 71; if he had been proconsul of Africa he cannot have gone to the Rhine before the end of 70, and the capture of Velea would have to be placed in the last year of Vespasian's reign. Under Domitian Gallicus was, certainly in the year 89, urban prefect (ll. 5, 9, 16, 91-93). From the preface to the first book of the *Silvae* we learn that he had died before its publication. He died late in 91 or 92, for a fragment of the *fasti* of a priestly college (the *sodales Augustales*; <sup>2</sup> Gruter, 300, 1 = *CIL*, vi, 1984) mentions him in the 27th *decuria* as co-opted in the year 68 in the place of the Emperor Nero, but in 92 mentions Tettienus Serenus as his successor. The vacancy created by his death can hardly have remained more than a few months.

A second attempt to construct the biography of Gallicus was made by E. Desjardins without knowing Stobbe's work on the subject (*Nécessité des connaissances épigraphiques pour l'intelligence de certains textes classiques*, in *Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, Janvier, 1877, pp. 7-24), in which he arrived at the following results. Gallicus, born in the year 27 at Augusta Taurinorum (l. 58 ff.), was about the year 45 *xvir silitibus judicandis* (l. 71 f.), from 47-58 legationary tribune in the provinces mentioned in ll. 77-79, and probably present at the capture of Artaxata in 59. During this time *inter quaestorios* and then *inter tribunicios adlectus*, he became praetor and then legate of the proconsul of Asia (l. 89 ff.), and thereupon twice consul. In the year 84 he took part as *comes* of the emperor in Domitian's war against the Catti (l. 89 f.), and in the same year as legate in the Dacian war (ll. 90-93). In 85 he became urban prefect, and fell ill in 87, on the occasion of his recovery in the same year Statius composed his poem.

I have already in another place (*De C. Rutilio Gallico: Progr. Acad. Alb. Regimont.*, 1880, iii) drawn attention to some serious errors and misconceptions in this article. Desjardins is most un-

<sup>1</sup>Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v, 300, supposed that Gallicus had served in Pannonia towards the end of the reign of Claudius.

<sup>2</sup>H. Dessau, *De fastis sacerdotalibus qui vulgo auguribus attribuuntur*, in *Eph. epigr.*, iii, pp. 74-76.

happy in his treatment of lines 89–93. He translates *depositam Dacis perentibus urbem*: ‘les Daces écrasés abandonnant leur ville’. The words really mean, as J. F. Gronov had already perceived, ‘the city of Rome entrusted to Gallicus (as urban prefect) at the time of the destruction of the Dacians’. Further, to explain the mention of Veleda (who is known from Tac., *Germ.*, c. 8 to have been in Rome under Vespasian) in connexion with the war against the Catti in the year 84 (to which he refers l. 89: *Arctoas acies Rhenumque rebellem*), Desjardins assumes that by Veleda (a prophetess of the Bructeri) is to be understood Ganna a prophetess of the Catti or Senones, as a second Veleda! He says this although in a passage quoted in part by himself, Dio, lxxvii, 5, it is expressly stated that Ganna was in Rome with Domitian not as a prisoner, but as an envoy, and was honourably dismissed! Further, that ‘togae virtus’ (l. 71) does not refer to the decemvirate, which could not possibly be mentioned in a brief biographical summary, but to the achievements of Gallicus as an advocate. (The toga is known to have been a distinctive dress of advocates, see vol. i, p. 163, l. 3 and n.) Finally, Desjardins strangely transfers Domitian’s Secular Festival to the year 87.

The results of an investigation by H. Nohl, which he kindly communicated to me (see pp. 453–456 of the 5th edition) are as follows.

C. Rutilius Gallicus of Augusta Taurinorum (l. 58), where two inscriptions which mention his second consulate (*CIL*, v, 6988, 6989),<sup>1</sup> and the base of an honorary statue of his wife (6990) have been found, was born not later than 28, for the words ‘(senecta) his senis vixdum orsa excedere lustris’ (l. 53), which Statius wrote between the latter part of 89 and 92 (see above, pp. 301–2), could only apply to a man of the age of 61 to, at the most, 64. He began his career as an advocate (71). As he was not of noble birth, Gallicus probably owed his admission into the college of the *Sodales Augustales* in the year 68 (see above, p. 305) to the fact that he had already held the consulship (Tac., *Hist.*, i, 77; *Agric.*, c. 9), and owed the latter to his proved ability in the service of the state. Nohl understands ‘geminos fasces magnaëque iterata—Jura Asiae (l. 80) as referring to the proconsulate of Asia and the right of the proconsuls there to have twelve fasces (Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>2</sup>, 366, 6). This office was held by Silius Italicus (consul 68) in 77/78 (Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iii, 289), and if Gallicus was consul before him, he was also proconsul before him. If he held the latter office from 75 to 77, he would have been consul about 65 (in accordance with the usual ten years’ interval in the years from 14 to 80, Waddington, *Fastes des prov. Asiat.*, p. 659), praetor about 55 (ll. 76–80), and his birth would have taken place about the year 25.

Nohl thinks the description of his military service too grandiloquent to suit the position of a subordinate officer, and therefore assumes that Gallicus was in Galatia as legionary legate, then nine years in Pamphylia, and then after his consulship (65 as *suffectus*) *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* in Pannonia (78), the governors of which are always of consular rank, and then (79) in a province bordering on Armenia,

<sup>1</sup> On a fragment of an inscription wrongly referred to Gallicus, see O. Hirschfeld, *Zu den Silvae des Statius*, in *Wiener Studien*, iii, 1881, pp. 269–272.

probably Cappadocia, which had previously been governed by procurators, but from Vespasian's time by consulars (Suetonius, *Vespas.*, c. 8; Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 8; Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 367, 6). Gallicus would then have been one of the first of the consular legates there.

Then followed the proconsulate of Asia 75-77, which Gallicus held after Eprius Marcellus (71-74), and before Silius Italicus, and after that the second consulate (l. 82: *sed revocant fasti majorque curulis Nec permissa semel*, as Nohl reads for *promissa*); then an extraordinary mission (l. 85: *qui mandaverat*) to Africa, which was so successful that he could send rich tribute to Rome without war. Presumably his mission was connected with Vespasian's project of increasing the contributions of the provinces (Suetonius, *Vespas.* c. 16; cf. Dio, cxvi, 8), and we may follow Mommsen (on *CIL*, v, 6989) in supposing that he was *leg. Aug. pr. ad census accipiendos*. He seems to have taken his wife Minicia Paetina with him, for the people of Leptis afterwards erected a statue to her at Turin (*CIL*, v, 6990).

Then Gallicus was *leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Germaniae inferioris*. The capture of Veleda (l. 89: *Arctoas acies Rhenumque rebellem Captivaeque preces Veledae*), is put by Stobbe under Vespasian (although the words of Tacitus, *Germ.*, c. 8: *vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam*, may be taken to mean that like Ganna she was in Rome as an envoy). Nohl, however, places this event in the reign of Titus, because otherwise both the African and German legations would fall in the two or three years between the second consulate of Gallicus and the death of Vespasian, and Gallicus would have been quite inactive during the remaining ten years. He obtained the urban *praefectura* not long before his illness (l. 90 sqq.; in l. 92 Nohl emends *lectu* to *lectus*).<sup>1</sup> His predecessor in this dignity was perhaps Pegasus (Juv., iv, 77), and with greater probability T. Aurelius Fulvus can be named as his successor. *Vit. Antonin.*, c. 1: *avus ejus T. Aurelius Fulvus per honores diversos ad secundum consulatum et praefecturam urbis pervenit*; he was cos. ii in 89, so he very probably became urban prefect soon after. Gallicus seems to have had no children, as Statius would hardly have left them unmentioned.

An examination of Nohl's conclusions by O. Hirschfeld, which he has kindly communicated to me, shows that for the most part they are untenable, and that Stobbe (and Desjardins in part) had already hit the mark in all essentials. The advocateship<sup>2</sup> of Gallicus was immediately followed by numerous campaigns (l. 72: *mox innumerus exercita castris . . . jurata manus*), which are evidently dealt with in detail in the following lines (ll. 74-79). That Gallicus was an equestrian officer for about ten years (the same period for which Trajan, a senator's son, was tribune) is no more surprising than that a poet like Statius used grandiloquent language about his patron's

<sup>1</sup> But undoubtedly we must read *lectu* here with Hirschfeld (*Wiener Studien*, iii, 1881, p. 272). I cannot, however, accept his emendation *Fortuna non adspirante for admirante*.

<sup>2</sup> In this capacity Gallicus distinguished himself again at a later date (l. 10 sqq.), so that Statius (l. 22 sqq.) celebrates him 'as a teacher and pattern of eloquence and judicial wisdom': Hirschfeld, *loc. cit.*, who reads in l. 24, *certumque* (for *centumque*) *dedisti Iudicium mentemque viris*. I understand the passage, 'You who have given judgment and insight to the centumviral court (by your convincing speeches as advocate)'.



service, especially if, as appears to be the case, the later military performances of Gallicus were insignificant, or even unfortunate, so that it was better to make no allusion to them. The 'gemini fasces' in l. 80 cannot be twelve, and cannot possibly mean anything but the urban praetorship (Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 384, 2); 'iterata jura Asiae' cannot refer to the proconsulate, which 'terque quaterque' (l. 81) suits even less than 'iterata', but must mean such a post as that of *legatus proconsulis*, which might last as well one year as four, and which would give him judicial powers. (Cf. also *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, p. 257 f., where 'Stobbe' should be read for 'Hirschfeld'.) That this post was praetorian is shown by l. 82: *sed revocant fasti in a j o r q u e curulis*, which can only mean the consulate, the higher office as compared with the praetorship. In l. 83 *nec p r o missa semel* must be right, and as Borghesi (*Œuvres*, ix, p. 274) considers, must allude to the designation for the second consulship, which Gallicus probably obtained, as was usual, after the *praeectura*, in the course of the year 89 (so also Borghesi). I consider that Mommsen, with whom Nohl agrees, has correctly explained the African mission (p. 307 above, and *Wiener Studien*, iii, 1881, p. 269). Statius has evidently adhered to the chronological order in describing this career, and that being so the military services mentioned in l. 76 sqq. can only be equestrian. I follow Stobbe and Desjardins in referring l. 79 to the capture of Artaxata in the year 59. Whether Gallicus was then quaestor is doubtful; it is most natural to assume an *allectio inter tribunicios*, followed by the appointment to the urban praetorship. That the period after the consulate is summarily treated, is, as I have said, probably due to the fact that it contained no specially brilliant successes.

Maecius (edd. wrongly Metius) Celer, in Statius, *Silv.*, iii, 2 (not to be confused with the Celer mentioned in Martial, vii, 52 as *legat. Aug. pr. pr.*, or legate of such an official), had, as Stobbe remarks, according to l. 124, performed his military service as *trib. mil. laticlavius* in a Syrian legion,<sup>1</sup> and at the time when the poem was written had obtained the command of a Syrian legion (*praeef. 1*: *juvenem a sacratissimo imperatore missum ad legionem Syriacam*). But if Stobbe assumed on the ground of l. 105: *Eoa signa Palaestinasque cohortes*, that he had been leg. Aug. pr. pr. in Judaea, he was, as Nohl observes, not justified in the assumption, because Statius elsewhere uses *Palaestinus* for *Syriacus* (ii, 1, 160; v, 1, 213), and, what is more important, Statius only mentions one legion, which he would certainly not have done, if his patron had been governor. 'Majora daturus' (of the emperor, l. 127) seems to allude to the consulate, as the legates of legions were as a rule already praetorians. According to Stobbe the identification with L. Rosc. Ael. Maec. Celer, cos. suff. 100 is impossible, as the latter was *trib. mil. leg. ix* in Britain and Germany, and never commanded a legion afterwards (Henzen-Orelli, 3569 = 4952). The patron of Statius may, however, be the same as M. Maecius Celer, cos. suff. in April 101 (Henzen, *Acta fr. Arval.*, p. cxliii).

<sup>1</sup> In l. 124 (ed. Baehrens): *Notus adhuc tantum majoris m u n e r e clavi* (codd. numine) *lumine* should be read; cf. iv, 5, 42: *contentus artae lumine purpurae*. Quintilian, viii, 28. Nohl,



Plotius Grypus (not Gryphus) was also of senatorial rank, *Silv. praef.*, iv : majoris gradus juvenis, iv, 9, 17 ff. : priusquam Te Germanicus arbitrum sequenti Annonae dedit omnibusque late Praefecit stationibus viarum. The Plotius Grypus, consul in 88, who is mentioned as an Arval in the Arval table (Henzen, *Scavi*, p. 43), cannot, as Mommsen and Henzen assumed, be the man celebrated by Statius, but was perhaps his father or brother, as Hirschfeld has observed in *Göttinger gel. Anz.*, 1869, 1512. He understands (*Philol.*, xxix, 29, 40) by the offices mentioned by Statius 'the superintendence of the supplies (*annona*) and quarters (*stationes*) for a particular campaign, probably the last Dacian (more probably the Sarmatian) under Domitian'. Cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 101, 2, and Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 1031, 2.

Vettius Crispinus, son of Vettius Bolanus (consul c. 67 or 68, cf. Waddington, *Asie mineure*, p. 704) received at the age of sixteen (*Silv.*, v, 2, 12) from Domitian the legionary tribunate, l. 173 : en ingens reserat tibi limen honorum Caesar at Ausonii committit munia ferri ; 177 : cuique sacer primum tradit Germanicus ensem ; cf. 8 sqq., 125 sqq. (Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 434 f.). He had already appeared as defendant in an action for adultery, l. 99 sqq., and was a *Salus*, 130 sqq. (Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 427, 13). Cf. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 326, 11.

Manilius (so the codd. in the title of i, 3, edd. wrongly *Manlius*) Vopiscus, vir eruditissimus et qui praecipue vindicabat a situ literas fugientes (*Silv.*, *praef.* 1), was the owner of the splendid *villa Tiburtina* (*Silv.*, i, 3), and certainly a relative of Manilius Vopiscus, consul in 114. Orelli 3787. [He himself seems not to have entered the public service ; cf. i, 3, 22 ; 108, etc. Nohl.] On the frequent confusion between the names Manlius and Manilius cf. *StRE*, iv, 1481. [The cos. 114 was perhaps a grandson of the cos. suff. 60 at the time of the Neronian comet (cf. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 22) ; in Seneca, *Qu. nat.*, vii, 28 : Paterculo et Vopisco. Stobbe.]

Flavius Ursus was, perhaps, as Teuffel *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 326, 10, supposes, a son of Ursus who advised Domitian to divorce Domitia, and at Julia's request became consul in 84 (Dio, lxxvii, 3, 4). These intimate relations with the imperial house support the conjecture that he belonged to the Flavian gens. The Ursus mentioned by Statius was still young (ii, *praef.* : juvenem candidissimum et sine jactura desidia doctissimum) and seems to have held as yet no office, otherwise Statius would hardly have ignored the fact. He had, however, already appeared as an orator, ii, 6, 95, was rich and the owner of estates on Vesuvius, near Pollentia, in Lucania, on the right bank of the Tiber, in Crete, Cyprus and elsewhere (*ib.*, 60-68).

Vitorius (not Victorius) Marcellus, the friend of Quintilian, *Stat.*, *Silv.*, iv, *praef.* ; iv, 4 ; cf. Nohl, *Zwei Freunde des Statius*, in *Hermes*, xii, 517 f., and Mommsen, *Vitorius Marcellus*, in *Hermes*, xiii, 428-430. He was probably, as Mommsen has shown, the son of a knight (his son Geta is called in Statius, *Silv.*, iv, 4, 75, *Stemmate materno felix, virtute paterna*), and after his praetorship he had obtained the superintendence of the Via Latina (*ib.*, 59), and the prospect of the command of a legion (61). He had married a lady of the family of Hosidius Geta, and his son Geta (Quintilian, i, pr.

6; Stat., l. 71: parvoque exempla parabis magna Getae) is the Arval, C. Vitorius Hosidius Geta, repeatedly mentioned in the *Acta* of 118-120). The Gallus mentioned by Statius (ll. 20-26) was not, as was formerly erroneously assumed, a son but a friend of Vitorius Marcellus.

Vibius Maximus (Martial, xi, 106), whose name, falsely spelt *Vinius* and *Vivius* in the Statius MSS., has been restored by Nohl (*Hermes*, xii, 517), belonged to the equestrian order. His father had held a command in the Sarmatian war (*Silv.*, iv, 7, 49-53), and he himself had been *praef. alae* in the East (l. 45). When *Silv.*, iv 7 was composed, he was in Dalmatia, not, as Hirschfeld (*VG*, p. 85 n.) supposed, as *proc. aurar. Delmat.*, but as Nohl proves from a military diploma of 93, as *praef. coh. iii Alpinorum*. In the year 104 he was, as is shown by an inscription on the column of Memnon (Nohl, *ibid.*), prefect of Egypt. [He also had literary tastes; he epitomized Sallust and Livy (*Silv.*, iv, 7, 55). Statius addressed a letter to him on the publication of the *Thebais* (iv, *praef.*, 7, 25-28), and perhaps he is the Maximus who admired Catullus (Martial i, 7). Nohl.]

Septimius Severus was also a knight, iv, 5, 41: inter pignora curiae Contentus arcto lumine purpurae (*praef.*: inter ornatissimos secundi ordinis), an orator and poet (Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 326, 9), and the owner of three estates near Veii, Cures, and in the territory of the Hernici (54-57). No mention is made of his holding any office.

Novius (Nohl, *Qu. Stat.*, p. 45)<sup>1</sup> Vindex is praised by Statius for the purity of his morals, and for his fidelity towards a certain Vestinus, who, it seems, had then (94/95) died in the prime of life, and belonged to a noble family (iv, 6, 94: scit adhuc florente sub aevo Par magnis Vestinus avis). Probably, however, he is the man mentioned by Martial, iv, 73.

Pollius Felix, a rich Puteolan, lived in retirement at his villa near Sorrento (*Silv.*, ii, 2; iii, *praef.*; iii, 1); his wife was Polla, his son-in-law the Neapolitan Julius Menecrates.

### LVIII. THE CHRONOLOGY OF JUVENAL'S LIFE AND SATIRES. (Vol. III, p. 67 ff.)

THE statement, formerly very common, that Borghesi in his treatise *Sull' età di Giovenale* (1847, *Œuvres*, v, 49-76) placed the birth of Juvenal in the year 47, is, as far as I can ascertain, erroneous. So far as I know, Borghesi has nowhere expressly said it. The conclusion was merely drawn, because he had proved that Juvenal wrote his last book, in part at least, in the year 127. This year was then assumed to be that of his death, and as the ancient biographies unanimously state that he lived to be eighty, his birth was assigned to the year 47. Perhaps this was also Borghesi's view. Others put his death a few years later, and his birth about 50.

Borghesi's date for the composition of the 13th satire is quite certain; according to l. 17 it was written sixty years after the consulate of Fonteius. Of the four consuls named Fonteius Capito named in the *Fasti* (A.U.C. 721, 765, 812, 820) only the last three

<sup>1</sup> Baehrens: novii ita A, novi C, Novii edd.; but like Markland he writes Nonius.

are in question. Now Borghesi has shown that if a year was indicated by the name of only one consul, it was always the one whose name stands first in the *Fasti*. This is only the case with the name of that Fonteius who was consul in the year 820 = 67 A.D.

Now I thought that in the passage in question in the 13th satire I recognized an indication of Juvenal's birth-year. The poet comforts his friend Calvinus, who is troubled because a faithless friend has repudiated a sum of money given him in trust; the loss, says Juvenal, is not great, and one must not be so distressed at an everyday occurrence. Then he continues, l. 13 :

Tu quamvis levium minimam exiguamque malorum  
particulam vix ferre potes, spumantibus ardens  
visceribus, sacrum tibi quod non reddat amicus  
depositum. stupet haec, qui jam post terga reliquit  
sexaginta annos, Fonteio consule natus :  
an nihil in melius tot rerum proficit usus?

I still think, as before, that this passage, punctuated as above, may in itself very well be understood thus : 'one who (like myself) has already seen sixty years (and so has only too often had similar experiences) is astonished at such passionate grief over so ordinary a disappointment'.<sup>1</sup> But as O. Hirschfeld has pointed out to me, the poet's astonishment at the excessive grief of Calvinus would be no sufficient reason for appealing to his own sixty years' experience, while an admonition to his friend to take to heart the lessons of *his* experience, would be entirely appropriate. It is therefore most natural to refer l. 17 to Calvinus, and to place a mark of interrogation after *natus*.

All the same I am inclined to think that Juvenal has at the same time indicated the date of his own birth, because of the dating with the consul's name. For the date of one's own birth is familiar to every one, and falls naturally from the tongue, but not the date of another's birth. Juvenal would have called Calvinus a man of 60, but hardly one born in the year of Fonteius. But I admit that the argument is not convincing.

J. Dürr (*Das Leben Juvenals. Progr. d. Gymn. zu Ulm*, 1888) has edited a *Vita* from a Barberini Juvenal MS. of the fifteenth century, compiled 'in a very fanciful and arbitrary way' with the help of the satires and some generally accessible sources (especially Jerome's Chronicle). It begins as follows: Junius Juvenalis Aquinas Junio Juvenale patre, matre vero Septumuleia ex Aquinati municipio, Claudio Nerone et L. Antistio consulibus (55 A.D.) natus est. Sororem habuit Septumuleiam, quae Fuscino nupsit. As this alleged brother-in-law of Juvenal is taken from *Sat.*, 14, 1, the suspicion arises that the latter's mother and sister owe their origin to the author's fancy. But also the statement as to the year of Juvenal's birth is suspicious, not only from the whole character of the compilation, but in particular because the writer of the notice found in the *vitae* ii and iii (in Jahn, in vii transferred to another place) that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my review of Schwabe, *Juvenals Geburtsjahr*, in Bursian's *Jahresb.*, xiv, 1886, 2, pp. 204-206. Merivale (Lewis in his edition of Juvenal, vol. ii, p. 338) interpreted the passage in the same way.



Juvenal was born 'temporibus Claudii Neronis'. If now, in order to appear better informed than the old biographer, he wished to give Juvenal's birth-year, the most obvious thing to do was to choose a date when Nero was one of the consuls. It certainly cannot be maintained that their transference of the date of Juvenal's birth to the time of Claudius by an unknown humanist is of greater authority than the dating of it under Nero in the old *Vitae*, which may very well derive it from the trustworthy ancient source.

In any case all the credible statements regarding Juvenal's life and writings, and all the data obtained with certainty or probability by Borghesi can be harmonized with the conjecture that he was born in the year 67. I consider the assertion of the old *Vitae* (iv and vii in Jahn excepted), 'ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit' to be unquestionable, on account of the addition 'animi magis causa quam ut scholae se aut foro praepararet' for no occasion or object can be imagined for inventing such a motive. 'Media aetas' (Phaedr., *Fab.*, ii, 12; Plaut., *Aul.*, ii, 1, 37; Apuleius, *Met.*, v, 15: jam medium cursum aetatis agere, rara interspersa canitie; v, 16: nunc aetate media candenti canitie lucidus) may well mean the whole fifth decade of life. In no case would Juvenal, if he was born in 67, have applied himself to satire before 107. Those who dated his birth about 47 had to assume that some of his satires were composed under Domitian. It is true some scholars were formerly inclined to assume this of the 2nd and 3rd satires, as Heinrich and Synnerberg (*De temporibus vitae carminumque D. Junii Juvenalis rite constituendis*, p. 59 ss.), or of the 1st and 2nd, as Lewis, ed. Juvenal, 1882/83. There is, however, not only not the least valid ground for it, but everything points to the conclusion that it was the freedom of speech which began with the death of Domitian, that called Juvenal's satirical poetry into life, being as it was a necessary condition for it.

A rough determination of the time of composition and publication of the first two books is afforded, as Borghesi has remarked, by the passage 6, 398 ss. in which the newsmongering woman is described:

Instantem regi Armenio Parthoque cometen  
prima videt, famam rumoresque illa recentis  
excipit ad portas, quosdam facit, isse Niphaten  
410 in populos, magnoque illic cuncta arva teneri  
diluvio, nutare urbes, subsidere terras,  
quocumque in trivio, cuicumque est obvia, narrat.

Borghesi referred the events mentioned in ll. 409-411 to the great earthquake which in the year 115 destroyed Antioch, and l. 407 to Trajan's campaign in Armenia and Parthia. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that the comet here mentioned was actually visible in Rome in this year.<sup>1</sup>

In the hope of gaining the desired chronological certainty through an astronomical datum, I applied to my colleague Eduard Luther (d. 1887), director of the Königsberg observatory, with the question whether the comet to which Juvenal alludes could be identified, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Progr. Acad. Alb. Regiment.* 1872, v: *De cometa a Juvenale in Satira sexta commemorato.*



learnt from him that our knowledge of the comets between the years 611 B.C. and 1000 A.D. mainly depends on the astronomical observations of the Chinese, which are so accurate, that it has even been possible to calculate the orbits of the comets which they have recorded. From 98 to 117 A.D. five comets were observed by Chinese astronomers, in the years 102, 104, 110, 115 and 117, but these were not all visible in Rome. Of these only that of the year 115 can be taken into consideration, because it is the only one which could have been said to threaten the kings of Parthia and Armenia, who were then at war with Trajan. I am indebted to Luther for the following information on this comet. 'Biot in the *Additions to the Connaissance des temps pour l'an 1846* reports that the Chinese encyclopædia of Ma Twan Lin mentions an extraordinary star which was seen in the west on the 16th of November, 115, stood on November 21 south of  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  Aquarii and went to  $\alpha$  Muscae and  $\eta$  Pleiadum. This comet (for that such it was is shown by its movement) culminated in November about 4 p.m.  $36^\circ$  above the Roman horizon. It set there at about 9.30, and can therefore have been seen in Rome'. As a fact then the Chinese, about whose proceedings the newsmonger pretended to be informed, did something at the time when Juvenal wrote his 6th satire, which enables us to date its composition exactly.

The earthquake which destroyed Antioch did not, as Clinton assumed, take place in the spring of 115, but as Gutschmid (*Zu Dierauers Geschichte Trajans*, in Büdinger's *Untersuchungen zur Römischen Kaisergeschichte*, i, 157 and 167 f.) has at least made very probable, on December 13. Trajan's Armenian campaign was already ended before September 114 (p. 163 f.), but he did not start from Antioch till the spring of 116, and entered Ctesiphon as conqueror in the summer. The comet seen in Rome in November 115 could therefore only have been connected with the war with the Parthian king, and not with that with the king of Armenia, but presumably Juvenal was not exactly informed about the chronology of the events in the east. The 6th satire must therefore have been written in the course of the year 116 or 117.

Weidner, who in his 2nd edition of Juvenal (1889) dates its composition in the year 111 or not much later (p. xvi), identifies the comet with that of 110 (note to 6, 407). I am obliged to my colleague, F. Peters, the present director of the Königsberg Observatory, for the following information about this comet. 'In the very trustworthy work of Williams, *Observations of Comets from B.C. 611 to A.D. 1640, extracted from the Chinese Annals* (1671) is to be found a notice, agreeing with that of Biot in the *Connaissance des temps pour l'an 1846*, according to which in January 110 a bright comet appeared in the constellation of Eridanus, which must certainly also have been visible in Rome'. This cannot, however, have been the one meant by Juvenal. For firstly Trajan's departure from Rome for the Oriental campaign took place, not as Weidner says in 112, but towards the end of 113 or 114 (vol. i, xiii, A.D. 113 and n.), secondly the juxtaposition as sensational novelties of two events separated by almost six years is improbable, if not inconceivable, whereas it would be natural if both had just occurred.

It follows from all this with complete certainty that the emperor on whom alone, according to Juvenal's 7th satire, the hopes of poetry rest, is, as Borghesi (*Œuvres*, v, 511) supposed, Hadrian, who had just ascended the throne, as he was in fact the first emperor since Claudius who took a serious interest in literature.<sup>1</sup> The passage in Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 47, which K. F. Hermann (*De Juv. sat. vii temporibus*), O. Ribbeck (*Juv.*, p. x), Teuffel (*RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 330, 2) and others cite as evidence that Juvenal meant Trajan, by no means proves it. For the 'studia', of which Pliny says that under Trajan they 'spiritum et sanguinem et patriam receperunt', are the studies of philosophy and eloquence, persecuted and suppressed by Domitian, as Pliny expressly says, 'quem honorem dicendi magistris, quam dignationem sapientiae doctoribus habes!' Also the expressions of Pliny in his letters, cited by Teuffel, 330, 2, on the revival of *studia*, *Epp.*, i, 10, 1; iii, 18, 5, etc., refer to the same sciences, and to the writing of history. But in times of tyranny poetry always provided a safe refuge, it had flourished under Domitian with a brilliance not forgotten in after times, and it owed nothing to the change of rulers.

But evidently Juvenal, who had completed his 7th satire before Trajan's death, added as an afterthought the introduction (at least ll. 1-21) addressed to the new emperor. This is most clearly revealed by the fact that there is no connexion between the introduction and the real subject of the poem. In the former it is said that a hope is offered by the emperor for noble intellectual efforts, the only hope, it is true, but instead of continuing 'hitherto we had no such hope', the condition of all who choose literary or learned professions, especially poets, historians, rhetoricians and grammarians, is pictured as still desperate and comfortless. Even in a poet whose works display such structural weakness as Juvenal's one expects at least at the conclusion an allusion to the better future which has dawned. But of this there is no trace, only the past is praised, the age of a Maecenas, a Fabius and a Cotta, and it is praised as an age that cannot be expected to return. Then he says, genius received the reward of merit (ll. 94-97), as if the poet had quite forgotten that he had announced a prospect of the same reward for the present.

But if one were ready to admit the possibility of such extreme carelessness, there is another difficulty which could not be removed by such a supposition. The satire deals with the sad condition of all authors and scholars, but the introduction speaks exclusively of the hopes aroused in *poets* by the emperor's interest in their efforts. It is true that the general expression *studia* is used which singularly occurs nowhere else in Juvenal), but in each case it undoubtedly refers to poetical efforts.

1. Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum.  
solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas  
respexit, cum jam celebres notique poetae  
balneolum Gabiis, Romae conducere furnos  
temptarent etc.

<sup>1</sup> This, as I noticed later, was also K. O. Müller's view. He observes in his review of *Franckii Examen criticum D. Junii Juvenalis vitae* (1820), 'We know that Juvenal wrote his seventh satire in Rome in 871' (*Kl. Schr.*, i, 549).

17. Nemo tamen studiis, indignum ferre laborem  
coetur posthac, nectit quicunque canoris  
eloquium vocale modis laurumque momordit.  
hoc agite, o juvenes ! circumspicit et stimulat vos  
materiamque sibi ducis indulgentia quaerit.<sup>1</sup>

It is only the poets, then, who according to this introduction can reckon on the emperor's favour, and the youths are only incited to poetry, not to literary or learned efforts in general. Then, after expatiating (ll. 22-35) on the hopeless prospects of poetry without the protection and encouragement of the emperor, the author passes on with a strange transition (*accipe nunc artes*, l. 36) to another very lengthy description (36-97) of the sad lot of poets, adding some considerations on the other learned professions.

The first book of the *Satires* (1-5) was then published between 107 and 116, the second (6) 116-117, and the third 118-121, for in the latter year Hadrian started on his great travels through the provinces, and Juvenal would certainly publish the book which was in a sense addressed to him while he was still in Rome. Now as the second book is only separated from the third by a short interval, we can scarcely assume a much longer one between the first and second, consequently we shall put the publication of the first book nearer 116 than 107. It is also not unlikely that in the applause which Juvenal gained at the beginning (*vit. ii*: *magna frequentia magnoque successu bis ac ter auditus est*) he found an incentive to continue without long delay poetical productions which had been so favourably received. The five satires of the first book, the first of which was undoubtedly composed last as an introduction, contain no indications from which more can be gathered than that the book appeared under Trajan, which is quite natural, as Juvenal was principally thinking of the age before Trajan when he wrote it. If then the first book was published about 114 (as long before the second as the second before the third), Juvenal will have turned to the writing of satire about 112, as the composition of five satires would require a considerable time. The most natural meaning of 'media aetas' in which he then was, would be forty-five, which again brings us to 67 as the year of his birth.

That the fifth book was published soon after the year 127 is shown not only by 13, 17, but also by 15, 27 (*nuper consule Junco Gesta*). A military diploma, found in Sardinia, and dated 11 October, 127 (*CIL*, iii, p. 874, no. xxxi), shows that Aemilius Juncus and Julius Severus, under whom the *SC Juncianum* was issued (Marcian, *D.*, xl, 5, 51, § 8; Ulpian, *ib.*, 28, § 4) were then consuls. From the 'nuper' in 15, 27, one must date the publication of the fifth book not earlier than 128, and consequently that of the fourth some time between 121 and 128.

I now come to the question of Juvenal's banishment. From the unanimous testimony of the biographies, and of Suidas, Malalas and Apollinaris Sidonius (Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>3</sup>, 331, 2), we have no reason to doubt its real occurrence, but as to place and time we have nothing but conjecture. Nothing can be inferred from the fact

<sup>1</sup> A reminiscence of Statius, *Silv.*, v, 2, 125: *Ergo age. nam magni ducis indulgentia pulsat.*



that none of the books is separated from the preceding by a long interval. The first three were undoubtedly composed in Rome, the last two might have been written there or in exile (*Vit. iv* : in exilio ampliavit satyras et pleraque mutavit ; cf. also the *Vita* edited by Rühl from a *cod. Harl.* in the *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 1874, p. 868 f.). Martial's three epigrams, vii, 24, 91, and xii, 18, only show that in the years 92 and 101/2, when they were written, Juvenal was in Rome. They therefore by no means conflict with K. F. Hermann's conjecture (*praef. ad Juv.*), that Juvenal was banished by Domitian in the last four years of his reign. I am however now inclined to think with Vahlen (*Juvenal und Paris*, in *Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Acad.*, 1883, pp. 1176-1192 ; cf. my review in *Bursians Jahresb.*, xiv, p. 206 f.) that *Sat.* 7, 88-92 which was not inserted after the rest, but was part of the original poem, gave occasion for the invention of the cause of the banishment. That the dancer who is said to have applied these lines to himself is called Paris in the *Vitae* is evidently due to the fact that Juvenal had himself mentioned the latter a little before the passage ('*esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agauen*') ; in *Vit. ii* indeed it is said that the lines referred to the poet Statius, who is also mentioned in the context. It may be added that if the banishment took the form of an appointment as prefect of a cohort on some distant frontier of the empire, it cannot, as Hermann (*praef. ad Juv.* 4) remarked, have taken place shortly before Juvenal's death, as some of the *Vitae* affirm ; for a man nearly eighty years of age could hardly have been appointed to so important a post.

Now Borghesi has made the very plausible conjecture (*Œuvres*, v, 513-516 ; cf. above, p. 69), that Crispinus was prefect of the Praetorium under Domitian, as colleague of Cornelius Fuscus, and brought about this banishment of Juvenal, as indeed such military appointments were made through the prefects. Juvenal's passionate hatred of Crispinus would thus be most naturally explained. That Borghesi's conjecture conflicts with none of the existing data had been already remarked.

The 4th satire, which begins with the announcement that it will deal with Crispinus, consists of two heterogeneous pieces, most clumsily patched together. Only the first 27 lines correspond to the announcement, but in the story of the council which Domitian summoned on the Albanum, Crispinus is indeed once mentioned (l. 108 ff.), but he has not even a subordinate part to play. Perhaps Juvenal had written these twenty-seven lines as an introduction to a satire on Crispinus which remained unfinished ;<sup>1</sup> and in order not to throw them away he placed them, careless about the composition and even about the coherence of his poems, at the head of a satire in which at any rate Crispinus was mentioned, and which dealt with the extravagances of the luxury of the table, which seem to have been specially laid to the charge of Crispinus. Lines 28-36 were then inserted as a link, but serve this purpose very badly ; for one expects a description of a gluttonous banquet of Domitian's, and not of a ludicrous consultation on the preparation of a dish.

<sup>1</sup> So Lewis, *Juvenal*, ii, p. 110 : This is perhaps a draft introduction to an intended satire never completed.



Perhaps originally Juvenal had no intention of prefixing an introduction to the tale which begins at l. 37, at any rate it needs none.

The place of Juvenal's banishment is as uncertain as the time. Of the *Vitae*, iii mentions none, i, ii, iv, vii and that edited by Rühl mention Egypt or its furthest frontier, according to v and vi Juvenal was sent 'contra Scotos', in schol. i, i and xiv, 38 the place of exile is called Hoasis or Hoasa, in Suidas and Malalas it is the Pentapolis in Libya. Presumably therefore in the common source of all these accounts no place was mentioned, but it was only said that Juvenal received the prefecture of a cohort on a distant frontier. All the statements as to place are therefore alike untrustworthy; without doubt it was the 15th satire that suggested the mention of Egypt.

Nor does the inscription of Aquinum give any help towards the determination of the place of exile. It reads (*IRN*, 4312 = *CIL*, x, 5382): (Cere)ri sacrum | (D. Ju)nius Juvenalis (trib.) coh. (I) Del matarum | Ilvir quinq. flamen | Divi Vespasiani | vovit dedicav(it)que sua pec. The cohort here mentioned was stationed in Britain in 124 (Hübner, *D. röm. Heer in Britannien*, in *Hermes*, xvi, 566). It may be assumed with certainty that the military service, and the tenure of municipal offices and of the flamine belonged to Juvenal's earlier life.

*Vitae* i, iv, v, vi, vii and that edited by Rühl make Juvenal die in exile, ii and iii in Rome, iv says that he was very old under Antoninus Pius, i, ii and iii that he died at the age of eighty, or in his eighty-first year. The number of years seems to be taken from the good and ancient source of the *Vitae*, as a reason can hardly be found for its invention. If, as we may assume, it is correct, Juvenal died in the year 147.

If he finished the fifth book about 128, or nearly twenty years before his death, he certainly published it himself, and this edition doubtless contained the 16th satire as a complete poem. Its present incompleteness is to be most simply explained by supposing that one or more leaves have been lost at the end of the original manuscript; for as O. Ribbeck (*Symbola Philol. Bonnens.*, p. 26 ss.; *Der echte und der unechte Juvenal*, p. 175 ff.) and Bücheler (*Rhein. Mus.*, Bd. xxix, 1874, pp. 636-638) have remarked, the original manuscript had thirty lines to the page, from which it results that the last line of our present text was also the last line on a page.

If not only there is no objection to the view that Juvenal was born in the year 67, but also the approximately settled date of his 'media aetas' and of the beginning of his satire-writing lead to the same result, the conjecture is at least as justified as any other. The following dates may then be given for his life and writings.

|                                                     |             |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Juvenal entered military service at the earliest .. | 84          |
| Held municipal offices at the earliest .. .. .      | 92          |
| Was in Rome .. .. .                                 | 92          |
| Was banished between .. .. .                        | 92 and 96 ? |
| Was in Rome .. .. .                                 | 101/2       |
| Applied himself there to rhetoric till about .. ..  | 112         |
| Published Book I of the Satires between .. ..       | 112 and 116 |
| "    "    II .. .. .                                | 116 .. 118  |
| "    "    III .. .. .                               | 118 .. 121  |

|                                                |              |
|------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Published Book IV of the Satires between .. .. | 121 and 127  |
| " .. .. " V .. .. "                            | 128 or later |
| Died .. .. " .. .. "                           | 147          |

LIX. ON THE PERSONAL NAMES IN JUVENAL.<sup>1</sup>

(Vol. III, p. 67 ff.)

THE first question that arises in an examination of the personal names in Juvenal is whether and how far the names which occur both in his works and Martial's are to be referred to the same persons. This can only be done with certainty in cases where the identity can be proved from other sources; for in regard to personal names the practice of the two poets is entirely different. Although Martial probably always had in his mind's eye real, and indeed living representatives of the vices and follies which he derided and re-proved, yet, as he repeatedly assures us, he never named them by their real names, but always with fictitious or arbitrarily chosen names; and as the choice of these names was determined mainly by the requirements of metre or euphony, and only very rarely by their signification, he has not hesitated to use the same name to designate the most various persons and types. Cf. my edition, Part I, pp. 21-23.

While Martial then gives the same name now to this person, now to that, Juvenal always designates the same person by a name. This fact alone warns us to be cautious in attempting to identify one of his characters with a homonym in Martial; and in fact it often proves impossible. The Naevolus of Juvenal's 9th satire has no resemblance to any Naevolus in Martial; no more has the fat advocate Matho of Juv., 1, 32, a bad speaker 11, 34, who became bankrupt 7, 32, with any of the persons whom Martial calls Matho. So we may not follow Borghesi (*Œuvres*, v, 509 ss.) in recognizing the Paullus mentioned in Juvenal, 7, 143 in one of Martial's epigrams in which the same name occurs; for this name is assigned by Martial now to this figure, now to that, and even where it is the name of a real person, his identity with the Paullus of Juvenal cannot be assumed (cf. Mommsen, *Ind. Plinian.*, s. Velius Paullus).

The constant use of the same name for the same person is in itself enough to suggest that Juvenal only introduces real persons into his satires, and calls them by their real names, an assumption which is entirely confirmed by my inquiry (*De nominibus personarum in Juvenalis satiris*, *Program. Acad. Alb. Regimont.*, 1872, iv). I did not learn till later that this was also Borghesi's view (*Œuvres*, v, 533: ama generalmente di usarne dei veri o almeno dei conosciuti). I regard his conjecture as very probable, that the Atticus mentioned in 12, 1 (Atticus eximie si cenat, lautus habetur) is Tiberius Claudius Atticus, the father of the sophist Herodes Atticus. Perhaps it would be possible to identify some of the few other persons of whom Juvenal speaks respectfully, especially those to whom he addressed some of his satires, as Postumus 6, 21, Ponticus 8, 1, Corvinus 12, 1, Calvinus 13, 5, Fuscinus 14, 1, Volusius Bithynicus 15, 1, Gallus 16, 1. The possibility cannot be denied, that in exceptional cases

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my programme, *De nominibus personarum in Juvenalis satiris*, *Acad. Alb. Regimont.*, 1872, iv.

Juvenal used arbitrarily chosen names, but it cannot be proved in a single case. The name Censennia for a rich lady (6, 136) might be chosen on account of its signification, but it is certainly the real name of the person in question.

As Juvenal carefully avoided attacking or exposing under their real names persons who might injure him (1, 170 ss.), he could only make three classes of persons the objects of his ridicule, contempt, or condemnation, *viz.* persons who were dead, judicially condemned or of humble rank. And in fact among the persons disrespectfully mentioned by him, there is not one who cannot be proved or assumed to belong to one of these three classes.

All the persons of the age of Domitian, occurring in Juvenal, who are also mentioned by Martial, were either already dead or could not longer hurt him. They are Domitian's favourite Crispinus (Mart., vii, 99; viii, 48; Juv. 1, 27; 4, 1 ss.; cf. above, p. 69), the mime Latinus (Mart., i, 4; ix, 28 cet.; Juv., 1, 36; 4, 53; cf. vol. i, p. 60); the female mime Thymele (Mart., i, 5, 5; Juv., 1, 36; 6, 66; 8, 197), the dancer Paris (Mart., xi, 13; Juv., 6, 87; cf. vol. 11, p. 114), the citharists Pollio (Mart., iv, 61, 9; Juv., 5, 387; cf. above, p. 265), and Glaphyrus (Mart., iv, 5; Juv., 6, 77; cf. above, p. 261); the buffoon Gabba (Mart., i, 42; x, 101; Juv., 5, 3; cf. vol. i, p. 85); the informers Baebius Massa and Mettius Carus (Mommson, *Ind. Plinian.*) whom Martial did not venture to attack earlier than in a book which appeared under Trajan (xii, 25, 29; Juv., 1, 35 s.); the jurist Chius Aufidius (Mart., v, 61; Juv., 9, 25; cf. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 328, 1). On the other hand the Sura of Mart., i, 49, 40 is not the Palfurius Sura of Juv., 4, 53, but the famous fellow-countryman of Licinianus, Licinius Sura, who was born in Hispania Tarraconensis.

Juvenal's fondness for reminiscences of the age of Domitian and of well-known personages of that time<sup>1</sup> lends support to a new explanation of the passage 12, 43. He says there of Catullus who when in danger of shipwreck, orders part of the cargo to be thrown overboard to lighten the ship:

Ille nec argentum dubitabat mittere, lances  
Parthenio factas, urnae cratera capacem  
et dignum sitiente Pholo vel conjuge Fusci.

According to the scholiast, Parthenius was the goldsmith who made the bowls. Sillig (*Catal. artif.*, p. 480) thinks the name fictitious, R. Rochette (*Lettre à M. Schorn*, p. 376) suggests identity with the 'C. Octavius Parthenion argentarius' mentioned in the inscription Gruter, 639, 5; Heinrich supposes the poet refers to an artist of Samos, which was originally called Parthenia. The last two conjectures need no refutation, and a fictitious name would be quite senseless here, where only the name of a universally known and recognized artist could indicate the value of the bowls. Besides, the following lines: multum Caelati, biberat quo callidus emptor Olynthi, deal expressly with artistically worked vessels; but here apparently only those gigantic silver vessels are alluded to, which were objects of luxury at that time (see vol. ii, p. 208). I have



therefore little doubt that the bowls were made for Parthenius, the well-known chamberlain and murderer of Domitian (vol. i, p. 57 f.). It may be taken for granted that he was very rich, and it is just the names of imperial freedmen that Juvenal often uses for types of extreme riches :—1, 109 : *possideo plus Pallante et Licinis* ; 14, 305 : *praedives . . . Licinus . . . attonitus pro Electro signisque suis Phrygiaque columna Atque ebore et lata testudine* ; *ib.*, 329 : *divitiae Narcissi* ; 14, 91 : *ut spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides*. It is also known that the value of an object was increased if it had belonged to a famous person (vol. ii, p. 331 f.), and that the subsequent owners were fond of drawing attention to the fact.

Of the criminals mentioned by Juvenal, whose condemnation had made them innocuous, the one who probably stood nearest to the poet's time was Marius Priscus (1, 49 ; 8, 120), who had been condemned in 99/100 for extortion in the province of Africa, of which he was governor (Mommsen, *Ind. Plinian.*) The others presumably all belong to an earlier period. Thus Cossutianus Capito mentioned in 8, 91 ff. as a plunderer of the province of Cilicia, had been condemned by the senate in the year 58 (Tac., *A.*, xiii, 33, with Nipperdey's note). The period of Numitor, mentioned in the same passage, who met with the same fate for the same offence, is unknown. The poisoner Pontia, 6, 638 (Martial, ii, 34), as the scholiast asserts, after the death of her husband (Drymio according to Valla), was convicted of the murder of her two sons, severed her veins after a luxurious dinner, and died dancing, being devoted to that art. She was (also according to the scholiast) the daughter of a certain P. Petronius, condemned by Nero for conspiracy, probably Petronius Priscus, who in the year 65 was banished to an island in the Aegean for his share in the conspiracy of Piso (Tac., xv, 71). Her death might therefore have occurred under Nero, or equally well under one of the following emperors. The Calvina who is stigmatized in 3, 133 (*alter enim quantum in legione tribuni Accipiant donat Calvinae*) was, according to a notice of the scholiast which appears to be quite trustworthy, the sister of a praetor, and committed suicide under Claudius, because her incest with her brother was divulged. Similarly the vicious women, against whom Juvenal makes Creticus declaim, Procula, Pollitta, Fabulla, Carfinia (*damnetur si vis etiam, Carfinia, talem Non sumet damnata togam*, Juv., 2, 67-70), as well as the others who are characterized as adulteresses or wantons, must be considered real persons, whose names were known to everybody through their condemnation. Their number need cause no surprise, as Domitian enforced the *lex Julia de adulteriis* with great severity.<sup>1</sup> In two cases the retention of the same name in two widely separated satires, shows that a real person is spoken of. Maura who scoffed at the temple of Pudicitia (6, 308) is evidently the same as she of whom it is said in 10, 224 : *quot longa viros absorbeat uno Maura die*. The Catulla of 2, 49 is found again in 10, 323 : *sive est haec. Oppia, sive Catulla deterior*. If in these two cases the repeated characterization leaves

<sup>1</sup> The identification of the Hispo mentioned in 2, 50 with M. Appuleius Proculus Ti. Caspio Hispo, cos. des. 103 or 104, procons. prov. Asiae (Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*), although suggested by Borghesi (*Œuvres*, v, 511), is extremely improbable.



no doubt as to identity, it is possible that in another case there were two distinct persons; the Hispulla who loves a tragedian 6, 74, may be the fat Hispulla who weighs as much as a bull 12, 11, or she may be another person. Juvenal also mentions two Pollios, the celebrated *citharoedus*, 5, 387 (Martial, iv, 61, 9), and the prodigal Crepereius Pollio, who seeks a loan in vain, although he offers thrice the usual interest, 9, 6, and after losing his equestrian rank, is at last forced to go begging, 9, 43. In this case the mention of the gentile name excludes the idea of a fictitious or arbitrarily chosen name, and the same is true of Pacuvius Hister, the legacy-hunter, 12, 111, 125, 128; also a second Hister is evidently to be considered a real person, as he is mentioned as already dead in 2, 58: *notum est cur solo tabulas impleverit Hister Liberto, dederit vivus cur multa puellae*.

Juvenal had no occasion to introduce under other than their real names persons of subordinate social position, or indeed any whose displeasure would be indifferent to him. We have therefore every reason to regard as real the names of such persons as the *praeco* Machaera, 7, 9, the rhetorician Vettius, 7, 180, the pleaders Paullus, Gallus and Basilus, 7, 142-145, 10, 212 etc., and the gladiators (Euryalus, 6, 81, Sergius, 6, 105, 112); all the more as many of the persons of this class are known from other sources as contemporaries of Juvenal. Those who also occur in Martial have been already mentioned. We know further Demetrius, the actor (Juv., 3, 93; vol. ii, p. 96 f.), and Archigenes, the physician (Juv., 6, 236; 8, 97; 14, 252; Suidas: *ἐν τῷ Τραγῳδοῦ ἰατρὲύσας ἔτη ξγ'* [Eudocia πγ'], Sprengel, *Geschichte der Medicin*, ii, 104). In the 13th satire, which was composed in 127, a physician is described (l. 125) as a pupil of Philippus, who again was a pupil of Archigenes (Sprengel, ii, 112 ff.), but this perfectly agrees with the supposition that Juvenal wished to name that medical school, which at the moment enjoyed the highest reputation. Without doubt also Heliodorus the physician, 6, 373, and Lyde the fat medical woman, 2, 141, and Themiso the physician, 10, 221, were personages well known to the town. As the last-mentioned named himself after a famous predecessor, the *methodicus* Themiso (Sprengel, ii, 28), so perhaps the charioteer Lacerta (7, 113; note on vol. ii, p. 22, l. 26) and the runner Ladas (13, 97; see above p. 261), and according to the custom of the day assumed or received the names of famous masters of the same arts. Other town characters whom Juvenal could mention by their real names without hesitation are the drunken wife of Fuscus 12, 45, Procula the female dwarf 3, 203, Rutila the bearded woman 10, 294, and Corbulo the strong man 3, 251. Also Hamillus, the schoolmaster who abused the boys entrusted to him 10, 224, was no doubt known to the town, and probably no longer dangerous. If Martial in choosing this rare name for a man who wished to acquire a similar reputation, vii, 62, thought of the same person, which is not impossible, then Juvenal as in other cases was speaking of a character of the age of Domitian as of a contemporary.

LX. CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES ON GELLIUS.<sup>1</sup>

(Vol. III, p. 80.)

THE only treatise known to me in which an attempt is made to fix exact dates for the life and works of Gellius is Bähr's article *Gellius* in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia. The dates there given require, however, correction and completion.

When Gellius went to school (in scholis fui, xvi, 1, ad grammaticos itavi, vii, 6) Terentius Scaurus (divi Hadriani temporibus grammaticus vel nobilissimus, xi, 15, probably Hadrian's teacher, *Vit. L. Veri*, c. 2) was apparently already dead, for Gellius, not understanding a passage in one of his books, asked Sulpicius Apollinaris, whose pupil, he tells us, he was; xiii, 18: adulescens (xx, 6: adulescentulus) sectabatur discendi gratia, hominem nostrae memoriae doctissimum. This alone reminds us that the youth of Gellius did not fall in the reign of Hadrian (whom he always calls *Divus*), but in that of Antoninus Pius.

He seems to have attached himself in his seventeenth and eighteenth years to Sulpicius Apollinaris; xviii, 4: cum jam adulescentulus praetextam et puerilem togam mutasset magistrosque tunc sibi ipse exploratiores quaereret. The *toga virilis* was assumed between the fifteenth and seventeenth years (Marquardt, *Pril.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 123-131). Adulescens Romae, cum etiamtum ad grammaticos itarem, adivi Apollinarem Sulpicium, quem in primis sectabar . . . Erucio Claro, praefecto urbi, dicere etc. vii, 6. Erucius Clarus (cf. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 9; Fronto, ed. Naber, p. 6) was consul for the second time in 146, but the dates of his first consulate and urban prefecture (Gell., xiii, 18: qui praefectus urbi et his consul fuit) are unknown.

In the same years he received instruction from the rhetoricians Antonius Julianus and T. Castricius, the latter of whom ('noster' in Fronto, *Ad am.*, ii, 2, ed. N., p. 190), according to Gellius, xiii, 22, vir a D. Hadriano in mores atque litteras spectatus, Romae locum principem habuit declamandi ac docendi, and was (xix, 9) docendis publice juvenibus magister. Gellius describes himself as an 'adulescentulus' at the time when he spent his summer vacation at Puteoli with this teacher and his fellow-scholars (xviii, 9). He had also already associated with Fronto; xviii, 8: Adulescentulus Romae priusquam Athenas concederem, quando erat a magistris auditionibusque obeundis otium, ad Frontonem Cornelium visendi gratia pergebam. His association with the poet Annianus (xi, 7; ix, 10, who was accustomed to hold a vintage festival on his estate in the Faliscan territory, xx, 8) seems also to belong to this time; for Annianus was old enough to have heard Valerius Probus, who is known to have flourished under Nero, but was probably still living under Domitian (Martial, iii, 2, 12—c. 87 A.D.; Jahn, *Proll. ad Pers.*, p. cxxxvii). It is uncertain whether at this time he was already acquainted with Julius Paullus (homo in memoria nostra doctissimus, i, 22; v, 4; xvi, 10). This 'vir bonus et rerum literarumque impense doctus' invited Gellius to his little property in the Vatican district, together with the Numidian Julius Celsinus, xix, 7, who was also Fronto's friend, xix, 10.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my 'programm,' *De Auli Gellii vitae temporibus*, Acad. Alb. Regimont., 1869, iv,

If Gellius began his course of instruction with Sulpicius Apollinaris about in his eighteenth year he probably continued it with him and his other teachers for about seven years. For immediately after the completion of his grammatical and rhetorical studies he was appointed a judge, and so was led to legal studies. xiii, 2, 1 : quo primum tempore a praetore lectus in iudices sum . . . libros utriusque linguae, de officio iudicis scriptos, conquisivi, ut homo adulescens, a poetarum fabulis et a rhetorum epilogis ad iudicandas lites vocatus (xiv, 1, 1 : a praetoribus lectus in iudices sum, ut iudicia quae appellantur privata susciperem. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 538, 4). xiii, 13 : cum ex angulis secretisque librorum et magistrorum in medium jam hominum et in lucem fori prodissem, quaesitum esse memini in plerisque Romae stationibus jus publice docentium aut respondentium etc. Now it is true that Suetonius says, in *August.*, c. 32 : iudices a tricensimo (so *codd.*; the conjecture of Cujacius *vicensimo*, based on the passage from Ulpian quoted below, is inadmissible) aetatis anno adlegit, *i.e.* quinquennio maturius quam solebant (Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 537, 5). But Suetonius is not speaking of the legally eligible age, but of that actually observed (quam solebant). At the age of thirty or more Gellius could not call himself 'adulescens', nor is it credible that he attended the school of rhetoric up to that age (see vol. i, p. 161). It must therefore be assumed that the legal age required for jurors, mentioned by Ulpian (*Digg.*, xlii, 1, 57 : quidem consulebant an valeret sententia a minore viginti quinque annis iudice data etc.), was already at this time in force in Rome, and that Gellius was appointed as soon as he reached it.

For the elucidation of legal questions Gellius also applied to grammarians, one of whom addresses him as 'adulescens' (xx, 10), and to Favorinus, quem in eo tempore Romae plurimum sectabar (xiv, 2, 11). To the years immediately following belongs all that Gellius relates about his intercourse with Favorinus (cf. Hertz, *Ind. lect. aest. Vratisl.*, 1869), viz. a visit to Fronto, ii, 26, meeting with the grammarian Domitius Insanus xviii, 7, a walk by the baths of Titus iii, 1, another in the forum of Trajan xiii, 25, an excursion to Ostia xviii, 1, a visit to Antium xvii, 10.

Now as two conversations, in which Favorinus takes part, and which evidently belong to the same period, take place before the imperial palace, in a group which is waiting for the beginning of the *salutatio Caesaris* (iv, 1, 1 and xx, 1, 1, where the jurist S. Caecilius discourses), this intercourse of Gellius with Favorinus must have taken place before 161, in which year Antoninus Pius died, and two emperors ascended the throne, so that from that time onward one could hardly speak without further specification of a *salutatio Caesaris*.

Sulpicius Apollinaris was still living, when Gellius was a judge; for 'cum Romae a consulibus iudex extra ordinem datus . . . essem' (xii, 13, 1) he applied to him about the meaning of the words *intra Kalendas*. To the same time probably belongs the conversation xix, 13 : Stabant forte una in vestibulo Palatii fabulantes Fronto Cornelius et Festus Postumius (an orator from Numidia, cf. Fronto, *Ad amic.*, ii, 10, ed. Naber, p. 200) et Apollinaris Sulpicius etc. But Apollinaris must have died soon after, in any case



several years before 163. For the later emperor Pertinax (born 126) was first his pupil and then his successor, *Vit. Pert.*, c. 1: post quem idem Pertinax grammaticæ professor est; where 'post quem' can hardly mean anything but 'after his death'. As Pertinax was not successful with his school, he applied for the office of a centurion, and obtained it. He served as prefect of a cohort in Syria, and afterwards distinguished himself in the Parthian war. Between his succession to the headship of the school, and the outbreak of the Parthian war in 163 a considerable interval must have elapsed. The dialectical studies of Gellius (xvi, 8, where he speaks of a book found in the library of the temple of Peace) may also perhaps be assigned to the period of his legal studies.

The journey of Gellius to Greece and his residence there certainly followed the period when he was a judge and studied the law. But he must have been in Athens before 165, or at the latest in that year, for Peregrinus Proteus, whom he saw (xii, 11) and heard (viii, 3) in Athens, died in 165. Now in referring to his sojourn here, Gellius speaks of himself (though indirectly) as 'juvenis', as regularly as he calls himself 'adulescens' in the preceding period. He calls his fellow-students in Athens 'juvenes' in ii, 21, vii, 10, xii, 5. In such a writer as Gellius this difference in expression cannot be accidental, but must mark a definite period of life. Now as Varro, according to Censorinus, *De Die Nat.*, c. 14, regarded the thirtieth year as the boundary between *adulescentia* and *juventus*,<sup>1</sup> it is extremely probable that Gellius followed this usage in writing of his own age, and had consequently passed this limit at the time of his residence in Athens.<sup>2</sup> If then Gellius' departure from Rome took place between 160 and 164, and he had just attained the age of thirty, his birth may be roughly dated between 130 and 134. It may be added that there is nowhere any indication that the accession of the two Augusti (161 A.D.) had taken place when Gellius left Rome. All this agrees very well with the conclusion already reached that he was at school soon after 137, so the date 140 to which his birth is assigned by Bähr (*op. cit.*, 48<sup>b</sup>) is too late.

The further statements which Gellius makes with regard to his Greek journey provide no chronological data. Herodes Atticus (born c. 101, consul 143) to whom, as Bähr conjectures, Gellius was perhaps recommended by Favorinus, is mentioned as a consular in i, 2. Prominent among the instructors of Gellius in Athens was the Platonist Calvisius Taurus of Berytus, vii, 10: *memoria nostra in disciplina Platonica celebratus*, who had also taught Herodes (Philostratus, *Vitt. Soph.*, ii, 1, 34), and who according to Jerome flourished about 146 (Taurus clarus habetur), so that he was now an old man.

I find no warrant for the assumption that Gellius stayed two years at Athens, for, as Bähr (*op. cit.*, p. 45) remarks, all the seasons and events mentioned can very well find room in one year. Gellius

<sup>1</sup> So Augustine, *Conf.*, vii, 1, 1, says of his thirty-first year: *Jam mortua erat adulescentia mea male nefanda, et itum in juventutem.*

<sup>2</sup> He has, it is true, followed the general custom, which we find as early as Tacitus (Vogel, *De Noctium Atticarum A. Gellii compositione. Schriften für M. Hertz*, 1888, p. 7, 1), of calling the pupils in a school of rhetoric 'juvenes' without respect to their age (xix, 9: *docendis publice juvenibus magister*, see above, p. 322), but when he speaks of himself, he expresses himself more accurately.



alludes to excursions to Eleusis viii, 3, Aegina ii, 21, Delphi xii, 5, Patrae xviii, 9; the summer ii, 21, and its extreme heat xviii, 10, the very hot autumn 1, 2, the celebration of the Pythian games (in September, Bähr, 44<sup>b</sup>) xii, 5, the winter xvii, 8, and its long nights *Praef.*, 4, the Saturnalia xviii, 2 and 13. He speaks thrice of the return journey: xix, 1 (stormy crossing from Cassiope to Brundisium), ix, 4, xvi, 6 (landing at Brundisium).

Of his later years Gellius hardly speaks at all. We gather from the preface that he married and had children (*Praef.*, 1). For the conjecture that in his later years he again settled at Athens, perhaps for the education of his children, and there elaborated his *Noctes Atticae*, I can find no foundation in the passage *Praef.*, 4: Sed quoniam longinquis per hiemem noctibus in agro sicut dixi terrae Atticae commentationes hasce ludere ac facere exorsi sumus; on the contrary I think that Gellius speaks here of the first outlines and notes (illis annotationibus pristinis) which he had made as a student and arranged and completed in his later years. That these notes were in part embodied in the later work in their original form, is shown by xviii, 2, 7, where he says that various questions were discussed 'nuper' at the Saturnalia at Athens, while an earlier passage leaves no doubt that this festival took place while Gellius was a student, 2: conveniebamus autem ad eandem cenam complusculi, qui Romani in Graeciam veneramus, quique easdem auditiones eosdemque doctores colebamus. This use of *nuper*, I admit, makes it impossible to assign with certainty the events which are distinguished as having happened 'nuper' to the time of the final composition of the work, for the sections in question might have been written several years earlier and inserted unaltered. xiii, 31: laudabat venditabatque se nuper quispiam in libraria sedens homo ineptus. xv, 4: in sermonibus nuper fuit seniorum hominum et eruditorum etc. ii, 24: legi adeo nuper in Capitonis Ateii conjectaneis. iii, 3, 7: nos quoque ipsi nuperrime, cum legeremus Fretum etc. But it is equally possible that these passages were all or in part written during the actual composition of the book, and therefore that the events related happened shortly before. For that Gellius wrote his book, not in Attica, but in or near Rome, seems to me to follow clearly from the use of the present tense in the following passage, xi, 3: Quando ab arbitriis negotiisque otium est et motandi corporis gratia aut spatiamur aut vectamur, quaerere nonnumquam apud memet ipsum soleo res ejusmodi, parvas quidem minutasque—velut est ut forte nuper in Praenestino recessu vespertina ambulatione solus ambulans considerabam etc. It was perhaps during this stay in the country that the *opicus* asked the question about the title of Plutarch's treatise *περί πολυπραγμοσύνης*, which is also said to have happened 'nuper', xi, 16, 2; although of course Gellius may have met with *opici* in Rome. So then most of the stories of little happenings in Rome, introduced with *nuper*, probably belong to the time when the *Noctes Atticae* was composed. Also xvi, 10, 1: otium erat quodam die Romae in foro a negotiis etc., will refer to this time. It is striking that in this book written in a fairly advanced age Gellius relates so extremely little of his later years. We do not learn of what kind

(apart from *arbitria* and the management of his property) the business was, from which he had to steal time for his literary work (*Praef.*, 12: per omnia semper negotiorum intervalla, in quibus furari otium potui). At this time he spent his leisure on his estate at Praeneste.

He says, *Praef.*, 22: volumina commentariorum ad hunc diem viginti jam facta sunt. Quantum autem vitae mihi deinceps deum voluntate erit quantumque a tuenda re familiari procurandoque cultu liberorum meorum dabitur otium, ea omnia subsiciva et subsecundaria tempora ad colligendas hujuscemodi memoriarum delectatiunculas conferam. Progredietur ergo numerus librorum, diis bene juvantibus cum ipsius vitae, quantuliquique fuerint, progressibus, neque longiora mihi dari spatia vivendi volo quam dum ero ad hanc quoque facultatem scribendi commentandique idoneus. Now as Gellius never published a continuation of his work, he seems not to have survived its completion for long. But it is clear he could only speak as he does after passing the prime of life. If then his birth is to be dated 130-134, the writing of his book cannot be placed between 150 and 160, but in the last years of Marcus Aurelius, or under Commodus, indeed Gellius may very well have written under Pertinax, like himself a pupil of Sulpicius Apollinaris, and may have outlived him. If, as Vogel, *loc. cit.*, remarks, the absence of any mention of the writings of Fronto suggests that he was dead when Gellius wrote, this agrees with the conjecture that he died about 180. It is also possible that, as Vogel also remarks (pp. 11-13), Gellius was surprised by death before he could put the finishing touches to his book, and especially bring the later sections into harmony with the earlier.

The following dates may, as a result of this inquiry, be regarded as probable—

|                                                                                                 |                        |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Gellius is born .. .. .                                                                         | c. between 130 and 134 |
| Assumes the <i>toga virilis</i> .. .. .                                                         | „ „ 145 „ 150          |
| Begins to study under Sulpicius Apollinaris..                                                   | „ „ 146 „ 151          |
| Associates with Fronto (Erucius Clarus urban prefect) .. .. .                                   | at the same time.      |
| Is appointed a judge .. .. .                                                                    | between 155 and 159    |
| Attaches himself to Favorinus.. .. .                                                            | at the same time.      |
| (About the same time Sulpicius Apollinaris dies, and Pertinax (b. 126) succeeds to his school.) |                        |
| Travels to Greece .. .. .                                                                       | c. between 160 and 164 |
| Completes the <i>Noctes Atticae</i> and writes the preface .. .. .                              | c. between 175 and ?   |

A date given by F. Rühl (*Die Verbreitung des Justinus im Mittelalter*, p. 31 ff.) which came to my knowledge after writing the above, agrees very well with my conclusions. The book *De viris illustribus quo tempore scripserunt*, written by Radulphus de Diceto about 1210, and preserved in MS. in the British Museum, contains the following notice among others which appear to be drawn from a lost chronicle: Agellius scribit anno C.LXIX. This presumably refers to some event of that year mentioned by Gellius, but what it was I have not as yet been able to discover.

## NOTES

The references are given (except in the case of the Chronological Table) by page and line, a catch-word being added in each case. If a graduated and numbered slip is used, it should be kept in the same position with the number 1 against the first line on the page, even where there is a blank space in the page. Thus in vol. 1, p. 33, the first line of § 1 counts as 9.

### VOL. I

#### CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

The years in the second column do not indicate the dates of the events mentioned, but merely the position on the pages of the notices commented on.

| PAGE | B.C. |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|------|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| viii | 13   | Agrippa's Commentaries (the chief source of Pliny's <i>Nat. Hist.</i> , especially iii-vi) are dated about this time because the survey of the Roman Empire is said to have been executed, in four parts, in the years 44-19 B.C. (Marquardt, <i>StV</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 210).                                   |
|      | 4    | Read 'Birth of Christ, according to Cassiodorus and Clement of Alexandria. Julius Africanus dates it in the night between 3 and 2 B.C. and all the dates given by other early authors are merely variants of his.' Ideler dates the birth of Christ 7 B.C. Cf. also Mommsen, <i>RGDA</i> <sup>2</sup> , pp. 172-177. |
|      | A.D. |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| ix   | 9    | Defeat of Varus. See Zangemeister, <i>Westd. Ztschr.</i> , 1887, 239; Asbach in <i>Bonner Jahrb.</i> , lxxxv (1888), p. 37 ff.                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|      | 19   | Strabo. Zippel, <i>Röm. Herrschaft in Illyrien</i> , pp. 273-275; Lullies, <i>Kenntniss der Griechen und Römer vom Pamir-Hochlande</i> etc. 1887, p. 13.                                                                                                                                                             |
| x    | 37   | Tiberius dies on March 16. Cf. <i>Acta fratrum Arvalium</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|      | 40   | Embassy of Alexandrian Jews in Rome. Cf. Sperling, <i>Der Grammatiker Apio und sein Verhältniss zum Judenthum</i> , pp. 10 and 12.                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| xi   | 68   | Revolt of Vindex and Galba. Mommsen in <i>Hermes</i> , xiii, 95, 2.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |

| PAGE | A.D.    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|------|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|      | 68-69   | Vespasian proclaimed Emperor, July 3. Cham-<br>balu, <i>Flaviana</i> , in <i>Philologus</i> , xlv (1885), 502-<br>507.                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|      | 71      | c. 70-75. <i>Periplus Maris Erythraei</i> . Cf. Dill-<br>mann, <i>Zur Frage über die Abfassungszeit des</i><br><i>Peripl. m. Er.</i> , in <i>Monatsberichte der Berliner</i><br><i>Akad.</i> , 1879, p. 419 ff.                                                                                                                           |
|      | 73-74   | Vespasian and Titus Censors. Mommsen, <i>StR</i> ,<br>ii <sup>3</sup> , 338, 1.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| xii  | 78      | Plutarch born about 46. Clinton, <i>Fast. Rom.</i> ,<br>ad an. 98.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|      | 79-81   | Titus. Cf. O. A. Hoffmann, <i>De imp. Titi tempori-</i><br><i>bus</i> (Marburg 1883), pp. 1-4.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|      | 81-82   | The Capitol rebuilt. Jordan, <i>Topogr.</i> , ii, 1, 29.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|      | 88      | Plutarch (88-89) gives lectures on philosophy.<br>This was during the revolt of Saturninus. Cf.<br><i>Aemil. Paul.</i> , 25; Bergk in <i>Bonner Jahrbb.</i> ,<br>1876, p. 141, 4.                                                                                                                                                         |
|      | 89      | Dacian Triumph. Cf. Asbach, <i>Kriege der Flav-</i><br><i>ischen Kaiser an der Nordgrenze des Reichs</i> , in<br><i>Bonner Jahrbb.</i> , lxxxi (1886), p. 32 n.                                                                                                                                                                           |
|      | 96      | Wall built to protect Decumate Lands. Momm-<br>sen, <i>RG</i> , v, 138 ff.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|      | 98      | Tacitus writes the <i>Agricola</i> and <i>Germania</i> . Cf.<br>Hirschfeld, in <i>Ztschr. f. Oesterr. Gymn.</i> , xxviii<br>(1877), p. 815 f.; Asbach, <i>Entstehung der</i><br><i>Germania des Tacitus</i> , in <i>Bonner Jahrbb.</i> , 1880,<br>p. 1 ff. He was consul designate at the time,<br><i>ibid.</i> , 1882 (lxxii), p. 20, 1. |
| xiii | 101     | Trajan leaves Rome end of March. Henzen,<br><i>Acta fratrum Arvalium</i> , p. cxl.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|      | 102     | Juvenal. F. Dürr, <i>Das Leben Juvenals</i> , 1888.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|      | 105-107 | Second Dacian War. Mommsen, in <i>Hermes</i> ,<br>iii, 130 f. and <i>CIL</i> , iii, on no. 550.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|      | 113     | Trajan goes to the East in October. According<br>to Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 398-400, not till towards<br>the end of 114.                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|      | 115     | Plutarch's <i>Lives</i> , in part before Trajan's victories<br>in Parthia; Clinton, <i>Fast. Rom.</i> , ad an. 113.                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|      | 116     | Trajan marches to the Persian Gulf. Cf. Gut-<br>schmid, <i>Untersuchungen über die Geschichte des</i><br><i>Königreichs Osroene</i> , in <i>Mém. de l'acad. de St.</i><br><i>Pétersbourg</i> , T. xxxv, 1, p. 27.                                                                                                                         |
|      | 118     | Hadrian (beginning of August) in Rome. Cf.<br>F. Dürr, <i>Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian</i> , in<br><i>Abhandlungen des archäol.-epigr. Seminars zu</i><br><i>Wien</i> , hgg. v. Benndorf u. Hirschfeld, ii (1881).                                                                                                                      |
|      | 118     | Suetonius born c. 77. Mommsen, <i>Hermes</i> , iii, 43.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|      | 126-7   | Hadrian in Rome. Cf. Dürr, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 59;<br>Radet, <i>Lettres de l'emp. Hadrien</i> , in <i>Bull. de</i><br><i>corr. Hellén.</i> , xi, 1887, p. 114.                                                                                                                                                                           |



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|       | 128-9 | Hadrian in Africa. <i>CIL</i> , viii, p. 287. The revolts of the Moors and Britons ( <i>Vit. Hadr.</i> , 5 and 12) probably before 128, according to Juvenal, 14, 196.                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| xiv   | 131-2 | Hadrian in Judaea until 134. Dürr, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 65 ff.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|       | 134   | Hadrian returns to Rome before May 5. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 33.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|       | 142   | Aristides. Cf. Baumgart, <i>Aristides</i> , pp. 10-12.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|       | 147   | Apuleius writes at Rome the <i>Melamorphoses</i> . Cf. Rohde, in <i>Rhein. Mus.</i> , xliii, 1888, p. 471.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|       | 165   | Lucian, writing 155-180. Cf. Croiset, <i>Vie et œuvres de L.</i> He dates the <i>Nigrinus</i> soon after 150 (p. 44), the death of Peregrinus 169 (p. 36), the treatise <i>Adversus indoctum</i> soon after (p. 76), the <i>Demonax</i> (according to Waddington, <i>Fastes d. prov. d'Asie</i> , 152) soon after 180 (p. 80 sq.). Cf. also Rohde, <i>Der griechische Roman</i> , 190, 1. |
|       | 166   | The chronology from 162 to 166 follows Gutschmid, <i>Geschichte Irans</i> , 148-150.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|       | "     | Marcomanni, etc., invade. Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 280.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 167-8 |       | Lucian's <i>Peregrinus Proteus</i> , and <i>On the Writing of History</i> , 165. Croiset, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 47.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|       | 169   | Justin Martyr dies 165-6. Keim, <i>Rom. u. d. Christenthum</i> , p. 583.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|       | 175   | Revolt of Avidius Cassius. Cf. Napp, <i>De rebus imp. M. Aurel. Ant. in Oriente gestis</i> (Bonn, 1879), p. 42 ff. against Lebas-Waddington, p. 514.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| xv    | 177-8 | Pausanias' fifth book 174-5. Cf. Hertzberg, <i>Geschichte Griechenlands</i> , ii, 428. His tenth book 179-80; see chap. 34, also Barnabei, <i>Notizie de' scavi</i> , Dec., 1887. Marcus Aurelius' <i>Meditations</i> , 172-174: cf. Sievers, <i>StRE</i> , 12. Celsus' <i>Ἀληθὴς λόγος</i> , 177-180: cf. Keim, <i>Rom. u. d. Christenthum</i> , p. 392*.                                |
|       | 178-9 | Invasion of the Costoboci. Cf. Pausanias, x, 34, 5; Appendix viii, p. 36; Barnabei, <i>Notizie de' scavi</i> , Dec., 1887.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|       | 195   | Tertullian (c. 145-220). Cf. Aubé, <i>Les chrétiens dans l'emp. Rom.</i> , 180-249, pp. 212, 230.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|       | 202   | Abgar ix. Cf. Gutschmid, <i>Mém. de l'acad. de St. Pétersbourg</i> , xxxv, 1, p. 35 f.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|       | 203   | Severus' Arch and the Septizonium. Jordan, <i>Forma Urbis</i> , p. 7.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| xvi   | 205   | Plautianus dies, January 22. Bormann, <i>BdI</i> , 1867, pp. 217-219.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|       | 210   | Restoration of the Wall of Antoninus Pius: Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 170, 1. Lowering of the currency: Hultsch, <i>Metrologie</i> <sup>2</sup> , 312.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

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|       | 217     | Dedication of Thermae of Caracalla; Jordan, <i>Forma Urbis</i> , p. 7.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|       | 218-222 | Read 'Cassius Dio, Consul for the second time 229, still engaged on his <i>History</i> , 230-234'. Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 419, 1.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| xvii  | 227     | Artaxerxes. For 'Persia' read 'Persis'. For the double era of the Sassanids (224 and 227) see Gutschmid, <i>Geschichte Irans</i> , p. 162 ff. and Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 419, 1.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|       | 238     | The dates of this year after Seeck, <i>Haloandersche Subscriptionem u. Chronologie des Jahres</i> 238, in <i>Rhein. Mus.</i> , xli (1886), p. 168, and Ranke, <i>Weltgeschichte</i> , iii, 1, 405, 1. Cf. Emil Müller, <i>Gordianus</i> , in Ersch and Gruber's <i>Encyklopädie</i> , Sect. I, Bd. 74, 324, 35. Ranke dates the election of Maximus and Balbinus 2 April, the death of Maximin in the middle of April, and the deaths of Maximus and Balbinus 10 July. |
| xvii  | 244-249 | Origen writes <i>Against Celsus</i> 248; dies 253. Aubé, <i>op. cit.</i> , pp. 442 and 456.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|       | 259-60  | Valerian captured by Sapor, between 29 August, 259 and 28 August, 260; Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 430, 1.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|       | 264     | Odenathus recaptures Nisibis and Carrhae. <i>ibid.</i> , v, 434.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| xviii | 268-270 | Herennius Dexippus, author of a history up to 271. He was <i>agonothetes</i> at the Panathenaea of 262-3, and in 267 defeated the Heruli, who had plundered Athens. Cf. Dittenberger, <i>Die Attische Panathenaidenära</i> (Comment. Mommsen, pp. 245-523).                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|       | 270     | Egypt reconquered by Probus. Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 439.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|       | 272     | War with Zenobia. Lebas-Waddington, p. 606; Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 441, 2.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| xix   | 361-3   | Original of <i>Expositio totius mundi et gentium</i> 350-353. Riese, <i>Geographi latini minores</i> , p. xxx.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| xx    | 392-5   | Symmachus (about 340-402). Seeck, <i>De Symmachi vita</i> (S.q.s., p. xxx sqq.).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|       | 395-423 | Ammianus Marcellinus (330-400). Book xxii of the <i>Roman History</i> was written before the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria in 391. Cf. Mommsen, in <i>Hermes</i> , xvi, 630, 4.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| xxi   | 452     | Zosimus, <i>History from Augustus to 410</i> . Mendelssohn, <i>De Zosimi aetate</i> , in <i>Rhein. Mus.</i> , xlii (1887), pp. 525-531.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|       | 473     | Apollinaris Sidonius (430/33-479), <i>praef. urb.</i> in Rome 468. Mommsen, <i>Praef. in Sidon.</i> , in <i>Monum. Germ. Auct. antiq.</i> , viii (pp. li-liii the dates of his poems and letters).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |

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|         | 476  | Cassiodorus (480-573). <i>Variorum ll. xii</i> , 508-537. Cf. Tanzi, <i>Studj sulla cronologia di Cassiodoro</i> , 1886.                                    |
| 492-525 |      | Tribonian edits the <i>Pandects</i> and the <i>Codex Justinianus</i> . The former had the force of law from 30 Dec., 529, and the latter from 29 Dec., 529. |

## I. THE CITY OF ROME

- 1, 2. wall. According to Beloch, *Bevölkerung der griechisch-röm. Welt*, p. 392, it had an area of 426 hectares (1053 sq. miles).
- 1, 7. mire. Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene*, p. 63.
- 1, 11. houses. Livy, v, 55; Tac., *A.*, xv, 43. Jordan, *Topographie*, i, 1, 483 ff.
- 1, 13. Pyrrhus. Pliny, *H. N.*, xvi, 36. Jordan, *ibid.*, 533 (but see Nissen, *Pompejan. Studien*, p. 24).
- 1, 16. fires. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 434.
- 1, 18 Forum. Becker, *Topogr.*, 295; perhaps during a thorough reform of the Forum by Gaius Maenius; Jordan, i, 2, p. 379 f.
- 1, 22 ugliness. Livy, xl, 5.
- 1, 28 Gracchus. Jordan, i, 2, p. 383 f.
- 1, 32 sale-rooms. *Ibid.*, p. 433.
- 1, 34 columns. Jordan, i, 1, p. 17.
- 2, 2 War. Nissen, *Pompej. Studien*, p. 473.
- 2, 5 boundary. Jordan, i, 1, p. 319.
- 2, 6 Sulla. Vol. II, p. 185.
- 2, 11 Capua. Cic., *D. l. agr.*, 2, 31, 86; *Phil.*, 12, 3, 7.
- 2, 11 plain. Cic., *D. l. agr.*, 2, 35, 96.
- 2, 12 capital. Stat., *S.*, iii, 5, 76.
- 2, 13 anyhow. Livy, v, 55.
- 2, 20 palaces. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvi, 100.
- 2, 20 Cicero. *Ad Quirites p. red.*, c. 1; *Verr.*, ii, 5, 48, 127. Cf. *Nid.*, iii, 9, 21.
- 2, 24 Athens. Plutarch, *Comparat. Periclis c. Fab. Max.*, c. 3, 7.
- 2, 25 Rome. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 28.
- 2, 29 interest. Dio, li, 21.
- 2, 33 Carrara. Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 16 ff.
- 2, 36 widenings. *Ibid.*, 486 f.
- 2, 41 buildings. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvi, 110.
- 3, 1 Piso's. Drumann, *G. R.*, ii, 80, 13 or ii, 90, 27?
- 3, 2 eternity. Plutarch, *Apophth. Rom. Caes. Aug.*, 15.
- 3, 7, 8 Sixtus V. Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, ii, 134.
- 3, 12 stone. Troels Lund, *D. tägl. Leben in Skandinavien während des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 104 f.
- 3, 13 Paris. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ch. 37.
- 3, 15 Moscow. Brückner, *Beitr. z. Culturgesch. Russlands im 17. Jahrhundert*, 299.

- 3, 22 Germany. Vehse, *Gesch. d. Höfe*, 33, 174 f. *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, 15.
- 3, 23 Warsaw. F. v. d. Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 235 f.
- 3, 28 building. Justi, *Winckelmann*, i, 29. Büsching, *Neue Erdbeschr.*, iii<sup>a</sup>, 2, 989-1002.
- 3, 29 War. According to official reports which I obtained in 1873 from the then mayor of Berlin, A. Hobrecht, from 1763 to 1786 439 new houses were built in Berlin, 912 wooden houses were rebuilt in stone, and 1,203 repaired and improved. (In the same time the population, reduced by the Seven Years' War to 98,000, rose to 113,766.) The value of property insured against fire rose between 1760 and 1785 from 10½ to about 19 million thalers.
- 3, 32 marble. Sueton., *August.*, c. 28.
- 3, 39 collapse. Seneca, *Controvers.*, lib. ii, 9, ed. Bursian, p. 121.
- 4, 1 Rome. The estimate adopted by Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 488) of the houses destroyed (132 domus, 4,000 insulae), in the correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul, I believe to be a poor fabrication of an obviously very ignorant forger. The Great Fire of London, which broke out on September 2, 1666, and raged five days and nights, destroyed more than 13,000 houses, 89 churches, and many public buildings. Stern, *Milton*, ii, 54 (after Lappenberg).
- 4, 8. arcaded. Tac., *A.*, xv, 38 and 43.
- 4, 10. ruins. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 8.
- 4, 11. repaired. Orelli, 742 = *CIL*, vi, 1, 931.
- 4, 16. windows. Juv., 6, 31. Cp. 3, 269. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 4, 14.
- 4, 19. great. Pliny, *H. N.*, iii, 67.
- 4, 21. paces. Jordan, *Topographie*, ii, 85 ff.; *Cod. Paris*, 8319; Mommsen, *Abhandlungen d. Sächs. Ges. Ph. hist. Kl.*, ii, p. 273 f., and *Itinerar. Alexandri* in Pseudo-Callisth., *Hist. Gr. fr.* vol. v, ed. Didot, i, 34. (The estimate of 8072 paces for Antioch is certainly too little. Cf. O. Mueller, *Antiqq. Antioch.*, p. 68. The larger houses there according to Libanius were usually 3 storeys high: *ib.*, p. 112, 10. Liban., *Or.*, i, p. 347. Reiske; one of 5 storeys in Theophanes, *Chronogr.* ed. Bonn, p. 265 *ad ann.* 518).
- 4, 27. city. Aristid., *Or.*, xiv, p. 199, J. Cf. Waddington, *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 1867, p. 253.
- 4, 27. storeys. Vitruv., *De archit.*, ii, 8.
- 4, 32. width. Pöhlmann, p. 94.
- 4, 37. Trajan. Strabo, v, 3, p. 235. Aur. Vict., *Epit.*, c. 13.
- 4, 41. Martial. Martial, i, 117, 7.
- 5, 3. Berlin. Pöhlmann, p. 95.
- 5, 4. Rome. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 1, p. 493 f.
- 5, 8. Iugarius. Jordan, i, 2, 468.
- 5, 8. Tyre. Strabo, xvi, p. 757 C.
- 5, 10. position. Pöhlmann, p. 99, 7. Allusions to lodgings on the third floor in Martial, i, 117, 7, and Juvenal, 3, 199, prove nothing as to the height of the houses in Rome. Four to five floors in Naples, Philostrate., *Imagg. prooem.*, three to four in ancient Babylon, Herodot., i, 180; six in Carthage, Appian., viii,



- 12, and eight in Motya in Sicily, Diodor., xiv, 51. The highest houses were in Constantinople, where it was permitted to build to a height of 100 ft. (i.e., 10-12 floors). Pöhlmann, p. 93 f.
- 5, 12. Via Lata. Jordan, i, 1, 494. Preller, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 and 136. Becker, *Topogr.*, i, 590 and 595.
- 5, 29. streets. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 1, 492.
- 6, 1. Pompeii. Jordan, *Forma urbis*, p. 46<sup>b</sup>. Tab. xxi ss.
- 6, 13. Domitian. Martial, vii, 61.
- 6, 18. fire. Herodian, vii, 12, 5. Cf. *V. Maximini*, c. 20. *Maxim. et Balbin.*, c. 9.
- 6, 21. balconies. Amm. Marc., xxvii, 9, 10.
- 6, 22. curtains. *Digg.*, xliii, 8, 2, § 6. Cf. the view of a house in the so-called house of Livia. *Rev. archéol.*, xxii (1870), pl. 20. G. Perrot, *Mém. archéol.*, p. iii ss.
- 6, 26. praise. Claudian, *De cons. Stilich.*, iii, 131.
- 6, 28. Jerusalem. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. R.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 275.
- 6, 34. polluted. Mueller, *Hist. Gr. fr.*, iii, 663.
- 7, 1. centre. Aristid., *Or.*, xiv, p. 198 f.
- 7, 7. life. Strabo, v, 3, 12, p. 239 C.
- 7, 8. bounded. The legal boundary of Rome was the first milestone (from the Servian wall). The real boundary was determined by the end of the houses and streets. The latter was always fixed at any given time, though often changed as the town extended. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 1035, 1-4.
- 7, 13. gables. Cf. the vivid description of the triple zone of villas which surrounded Rome, and reached to the seventh and eighth milestones of the Via Appia and Via Nomentana. Lanciani, *La villa Castrimense di Q. Voconio Pollione*, in *Bull. comun.*, 1884, p. 143.
- 7, 27. Strabo. Strabo, v, 3, p. 236 C. (written after 747. Cf. Becker, *Topogr.*, i, 542 a. 1144).
- 7, 36. columns. Lanciani, *I portici della regione ix*, in *AdI*, 1883, p. 18 sqq.
- 7, 39. wall. Jordan, *Topographie*, i, 214 ff.
- 8, 4. collapses. *Ibid.*, p. 441 ff.
- 8, 9. temple. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvi, 121 sqq.
- 8, 12. beautify. Cf. e.g., Chr. Hülsen, *Das Septizonium des Septimius Severus*, Winckelmanns progr. d. Arch. Ges., 1886 (restoration in Tab. 4).
- 8, 20. buildings. Ammian., xvi, 10, 13.
- 9, 10. basilicas. G. Dehio, *Die kirchliche Baukunst d. Abendlandes*, i, 76.
- 9, 26. square. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, pp. 455-467.
- 9, 31. city. The statistical part of the description of the *regiones* is based on an older document, drawn up about at the time of Vespasian's survey of the city, and carelessly edited in the age of Constantine. Richter, *Topographie von Rom*, in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, iii, 915.
- 10, 7. Hills. Jordan, ii, 143 f. and pp. 1-178. Cf. Martial, iv, 64, 11 sqq. and the note by Dehio in my edition of Martial, ii, 543 f.
- 10, 15. paintings. R. Rochette, *Peintures antiques*, p. 61 s.
- 10, 17. century. Ambrose, *Epp.*, 18, 3.

- 10, 24. bronze. Vol. ii, p. 301.
- 10, 31. valleys. Lanciani, *I portici della regione ix*, in *AdI*, 1883, p. 16.
- 10, 33. twittered. Rutil. Namat., *It.*, i, 111.
- 10, 37. destroyed. Pliny, *H. N.*, xvii, 5. On the lotus-tree cf. Appendix I.
- 10, 39. odorous. Becker-Göll, ii, 286. Pliny, *H. N.*, xv, 47.
- 10, 40. Tiber. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 4, 7.
- 10, 41. open. Preller, *StRE*, vi, 511 (Roma).
- 11, 2. walks. See the description of the *porticus Pompeji* and of the *hecatostylon* in Becker, *Topogr.*, i, p. 214.
- 11, 3. Livia. G. Gatti, *Il portico di Livia, nella terza regione di Roma*, *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, pp. 270-272 with pl. viii.
- 11, 6. shadow. Pliny, *H. N.*, xiv, 11. Cf. Becker, *Topogr.*, i, 543, n. 1142.
- 11, 17. gardens. *Gordiani*, c. 32. Cf. also the list of Roman gardens in Jordan, *Forma urbis*, p. 43<sup>a</sup>; and Hirschfeld, *VG*, 24, I.
- 11, 23. arches. Bauer, *Wasserversorgung Roms*, *Viertelsjahrschr. f. Volksw. und Culturgesch.*, lii, p. 68.
- 11, 27. purified. Rutil. Namat., *It.*, i, 97-106.
- 11, 33. earth. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvi, 123.
- 11, 35. water. Galen, xvii b., 159.
- 11, 38. metres. Pöhlmann, p. 143; Frontin., *De aquis*, ii, 78 and 87.
- 12, 2. visitor. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 460.
- 12, 15. Egeria. Cf. Preller, *R.R.*, p. 109 f. and Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 48-66. His opinion on the *munera* in Frontin., i, 13 may be combined with Hirschfeld's (though differing, *VG*, 167, 1), if we assume that the expression *munera* was gradually extended from the splendid buildings with which the liberality of the emperors and great men had endowed Rome (Ovid, *A.a.*, i, 69; Vellei., ii, 130; Martial, *Sp.*, 2, 7; vii, 34, 9; dona, viii, 65, 7; x, 28, 5; *CIL*, 2466, l. 16; *munificus ad munera ornatus municipi facienda*, cf. l. 10) to any splendid buildings, so that fountains and handsome basins were colloquially called *munera* in contradistinction to public waterworks for useful purposes (*opera*). Cf. also Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
- 12, 29. atmosphere. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 1, 459 f.
- 12, 37. reservoirs. Pöhlmann, pp. 146-148. Strabo, v, 3, 8, p. 235.
- 13, 2. earth. Pliny, *H. N.*, iii, 54.
- 13, 2. merchandise. *Id.*, xi, 240. Cf. Plutarch, *De fortuna Rom.*, 12 (325 D.) and Galen, xiv, 23.
- 13, 11. provinces. Cf. Pöhlmann, p. 14 f.
- 13, 13. Aventine. Vol. ii, p. 190.
- 13, 14. Rome. Aristid., *Or.*, p. 200, 10 sqq.
- 13, 22. world. One must also especially remember the supply of natural products such as grain, oil and wine from Sicily, Spain, Africa, Egypt, etc., and the magazines (*horrea*) under the direction of the corn-prefect. The broken pieces of the clay vessels in which these products arrived gradually formed the *Monte Testaccio*. De Rossi, *Le horrea sotto L'Aventino e la statio annonae urbis Romae*. *AdI*, 1885, p. 223 sqq., esp. pp. 226-228.

The inscriptions on potsherds from the Monte Testaccio which can be dated range from 140 to 255 A.D. *Ibid.*, p. 854.

- 13, 41. letter. Aristid., *loc. cit.*, p. 207; *Vit. Anton. Pii*, c. 7.  
 14, 2. Caligula. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 570 M.  
 14, 8. feasts. Juvenal, 6, 398; Martial, ix, 36.  
 14, 8. freak. Cf. Appendix II.  
 14, 16. turned. P. Annius Florus (Jahn, *Juli Flori epit.*, p. xli).  
 14, 18. opportunities. Cf. Appendix iii.  
 14, 20. Gazetteer. Hirschfeld, *VG*, i, 187-189.  
 14, 24. Thermae. Galen., xix, 21 (the word ἀκουστήρια is also missing in the Paris Stephanus) and x, 909 (κατὰ τὸ Τραιανοῦ γυμνάσιον). The passage in the epitaph on a grammarian (Passionei, *Iscr.*, p. 115, 56 = *CIL*, vi, 9446) Trajani querent (quaerent) atria (me), tota Roma flebit, refers perhaps to the Thermae of Trajan. De Rossi, *Bull. d. arch. cr.*, iv, 87, refers it to the *Forum Trajanum* (cf. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 458, 28), and the editors of the *CIL* to the *bibliotheca Ulpia*. According to Martial, iv, 53, scholars apparently frequented also the temple of Minerva (probably on the Forum erected by Domitian) and the so-called 'new temple' of Augustus on the Palatine, where Tiberius had installed a library.  
 14, 32. Diodorus. Dionys. Hal., *A. R.*, i, 7; Diodor., i, 4.  
 14, 40. splendour. Martial, ii, 48, 8; vii, 34, 4; Stat., *S.*, i, 5, 62.  
 15, 4. Gazetteer. Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 252. *Forma urbis.*, p. 42.  
 15, 10. Seneca. Seneca, *Ad Helv.*, 6, 2.  
 15, 15. cataract. Sen., *Clem.*, i, 6, 1.  
 15, 16. incident. Jonas, *De ord. libr. Senecae*, p. 40.  
 15, 19. weaker. Tac., *A.*, xii, 43.  
 15, 24. death. *Chronograph.*, a. 354.  
 15, 27. killed. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 26.  
 15, 30. died. Gruter, 895, 10.  
 15, 35. fusion. Cic., *De petit. cons.*, 14, 54.  
 15, 39. Lucan. Lucan, vii, 405.  
 15, 41. Herodian. Herodian, vii, 7, 1.  
 16, 4. Rome. Ammian., xvi, 10, 5.  
 16, 5. city. Sen., *Ad Helv.*, 6, 2.  
 16, 5. hub. P. Ann. Florus (Jahn, *l.c.*). Cf. Martial, viii, 4, 1.  
 16, 5. inn. ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῇ κοσμοπόλει, *CIG*, 5923, n. 18.  
 16, 8. world. Galen., xviii, a. 347. Athen., i, 20 B. Similarly Montchrétien (1615): Paris pas une cité mais une nation: pas une nation mais un monde, and Riehl who calls the great towns of the present day encyclopaedias of civilization. Pöhlmann, p. 17, 7 and 8.  
 16, 13. Alani. Martial, vii, 30.  
 16, 15. Ovid. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 173.  
 16, 19. Aethiopians. Martial, *Spect.*, i.  
 16, 22. vice. Sen., *loc. cit.*  
 16, 27. security. Martial, iii, 38, 14.  
 16, 30. gabble. *Id.*, iv, 5.  
 16, 32. elephants. Cf. Seneca, *Epp.*, 85, 41; Martial, viii, 74, also *Programm der Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1860, vi, p. 5.  
 16, 34. Life Guards. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 487 ff. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 808 f.

- 16, 36. Isis. Appian, *B. C.*, iv, 47. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 81.  
 16, 37. Nubian. Philostrat., *Vitt. Soph.*, i, 8. On 'Ινδός = Nubian, cf. Letronne, *Mém. de l'ac. des inscr.*, ix, 158; x, 235.  
 16, 40. crowd. Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 135 seqq.; *CIG*, 6342 C., 6559; Jerome, *ad Ol. CCI.*: Tiberius multos reges ad se per blanditiam evocatos numquam remisit: Orelli, 510 (epitaph of a Costobocan princess). In a *columbarium* on the *via Latina* (Lenormant, *N. Rh. M.*, xxi, 224: 'Ηδύκος Εὐδόδου πρεσβευτῆς Φαναγορεϊτῶν κατὰ Βόσπορον, Ἀσποῦργος Βωμάσου υἱός, ἐρμηνεύς Σαρματῶν, Βωσπορανός. *CIG*, vi, 1797-1801 (reges regumque conjuges et filii). Hülsen, *Iscriz. d'Artabasdes*, vol. i, 1884, pp. 204-207. On the epitaph of an *Abgaros* (son of L. Aelius Septimius Abgar ix, king of Osroene 179-214), and on the epitaph dedicated to Abgar Phrahaes filius rex principis Orrhenorum (Abgar xi, 242-244) by his consort Hodda (Muratori, ii, 655, 1 = *CIL*, vi, 1797). Cf. Gutschmid, *Untersuchungen üb. d. Gesch. d. Königreichs Osroene* in *Mém. de l'ac. de St. Pétersb.*, vii Série, T. xxxv, 1 (1887), pp. 42 and 45. On Herodians in Rome see Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, 216 ff.  
 16, 41. world. Dio C., ix, 33.  
 17, 12. way. *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, with Mommsen's commentary. Cf. Appendix iv on this paragraph.  
 17, 19. more. Cf. Appendix v.  
 17, 27. prices. Juven., 3, 165 seqq.; Martial, iv, 66.  
 17, 33. carriages. Cf. Appendix vi.  
 18, 9. profits. All admirably elaborated by Pöhlmann, pp. 78-89 and 105-108 (the profit of the house-owners: ex insulis fundisque tricies soldum, Mart., iv, 37, that of the tenant [*D.*, xix, 2, 30] 30 per cent., that of the subtenant [*D.*, xix, 2, 7] 20 per cent.).  
 18, 12. house-rents. Diod., 31, 18 (τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐν Πώμῃ μισθῶν).  
 18, 13. Italy. Drumann, *RG*, i, 400, note 33.  
 18, 16. homes. Dio, xlviii, 9.  
 18, 17. claims. Vellei. Paterc., ii, 10, 1; but cf. vol. ii, 186.  
 18, 21. Rome. Juven., 3, 223 sqq.  
 18, 24. poor. Martial, x, 96.  
 18, 24. nothing. Juven., 3, 183.  
 18, 37. ring. Martial, ii, 57.  
 19, 3. Circus. Juven., 11, 46-55; cf. 3, 168-189 and 7, 129-149.  
 19, 8. orgies. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 5; Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 14, 4; ii, 13; Martial, xi, 16.  
 19, 14. hills. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 2, 72-85  
 19, 19. milk. Calpurn., *Ecl.*, iv, 25.  
 19, 19. alphabet. Mart., xii, 57; xiv, 223; ix, 29.  
 19, 20. workshops. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.*, iii, 6, 4, 9 (not referring to Rome).  
 19, 22. weight. Seneca, *Epp.*, 90, 9.  
 19, 24. trampling. Juv., 3, 245 sqq.; Seneca, *De ira*, iii, 6, 4.  
 19, 25. pickpockets. *Digg.*, xlvii, 11, 7; Cujac., *Obs.*, x, 27.  
 19, 34. glass. Martial, xii, 57; cf. Becker-Göll, i, 85; Jahn on Pers., i, 88.  
 19, 34. jugglers. Petron., c. 47: ego putabam petauristarios



intrasse et porcos, sicut in circulis mos est, portenta aliqua facturos.

- 19, 37. craft. Martial, i, 41, 7; Manil., v, 390 sqq. Galen, xi, 143.  
 19, 37. pedlars. *Digg.*, xiv, 3, 5, § 4.  
 19, 38. sausages. Martial, i, 41.  
 19, 40. lung. *Id.*, vi, 64, 18; Manil., *Astr.*, iv, 184.  
 19, 41. wares. As at Baiae, Seneca, *Epp.*, 56, 2.  
 20, 7. streets. Juv., 3, 236 sqq. On the driving of carriages in the city cf. Appendix vi.  
 20, 9. Julia. Seneca, *Benef.*, vi, 32, 1; Juv., 6, 306 sqq.  
 20, 10. serenades. Interpr. ad Horat., C., i, 25. Jahn on Pers., 5, 166.  
 20, 13. unlit. For all the following see Juv., 3, 268–314. The supposition of Al. Capannari (*Dei vigili Sebaciari e delle Sebaciaria da essi constitute*, in *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, pp. 127–147), that the *sebaciaria* of the *vigiles* refer to an illumination of the streets (by means of torches on the house-walls) instituted between 210 and 215, and that soldiers of the *vigiles* (detailed monthly for this service) attended to it, is very uncertain.  
 20, 16. pyre. Martial, viii, 75, 9. Cf. Marquardt, *Privatl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 343 f.  
 20, 21. burglaries. Paulus, *Digg.*, i, 15, 3, 1; cognoscit praefectus vigillum de incendiariis effractoribus furibus raptoribus receptatoribus. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 1058, 1.  
 20, 25. insecurity. Pliny, *H. N.*, xix, 59. Cf. Preller, *Regionen*, p. 104.  
 20, 28. bells. Dio, C., liv, 4.  
 20, 30. Venus. Tibullus, i, 2, 25.  
 20, 31. bandit. Juven., 13, 145.  
 20, 35. slave. Martial, viii, 75, 6.  
 20, 41. joke. Casaubon on Sueton., *Otho*, 2, and Liban., *Περὶ τῶν τῶν τῶν*. Also on Nero's nocturnal escapades Tac., A., xiii, 25; Sueton., *Nero*, 26; Dio, lxi, sq.; Pliny, *H. N.*, xiii, 126; *Vit. L. Veri*, 4.  
 21, 3. pavement. Juv., *loc. cit.*; Gaius, *Digg.*, xlv, 7, 5, § 5. *CIL*, iii, 1, 2083 (Salonae), v. 6: Tegula nam Romae Proculum prolapsa peremit.  
 21, 7. capital. As in modern Constantinople; Moltke, *Briefe aus der Türkei*, p. 89; cf. generally Preller, *RdStR*, p. 89 ff. and Gell., *N. A.*, xv, 1, 2.  
 21, 20. walls. Pöhlmann, p. 111. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvi, 171. Cf. Vitruv., ii, 8, 1.  
 21, 23. crackling. Sen., *Epp.*, 90, 43.  
 21, 28. heads. Juv., 3, 193. Cf. Senec., *De ira*, iii, 35. *Digg.*, xv, 3, 3, 8.  
 21, 30. beggars. Plut., *Crass.*, 2; Catull., 23, 9. The two kinds of accident are often associated, e.g., Seneca, *Controv.*, ii, 9; *ib.*, *Clem.*, i, 26, 5; *Benef.*, iv, 6, 2; *Consol. ad Marc.*, 22, 3; *Epp.*, 103, 1; *Benef.*, v, 18, 2; vii, 31, 5; *Epp.*, 13, 11; 30, 4; Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvi, 106. Downfall only, Sen., *Tranq. an.*, 11, 7. Baudrillart, *Hist. de luxe*, i, 334, speaks of the decayed state of the houses in Persia, and says that in Teheran alone in the winter of 1874 nearly 150 people were killed by falls of houses.

- 21, 31. Strabo. Strabo, v, 3, 7, p. 235 C; xiv, 4, 4, p. 670 C. Cf. also Sen., *Controv.*, ii, 9.
- 21, 32. dread. Juven., 3, 7.
- 21, 34. conditions. Firmic. Mat., *De math.*, iv, 4, 3: alii tectorum cadentium ruina premuntur.
- 21, 36. collapse. Symmach., *Epp.*, vi, 37.
- 22, 2. flames. Cf. vol. i, p. 6.
- 22, 6. wreckages. Frontin., *De ag.*, i, 18.
- 22, 8. extinguishing. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 460.
- 22, 9. slight. Dio, lv, 26 sqq.
- 22, 13. damage. Tac., *A.*, iv, 64; Suet., *Tib.*, 48; Tac., *A.*, vi, 45; Dio, lviii, 26.
- 22, 14. Caligula. Sueton., *Cal.*, c. 16.
- 22, 24. resurrected. *Id.* Nero, c. 38; Tac., *A.*, xv, 41.
- 22, 25. Titus. Dio, lxvi, 24; Sueton., *Tit.*, 8.
- 22, 28. flames. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxv, 3; xxxvi, 110.
- 22, 32. Venus. Martial, v, 7; Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 491, 11.
- 22, 33. Pius. Anton. P., c. 9.
- 22, 41. devised. Gell., xv, 1, 2.
- 23, 5. nourishment. Dio, lxii, 24. Herodian., i, 4, 2 sqq.; Euseb. *Chron.*, 191 A.D.
- 23, 8. Galen's. Galen, xiii, 362; xv, 24.
- 23, 10. replacement. Jordan, *Forma urbis*, p. 8 sq.
- 23, 14. fire. Cf. vol. i, p. 6. On the fires before Augustus and after 238 see Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 482 f.
- 23, 17. earthquakes. Dio, lv, 22; lvii, 14; Tac., *A.*, xii, 43; Euseb., *Chron.*, a. 59; Suet., *Galba*, c. 18. In the year 191: Herodian, i, 14, 217; Dio, lxxvii, 25; *Excerpt. ex chronico Horosii*, a. 429, 443, 492, 501, 502. De Rossi, *Bull. di arch. crist.*, v, p. 20 sqq., 74, 75. Orelli, 14 = *CIL*, vi, 1, 716. Cf. the list of earthquakes in Italy from 461 B.C. to 394 A.D. in Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 285 f.
- 23, 21. experience. Pliny, *H. N.*, iii, 54; Lucret., i, 281 sqq. Cf. Preller, *Berichte der Sächs. Gesell. d. W.*, vol. ii, p. 136, *Rom und der Tiber*, pp. 5-38, 134-151.
- 23, 28. torrents. Moltke, *Wanderungen um Rom*, in *Deutsche Rundsch.*, v (March, 1879), p. 387.
- 23, 31. consulars. Mommsen in *Hermes*, iii, 47. Hirschfeld, *VG* 153.
- 23, 32. Senate. Tac., *A.*, i, 79.
- 23, 35. Claudius. Henzen, 5098 = *CIL*, xiv, 85.
- 23, 38. in use. *CIL*, xiv, 88, with note.
- 23, 40. devastation. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 17.
- 24, 12. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Otho*, c. 4. Cf. *M. Antonin.*, c. 8.
- 24, 14. corn. Gregor. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, x, 1.
- 24, 22. inundations. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskde.*, i, 323.
- 24, 24. Augustus. Horace, *C.*, i, 2, 13? Dio, liii, 20, 33; liv, 1, 25; lv, 22.
- 24, 28. collapses. Cassiodor., *Chron.*
- 24, 28. Tiberius. Dio, lvii, 14; Tac., *A.*, i, 76; Dio, lviii, 26.
- 24, 36. buildings. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 86; Plutarch., *Otho*, c. 4. Sueton., *Otho*, c. 8.

- 24, 38. inundation. Aur. Vict., *Epit.*, 13, 12; Martial, x, 85; Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 17 (*CIL*, vi, 964); *Had.*, c. 21; *Ant. P.*, c. 9; *M. Anton.*, c. 8; Dio, lxxviii, 25 (217); Ammian., xxix, 6, 18 (371). Cf. also Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 128, 17 and Nissen, *op. cit.*, p. 324.
- 25, 4. corn-lands. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 233 f.
- 25, 5. export. Rodbertus, *Z. Gesch. d. Röm. Tributsteuern*, in Hildebrand's *Jahrb. f. Nat.-Oek.*, viii, 418 f., n. 60. Cf. vol. xiv, 371, n. 11.
- 25, 7. Africa. Marquardt, *op. cit.* Cf. Joseph., *B. J.*, ii, 16, 5, and the excursus on the population of Rome in Appendix v.
- 25, 13. effect. O. Hirschfeld, *Die Getreideverwaltung in der Röm. Kaiserzeit*, in *Philologus*, xxix, 22 f.
- 25, 16. Commodus. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- 25, 22. position. *Ibid.*, p. 75 f.
- 25, 27. provinces. Tac., *A.*, vi, 13.
- 25, 29. Egypt. Pliny, *Paneg.*, 30.
- 25, 30. cities. *M. Antonin.*, c. 11.
- 25, 31. supply. Hirschfeld, p. 24, whose emendation 'Passiani' instead of 'Trajani' in *Elag.*, c. 27 is convincing.
- 25, 39. river. *Ibid.*, p. 7, n. 10; Tac., *A.*, xv, 18.
- 26, 4. people. Dio, lxxxii, 13; *Commod.*, c. 14.
- 26, 9. denarii. Euseb., *Chron.*, a. 8.
- 26, 9. unprecedented. In London the highest prices of corn from 1764 to 1826 amounted to only three times, in 1826 to only twice the lowest rates of the same period. Pöhlmann, p. 73, 1.
- 26, 14. rising. Dio, lv, 22, 26, 27, 31. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 42.
- 26, 16. corndealers. Tac., *A.*, ii, 87.
- 26, 19. riotous. *Id.*, vi, 13.
- 26, 23. Ostia. Aurel. Vict., *Caes.*, c. 4. Cf. Reimar. on Dio, lx, 11.
- 26, 25. hand. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 18; Tac., *A.*, xii, 43; Euseb., *Chron.*, 52.
- 26, 32. sand. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 45.
- 26, 35. insecurity. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 86.
- 26, 38. scarcity. *Hadrian*, c. 21; *Anton. P.*, c. 8 sqq.; *M. Antonin.*, c. 8; Dio, lxxii, 13; Herodian., i, 12, 3.
- 26, 41. Praefects. Pöhlmann, p. 72.
- 27, 4. mouths. Libanius, ed. R., i, 329, 14; οὐδεπώποτε τὸν Ξένιον ἡναγκάσθημεν ἀδικῆσαι . . . καίτοι τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς 'Ρώμης ἔχοντες, ἡτὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπάνιν, ἡνίκα ἂν τοῦτο συμπίεση, τῇ τῶν ξένων ἐλάσει πρὸς ἀφθονίαν μελιστήσιν. *Cod. Theodos.*, xiv, 3 (397): ne (corporati) tempore famis ceterorum peregrinorum more urbe expellantur. Such an expulsion in Ambrose, *De offic. ministr.*, iii, 7, 49.
- 27, 6. unhealthiness. Cf. Schweigler, *RG*, i, p. 454, 7; Gerlach-Bachofen, *RG*, i, 1, 43 ff.; *Beschr. Roms*, i, p. 82 ff.
- 27, 8. malaria. Tommaseo-Crudeli, *Die Malaria von Rom und die alte Drainage der römischen Hügel*, German trl. by Schuster, 1882. Varro had some conception of the malaria bacilli: *R.r.*, i, 12: si qua erunt loca palustria—crescunt animalia quaedam minuta, quae non possunt oculi consequi, et per aera

in corpus—per os et nares perveniunt atque efficiunt difficiles morbos.

- 27, 12. houses. Tommasi-Crudeli, *Alcune riflessioni sul clima dell' antica Roma*, in *Mittheil. d. Archäolog. Inst. Röm.*, Abth. ii (1887), p. 79, thinks that by it 'dentro la città di Roma la malaria fosse ridotta a minime proporzioni'.
- 27, 15. relief. Ammian. Marcellin., xiv, 6, 23.
- 27, 15. fever. Preller, *RM*<sup>3</sup>, ii, 240.
- 27, 17. Galen. Galen, xvii a, 121. Cf. Cael. Aurelian., *De morb. acut.*, ii, 10.
- 27, 23. Hippocrates. *Id.*, xviii a, 347.
- 27, 29. complexion. Martial, x, 12.
- 27, 32. relief. Horace, C., iii, 19, 12; cf. *Epp.*, i, 17, 6; Seneca, *Epp.*, 104, 6.
- 27, 32. Frontinus. See vol. i, p. 11.
- 27, 33. supply. According to R. Kobert, *Über den Zustand der Arzneikunde vor 18 Jahrhunderten* (p. 28 ff.), the misuse of lead in utensils and vessels for cooking and keeping food and drink, and still more the use of lead pipes for the water-supply (against which Vitruvius, viii, 7, protests) 'must have made lead-poisoning as frequent a malady in imperial Rome as tuberculosis and venereal disease together are at the present day'. It is really difficult to believe that the Romans, who in many respects were hygienically in advance of the moderns, should have laboured for centuries at enormous expense at their own poisoning, without being aware of it; all the more so as we see by Vitruvius' warning that the danger of leaden water-pipes was a subject of discussion. My colleague Lossen says the solubility of lead depends upon the quality of the water. Organic substances in decomposition specially promote its solubility. (Michaelis, *Ausführl. Lehrb. d. anorg. Chemie*, iii<sup>5</sup>, 1168.) The Romans would hardly have brought water saturated with such pernicious substances into their towns. If the aqueducts conveyed only hard water, the danger of poisoning by the leaden pipes was certainly exceedingly small.
- 27, 39. plagues. Dio, liii, 33; liv, 1.
- 28, 3. Libitina. Tac., A., xvi, 13; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 39.
- 28, 9. 79 A.D. Probably Sueton., *Tit.*, 8 and Dio, lxvi, 23 mean the same disease as Eusebius, though Tillemont makes two of it.
- 28, 12. *ephemerides*. Euseb., *Chron.*
- 28, 13. ages. Ulpian gives a table of the probable duration of life at the different ages between 20 and 70 years: *D.*, xxxv, 2, 68. Cf. Hildebrand, *Bevölkerungsstatistik im alten Rom*, in *Jahrbb.*, vi, 91. Also the statement in Euseb., *H. eccl.*, vii, 21, 5, that in Alexandria under Gallienus in consequence of the plague the number of inhabitants from 14 to 80 years amounted to no more than the previous number of those from 14 to 70, presupposes exact statistical records.
- 28, 14. Palermo. This is the estimate of the population given by Adr. Balbi, *Abrégé de géographie*, Paris, 1834.
- 28, 16. 1803. Reuchlin, *Gesch. Italiens*, i, 264 ff. At the time of



the plague in London, May, 1625, to March, 1626, there died in 20 weeks 40,000 people (out of about 600,000), and from the 11th to the 18th of August 4463. Stern, *Milton*, i, 61.

- 28, 19. Ionia. Waddington, *Vie du rhéteur Aristide in Mém. de l'ac.*, xxvi, 250.
- 28, 23. Rhine. Ammian., xxiii, 6, 24.
- 28, 27. perished. Oros., vii, 15.
- 28, 28. Rome. Clinton, *Fasti Rom.*, a. 167.
- 28, 30. Marcus. *M. Antonin.*, c. 13.
- 28, 35. plague. Hecker, *De peste Antoniana*, pp. 25-29.
- 28, 35. small-pox. Krause, *Über das Alter der Menschenpocken*; cf. A. Hirsch, *Hdb. der geographischen Pathologie*, i, 193 (who inclines to the same opinion).
- 28, 36. years. Galen, *Method. med.*, v, 12 ed. K., x, 360: κατὰ τὸν μέγαν τοῦτον λοιμὸν, ὃν εἴη ποτὲ παύσασθαι (written after 180; cf. Ackermann, *Hist. litt. in Galen*, ed. K. i, p. cxxvi), 5567 (Bedaïum, prope Seeon).
- 28, 39. ravages. *M. Antonin.*, c. 28., *CIL*, iii, 1, A.D. 182: per luem vita functi.
- 29, 1. day. Dio, lxxii, 14. Herodian, i, 12. *Hadrian.*, c. 21: fuerunt ejus temporibus fames, pestilentia, terrae motus. Plague of 250-262 (in which 5000 persons died daily, *Gallien.*, c. 5) and 270: Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.*, iii. Plague in Byzantium where daily 10,000 persons and more perished: Procop., *B. Pers.*, ii, 23.
- 29, 6. Rome. Cf. Appendix vii.
- 29, 7. town. Varro, *R.r.*, iii, 1, 4. Cf. W. Cowper, *Poems*, 1800 vol. ii, p. 41.

## II. THE COURT.

- 30, 20. ruler. Claudian, *IV cons. Honor.*, 296-302.
- 30, 27. shifted. *M. Antonin.*, *Comment.*, x, 27.
- 31, 2. failure. *Ib.*, iv, 32.
- 31, 3. present. *Ib.*, iv, 33 and 48.
- 31, 7. contemporaries. A number of such passages in Gronov *Diatrise in Statium*, p. 242.
- 31, 16. requisite. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 45; *ib.*, 46.
- 31, 18. monarch's. Herodian, i, 2, 4.
- 31, 27. punishment. Tac., *A.*, iii, 56; Aurel. Vict., *Epit.*, 9, 6.
- 31, 29. Pertinax. *Pertin.*, c. 8.
- 31, 33. wife. *Alex. Sev.*, c. 41.
- 31, 41. beginnings. Sueton., *De clar. rhetor.*, c. 1.
- 32, 4. athletes. Plutarch, *Conjug. praecc.*, § 17.
- 32, 6. science. Herodian, i, 2, 4.
- 32, 10. mock-philosophers. Dio, lxxi, 35.
- 32, 13. throngs. *E.g.*, *Bis accus.*, 6.
- 32, 16. Lucian's. Lucian, *Adv. indoct.*, 22.
- 32, 26. theriac. Galen, *D. antid.*, i, ed. K., xiv, p. 24 sqq.
- 32, 32. garlic. Plin., *N. H.*, xix, 90, 91; xiv, 16; xix, 108.
- 33, 27. resistance. Cf. Mazarin's system of depressing the nobility, keeping them out of office, and replacing them by people of humble extraction (*Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon*).

- 33, 35. freedom. Tac., *German.*, c. 25.  
 33, 39. page. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 76.  
 34, 27. Claudius. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 286 f. His opinion that the financial administration was centralized at this time is disputed by Mommsen *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 1001, 1.  
 34, 35. knights. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 58; but cf. Appendix i.  
 35, 2. Grievances. Sueton., *Domitian.*, c. 7.  
 35, 13. State. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 291 ff.  
 35, 25. Maecenas. Dio, lii, 25.  
 36, 2. State. Cf. Boecking, *Not. dign.*, ii, 1, 294\* sqq.: Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 194. Eunuchs were first introduced into Arabia by the Ommayyades in imitation of the Persian and Byzantine courts; Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 108.  
 36, 13. guards. Tac., *A.*, xv, 58.  
 36, 16. Orientals. Herodian, iii, 8, 11.  
 36, 19. Greeks. Cic., *Ad Qu. Fr.*, i, 5, 16.  
 36, 20. Caesar. Read 'Cicero'.  
 36, 24. Juvenal. Juv., 10, 174; Tac., *A.*, v, 10.  
 36, 30. shameless. Juv., 3, 57-114; Tac., *H.*, iii, 47: *desidiam licentiamque Graecorum*. For the antipathy between Greeks and Romans in the imperial age see Finlay, *Greece under the Romans*, 1857, pp. 78 ff.; Rohde, *Griech. Roman*, 298, 1.  
 36, 33. Philostratus. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 21, 5.  
 36, 37. Rome. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv, p. 357.  
 36, 38. Syrians. Herodian, iii, 11, 8; ii, 10, 7; ii, 7, 9; Dio, lxxvii, 6 and 10; Eunap., *Vitt. Soph.*, 178. See also O. Mueller, *Antiquitt. Antioch.*, p. 31 sqq.  
 37, 2. dealing. Suid., s. *Αλγυπτίαζειν*. Cf. Varges, *D. stat. Aegypti*, p. 22 sqq.  
 37, 2. Alexandrians. Caesar, *Bell. Alexandr.*, c. 3.  
 37, 4. gibes. Intpp., Martial, iv, 42; Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 1, 72; Quintilian, i, 2, 7; Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxii, p. 360, 4 and 393, 30; Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 569 sq.  
 37, 6. shamelessness. Cic., *Pro Rabir. Post.*, 12, 34; Seneca, *Consol. ad Helv.*, c. 19, 6; Dio, xxxix, 58.  
 37, 6. Egyptians. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 31; *Vit. Saturnin.*, c. 7.  
 37, 8. thralldom. Herodian, i, 17.  
 37, 8. luxurious. Juv., 15, 45. (Strabo, xvii, 1, 17, p. 801 Casaub.)  
 37, 9. rack. Ammian., xxii, 16, 23.  
 37, 10. hot-tempered. Curtius, iv, 5; Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.*; Dio, li, 17; Ammian., *loc. cit.* and xxii, 11, 4; v. *Saturnin.*, c. 7.  
 37, 10. quarrels. Ammian., xxii, 16, 23; xxii, 6, 1; Dio Chrys., *op. cit.*, p. 366, 4; Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 519 M.s.  
 37, 12. envious. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 521 M.  
 37, 13. reticent. Caesar, *Bell. Alexandr.*, c. 24, 4.  
 37, 13. obstinate. Ammian., *loc. cit.*  
 37, 16. restraint. Juv., *Sat.*, 15; Plutarch, *l.c.*; Tac., *Hist.*, i, 11.  
 37, 20. gibe. A. v. Kremer, *Aegypten*, i, 56 f.  
 37, 37. story. Cf. Appendix ii.  
 38, 9. Paul's. Bernhardt, *Gesch. Russlands*, ii, 2, 375.  
 38, 22. freedmen. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 69.  
 38, 24. Licinus. Hirschfeld, *V.G.*, p. 282, 1.

- 38, 34. tomb. Teuffel in *StRE*, iv, p. 1081 f.; *Mayor* on Juvenal, i, 109.
- 38, 37. Herod. Josephus, *A. J.*, xvii, 6, 1; *B. J.*, i, 32, 7.
- 39, 2. Tacitus. Tac., *A.*, iv, 7.
- 39, 5. freedman. Dio, lviii, 19; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 442, 1.
- 39, 6. Agrippa. Josephus, *A. J.*, xviii, 6, 1.
- 39, 8. Thallus. Josephus, *ib.*, 6, 4 *in f.*
- 39, 10. Euhodus. Josephus, *ib.*, 6, 8; perhaps identical with the Euhodus mentioned in Tac., *A.*, xi, 37 (48 A.D.), perhaps also with the one in Grut., 611, 12. . . . Euhodi Divi Aug. l. libertae vixit annos xiii etc. On a leaden pipe, quoted by Mommsen, *IRN*, 6829, 9 (aliena): cura Euhodae (sic) Aug. lib. proc. (but according to Lanciani, *Acque e acqued.*, p. 234, 154, this was almost certainly a freedman of Domitian's). Scribonius Largus, c. 162, p. 89, ed. Rhode, mentions an Anthero (sic) Tiberii libertus supra hereditates. Atimetus Pamphili Ti. Caesaris Aug. l. l. Anterotianus, *Anthol. lat.*, ed. Meyer, 1274 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 12,652.
- 39, 12. tables. Pliny, *H. N.*, xiii, 94.
- 39, 17. Callistus. Senec., *Epp.*, 47, 9.
- 39, 19. wealth. Joseph., *A. J.*, xix, 1, 10.
- 39, 22. Domitius. Dio, lix, 19; cf. Zonar., ii, 6 with Dio, lix, 25.
- 39, 25. emperor. Tac., *A.*, xi, 29; Dio, lix, 29.
- 39, 27. Claudius. Dio, lx, 19.
- 39, 30. least. Seneca, *Lud.*, 6.
- 39, 31. Empire. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 286.
- 39, 35. sentences. Sueton., *Claud.*, 29; Dio, lx, 17.
- 40, 1. servants. Sueton., *Claud.* c. 27 sq. Seneca, *Lud.*, 13, 5; Grut., 595, 2 = *CIL*, vi, 9016: Securitati sacr. Julia Phoebe sibi et Ti. Claudio Nardo et Arphocrae (sic) Aug. libertis procurator. conjugibus suis.
- 40, 4. Claudius. Probably for the same reason foreigners tried at all times to be received into the domestic service of the emperor, and certainly often enough obtained such posts by bribery. So Liban., ed. R., i, 565, 17: *μία γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ἀργοῖς καὶ φαγεῖν ἀγαθοῖς καταφυγή, τῶν διακόνων βασιλέως καὶ κληθῆναι καὶ νομισθῆναι, καὶ ταχὺ τὸ χρυσίον ἐποίει τὴν ἐγγραφὴν.*
- 40, 5. plane-tree. Pliny, *H. N.*, xii, 12.
- 40, 7. Nero's. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 37.
- 40, 7. Polycletus. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 37; ii, 95; Dio, lxiii, 12; Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 31.
- 40, 15. slave. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 39.
- 40, 16. Helius. *Id.*, xiii, 1.
- 40, 24. worse. Dio, lxiii, 12, cf. 18 sq.; Suet., *Nero*, c. 23; Tac., *Hist.*, i, 37: Polycliti et Vatinii et Helii (so Nipperdey, after Lipsius; the MS. reads aegialii, as in Suid. s.v. μελεδωνός the name is corrupted to Αἰλιανός).
- 40, 27. Pelago. Tac., *A.*, xi, 59.
- 40, 31. Epaphroditus. Cf. Appendix i.
- 40, 35. Patrobius. Plut., *Galba*, c. 17; Dio, lxiv, 2; *StRE*, v, 1243.
- 40, 37. Halotus. Suet., *Galba*, c. 16; cf. *Claudius*, c. 44; Tac., *A.*, xii, 66.

- 41, 3. favour. His name was restored by Nohl (*Hermes*, xv, 622) in Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 26 : βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Γαλβὰ προελθεῖν καὶ Οὐνίου μὲν οὐκ ἔωντος, Ἰκέλου (edd. Κέλσου) δὲ καὶ Λάκωνος παρορμίωντων.
- 41, 4. Icelus. Suet., *Galba*, c. 15; Tac., *Hist.*, i, 7.
- 41, 4. antecedents. E veteribus concubinis, Suet., *Galba*, c. 22.
- 41, 5. subservience. Plut., *Galba*, c. 7; Suet., *Nero*, c. 49.
- 41, 7. Praefecture. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 13; Suet., *Galba*, c. 14.
- 41, 9. pilfering. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 37; ii, 95.
- 41, 9. Otho. *Id.*, i, 46.
- 41, 10. consternation. Suet., *Otho*, c. 7; Dio, lxiv, 8.
- 41, 11. Moschus. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 87.
- 41, 26. crucified. Servili supplicio, Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 11. Cf. on him Suet., *Vitell.*, c. 12; Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 57 and 95.
- 41, 28. Apollonius. Philostrate, *Apollon. Tyan.*, v, 36, p. 101, 28, ed. Kayser.
- 41, 31. Vespasian. Suet., *Vespasian*, c. 16.
- 41, 36. knight. Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 12 and 28; iv, 39.
- 41, 37. power. Suet., *Domit.*, c. 7.
- 41, 38. Sigerus. Dio, lxvii, 15. More on him and the other freedmen of Domitian below.
- 42, 14. unsolicited. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 88.
- 42, 18. Nero. Plin., *Epp.*, vi, 31.
- 42, 20. adoption. *Hadr.*, c. 4. For *saepe lisse* Hirschfeld (*Wiener Studien*, 1881, p. 115 f.) read *ad se pellexisse*.
- 42, 25. over him. *Ib.*, c. 21; cf. 15.
- 42, 28. information. *Anton. P.*, c. 11 and 6.
- 42, 29. Geminus. Probably the 'Geminus comoedus' mentioned as the teacher of M. Aurelius in *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 2.
- 42, 30. Agaclytus. Domus L. Aurelii Agaclyti in the 7th region: Lanciani, *Acque e acquedotti*, p. 303. Cf. the inscription on a lead pipe (Bull. com. d. R., 1886, p. 102, 1150) L. Avr. Agaclyti Sabinae Avg. soror.
- 42, 32. Libo. Tillemont (Venice, 1732), ii, p. 354.
- 42, 35. Eclectus. *L. Ver.*, c. 9; cf. *M. Antonin.*, c. 15. Fronto writes to Charilas, a freedman of Verus (*Ad Ver.*, i, 4, ed. Naber, p. 118).
- 43, 1. fall. *Pertin.*, c. 14 and 12; Dio, lxxiii, 8-10.
- 43, 4. *Saturnalia*. Dio, lxxvi, 6; lxxvii, 18 and 21; lxxviii, 10; *Elag.*, c. 11.
- 43, 6. changed. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 269, 3.
- 43, 7. unaffected. For this reason freedmen of a former emperor often describe themselves as freedmen of the reigning emperor. *Ibid.*, p. 276 note. Cf. also *CIL*, vi, 8432: D. M. Ulpiae sive Aeliae Aug. lib. Apate et Ulpio Felici fil. . . . fecit P. Aelius Aug. lib. Florus . . . conjugii piissimae etc. Lanciani, *Acque e acquedotti*, p. 236, 162: Aeli Maximi Augustorum liberti; p. 249, 256, sqq.: Aeli Dionysi Augg. lib. Cf. also the inscriptions of Agilius Septentrio, *CIL*, xiv, 2113 and 2977.
- 43, 9. wind. Stat., *S.*, iii, 3, 84.
- 43, 12. Empire. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 47.
- 43, 13. Etruscus. As Hirschfeld has shown (*Zu den Silvae des Statius* in *Wiener Studien*, 1881, p. 273 f.); the cognomen of



this freedman of Tiberius is unknown, the son borrowed his cognomen from his well-born mother Etrusca (Statius, *Silvae*, iii, 3, 115, 111, 207).

- 43, 13. ninety. Cf. my notes on Martial, vii, 40, 6, and iv, 45, 4.  
 43, 16. disgrace. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 4. More on him below.  
 43, 28. poisoned. Suet., *Nero*, c. 35; Tac., *A.*, xiv, 65; Jos., *A. J.*, xix, 1, 10.  
 44, 2. Persian king. Cf. vol. ii, p. 135; Juv. 14, 329.  
 44, 2. Pallas. Tac., *A.*, xii, 53, 3.  
 44, 7. surplus. Suet., *Claud.*, c. 28.  
 44, 11. poverty. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 26, 11.  
 44, 25. shoeing. Suet., *Vespas.*, c. 23.  
 44, 29. business. Martial, iv, 5, 7.  
 44, 31. technical. Dirksen, *De scr. hist. Aug.*, p. 216 sqq. Cf. also Apulei., *Apol.*, p. 66, ed. Bip.  
 44, 36. smoke. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 23 sqq. and 36.  
 44, 39. custom. *Antonin. P.*, c. 11; Dio, lxix, 7.  
 45, 14. swindles. *Elagab.*, c. 10; Dio, lxxix, 16.  
 45, 18. eunuch. Juv., 14, 91.  
 45, 21. pillars. Juv., 14, 306.  
 45, 26. curiosity. Vol. ii, p. 189.  
 45, 27. gorgeous. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 7.  
 45, 33. silver. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 5; cf. vol. ii, p. 190. The *balneum Abascanti* in the first region (Preller, *R.d.StR.* p. 115) was perhaps built by Domitian's freedman of that name.  
 45, 39. garden. Pliny, *H. N.*, xviii, 7.  
 45, 40. Esquiline. Becker, *Topogr.*, p. 550. Frontin, *De aq.*, 25, 19, p. 16, 2. Α πραιῶριον παλλαντιανόν in the country of the Sabines is mentioned by Phlegon Trall., *De longaevis*, c. 4 sqq.; see Appendix ii.  
 46, 3. cold. Martial, viii, 68.  
 46, 8. cities. Dio, lxxii, 12. Cf. Preller, *op. cit.*, p. 114.  
 46, 11. munificence. Temple-building at Naples, *CIG*, iii, 5791. Thermae at Anagnia, Henzen, 7190.  
 46, 14. bath-water. Plin., *H. N.*, xiii, 22.  
 46 14. Baiae. *Ib.*, xxxi, 5.  
 46, 17. sand. *Ib.*, xxxv, 168.  
 46, 19. pomp. Cf. on the burial of Priscilla, the wife of Abascantus Stat., *Silv.*, v, 1, 208 sqq. and on that of Etruscus' father Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 3, 196 sqq. and vol. ii, p. 212. The monument of L. Aurelius Nicomedes was also remarkable. *AdI*, 1857, p. 87.  
 46, 24. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 29.  
 46, 32. servants. L. M. Hartmann, *De exilio apud Romanos* (Berol., 1887), p. 58, 3, concludes from Tacitus, *A.*, ii, 85, that as regards the penal law they belonged already at that time to the *humiliores*. On the right of the patron to their inheritance, cf. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 433; cf. ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 894, 2.  
 46, 39. Ring. On the bestowing of the gold ring apart from knight-hood (first under Commodus and perhaps introduced by him), see Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 893.  
 47, 3. Vespasian. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 6, 4; Suet., *Galba*, c. 14; Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 7; Suet., *Vitell.*, c. 12; Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 39;

Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 3, 143-145. Apparently Mommsen's opinion (*StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 837, 1) is right, that all the freedmen who performed equestrian duties under the early empire were also knighted. The same was probably the case with Licinus (because of his equestrian *cognomen*) and Antonius Felix. Pallas declined the right of the ring, so that he could remain a freedman of the emperor, and the ring in its original signification would have destroyed the right of the patronate. Hence the decision of the Senate in Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 6, 4: non exhortandum modo verum etiam compellendum ad usum aureorum anulorum. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 518, 3.

- 47, 6. Marcianus. Suet., *Galb.*, c. 14; Tac., *H.*, i, 13: (Icelum) anulis donatum equestri nomine (Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 209 and 426) vocitabant. Cf. Appendix iii.
- 47, 7. Avitus. Dio, lxxix, 16. His family was of Cotyaeum, where the name appears twice: Lebas-Waddington, 795, 798. M. Aurelius Verianus equo publico, whose parents Terpsilaus and Caria Aelii were apparently freedpeople of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, was himself, it appears, a freedman of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus; *Bull. com. d. R.*, i, 73; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 244, 3; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 518, 4.
- 47, 8. quaestor. Tac., *A.*, xii, 53.
- 47, 9. praetorship. *Ib.* and Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 6; Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxv, 201. The first knight who obtained praetorian rank was Sejanus: Dio, lvii, 19 sqq. Laco obtained quaestorian, Macro praetorian rank, *ib.*, lviii, 12. Suet., *Claud.*, c. 24: ornamenta consularia etiam procuratoribus ducenariis indulsit.
- 47, 11. Senate. Dio, lx, 16. The presence of freedmen in the Senate (mentioned by Dio, lxxiii, 8) was irregular.
- 47, 14. footing. Tac., *A.*, xii, 60. Cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 287; Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 1022, 2.
- 47, 17. generals. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 435.
- 47, 21. spectacles. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 28. On the former see the next section.
- 47, 22. person. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 396.
- 47, 24. Posides. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 28. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 3, 140, also mentions the permission, which the father of Etruscus obtained from Vespasian, to take part in the Jewish triumph, as a distinction. Cf. Gell., v, 6, 4.
- 47, 27. knighthood. Henzen, *AdI*, xxix, 90 sqq.
- 47, 35. noble. Plutarch, *Tranq. an.*, c. 13 sq.
- 47, 39. master. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 1, 20.
- 48, 20. exchequer. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 3, 4.
- 48, 22. disinterestedness. Tac., *A.*, xii, 53; Plin., *Epp.*, viii, 6.
- 48, 26. Narcissus. Suet., *Vitell.*, c. 2.
- 48, 27. Consuls. Suet., *Claud.*, c. 28.
- 48, 30. servant. Dio, lxxvi, 6.
- 48, 39. senators. *L. Julia, Digg.*, xxiii, 2, 44, cf. 31.
- 49, 3. unknown. *RStE*, iii, 443 f.
- 49, 7. Felix. Henzen, 5404 = *CIL*, v, 1, 34.
- 49, 10. War. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 3, 111.
- 49, 11. family. *Ib.*, v, 1, 53. Cf. Teuffel, *StRE*, i<sup>3</sup>, 1165.

- 49, 13. Marcus. Cf. p. 42.  
 49, 25. goats. Dio, ix, 29; cf. Meineke, *Fv. comm. Gr.*, iv, 614 (xlii.).  
 49, 28. intolerable. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 2; Dio, lxi, 3; Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 6.  
 49, 32. speaking. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 23; Dio, lxii, 14.  
 49, 41. welts. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.*, ii, 1, 12, 2; also in Macrobi., *Sat.*, vii, 1, 12.  
 50, 9. court. Martial, ix, 79.  
 50, 12. wrest. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 13, 22.  
 50, 17. knights. On the difference of title between *procuratores* who were freedmen and those of equestrian rank (plain *procuratores* and *procuratores Augusti*), cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 241, 1; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 558, 1.  
 50, 20. mostly. Cf. Eichhorst, *Quaest. epigr. de procuratorib. imp. Rom.* (Regim., 1861), pp. 28-30, and Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 67, 4.  
 50, 26. superiors. Eichhorst, *l. c.* A number of officials formerly regarded as procurators of provinces are held by Mommsen to be administrators of domains, particularly in Africa (*StR*, iii, 1, 555, 1).  
 50, 29. freedmen. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 200; cf. Appendix ix.  
 50, 31. knights. Hirschfeld, *ib.*, p. 168 f.  
 50, 36. procurators. *Ibid.*, p. 41.  
 50, 37. quarries. *Ibid.*, p. 83 f.  
 50, 39. provinces. *Ibid.*, p. 24 ff.  
 50, 40 and 51, 1. Pollio. Fabretti, 199, 486.  
 51, 5. elephants. Hirschfeld, p. 178.  
 51, 7. waterways. Orelli, 946.  
 51, 11. increase. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 559, 2.  
 51, 11. sesterces. Henzen, 6339 = *CIL*, vi, 246 = xiv, 2087.  
 51, 14. posts. Hirschfeld, p. 255, 7; 256, 3.  
 51, 23. published. *Ibid.*, p. 30 ff.  
 51, 41. successfully. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 3, 84. In line 78 for *longo* read *longum*, i.e., *diu*, as in *Silv.*, i, 3, 13; Martial, i, 31, 7; viii, 38, 15; ix, 181; Juv., 6, 65. Line 73 for *suis* read *subis*; line 99 for *exitus* read *anxius* (Hirschfeld, *Zu den Silvae des Statius in Oesterreich. Mitth.*, iii [1881], p. 273 ff.).  
 52, 8. administered. The enumerated revenues belong essentially to the *patrimonium* (Hirschfeld, p. 31, 5; *Greges oviarici dominici*, which were farmed, *IRN*, 4916 = *CIL*, ix, 2348; cf. Cosinus among the officials *a rationibus*), but there are exceptions, e.g., the corn supplies from Africa (Hirschfeld, p. 15, 3); Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 1006, 1) and the duties on ivory and pearls collected on the frontier of the empire (Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 275; supplies of glass from Egypt; *ibid.*, 234, 4).  
 52, 13. mint. Stat., *loc. cit.*, v, 85-106. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 1003, 1. [Besides the imperial house on the Palatine (indicated by *laquearia*) and the Flavian Mausoleum (*vultus divom*) reference is made to the splendid villa of Domitian on the Alban mount. In general the enumeration is probably made with special regard to his buildings and undertakings: *templa* (Capitoline, Vespasian's, Minerva's etc. *Martial*, ix, 3, 10);

*pila* (increased pay, Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 96); *tribus* (restoration of *Minucia vetus*: *VG*, 63; Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 128, 5 and the great *congiaria*, *ibid.*, 138); *Ausonia moneta* (Momm- sen, *R. Münzw.*, 754-757); *series viarum* (Schiller, *G. der R. Kaiserz.*, i, 533, 3; one must add the *via Domitiana* (*Stat.*, *S.*, iv, 3) which was at least under construction when the poem was composed). H.]

52, 17. accompanied. Hirschfeld, p. 270, 1.

52, 19. old. Martial, vi, 83; *Stat.*, *loc. cit.*, 146-161 (*curarum socius* equivalent to *adjutor*, as in Martial, vi, 68, 5).

52, 24. posterity. Besides the poem of Statius there is one by Martial (vii, 40).

52, 25. *libellis*. Hirschfeld, p. 207. Ed. Cuq, *Mém. sur le consilium principis d'Auguste*, in *Mémoires présentés à l'acad. des inscr.*, ix (1884), pp. 363-371.

52, 39. dry. Seneca, *Cons. ad. Polyb.*, c. 6.

52, 40. Polybius. *A studiis*, Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 28. Whether he held this office at the same time cannot be certainly inferred from Seneca *loc. cit.*, c. 5, 2: ab occupationibus tuis, id est a studio at a Caesare.

53, 9. envious. Seneca, *loc. cit.*, ii, 5; 8, 2; 2, 6.

53, 10. counsellorship. Cuq, *op. cit.*, p. 373 sqq. believes (referring to Gell., *N. A.*, iii, 16; *Vit. Alex. Severi*, c. 16) the purpose of the office *a studiis* to have been to furnish the emperor with precedents, indications and material of all kinds from history and literature for the decision of legal questions. Possibly this gradually became the chief duty of the official, but it was certainly never his exclusive function.

53, 11. Claudius. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 211 note; *CIL*, vi, 8636: *Ti. Claudius Lemnius Divi Claudii Augusti lib. a studiis*.

53, 11. constant. Orelli, 719, 2958, 6356 (magister a. st.; later procurator ducenar. stat. hered.) = *CIL*, vi, 8636-8638.

53, 12. staffed. *CIL*, vi, 8637: Terpsilaus Aug. lib. prox. a studiis scholam officii.

53, 13. 60,000. Inscription of Caelius Saturninus *CIL*, vi, 1704.

53, 14. reserved. *CIG*, iii, 5900; cf. the appendix. *AdI*, 1853, p. 57 (inscription of Lyons: Boissieu, i, 28, p. 43; Henzen, 6355): M. Aemilius Laetus a studiis Augusti. *CIL*, x, 1487 (magistro [studi]orum). *CIL*, vi, 1608 (magistro a studiis Augg. procuratori prov. Asiae). *CIL*, v, 2, 8972 (Aquileia): — viro perfectissimo magistro sacrarum cognitionum a studiis et a consiliis Augg. (From the third century, and certainly not from its earlier decades, the office *a consiliis* is apparently here combined with the head office of *studia*; this title was not hitherto authenticated before the time of Constantine. Hirschfeld, *Archäol. epigr. Mitth.*, i, 57). Mommsen, *De C. Caelii Saturnini titulo*, in *Nuove mem. dell' Inst.*, p. 328 sq. names as the latest passage, in which *magistri studiorum* are referred to, a law of the year 338 (*C. Th.*, xii, 1, 26). But probably here *studiorum* is corrupt; cf. Gothofred., and Haenel on the passage. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 221 note. Mommsen's opinion that the office *a studiis* was called in later times *scrinium memoriae* is



- not tenable, because the latter existed already in Caracalla's time. Cf. Appendix viii, p. 48, and Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 210, 2.
- 53, 16. Library. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 330, 1.
- 53, 21. thoughts. Martial, v, 5.
- 53, 21. official. But certainly not 'Oberstudienrath für das ganze Reich' as Hirschfeld thinks (*VG*, 211 note). Orelli, 6356 = *CIL*, x, 4721 : L. Vibio Fortunato L(aurenti Lavinati) haruspici Aug. n. magistr. a studiis proc. ducenario stationis hereditatium. In the inscription *Eph. ep.*, v, 579, n. 1376 (*Add. Aug. CIL*, iii) : ar . . . sanct(issimi) domini n. Antonini Aug. ducenario et a musio sac. perpet. dei Aesc(ulapi) pa. . . . Mommsen, surely erroneously, thinks a *musio* identical with a *studiis*, because of the high salary.
- 53, 24. *epistolis*. Fronto, ed. Niebuhr, p. 81, *De Elog.*, 21 : Caesarum est . . . per orbem terrae litteras missitare.
- 54, 1. busier. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 1, 83.
- 54, 3. office. Cf. Appendix viii.
- 54, 7. extortions. Liban., ed. R., i, 565 sq.
- 54, 13. priests. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 1, esp. 83-107, and praef. *Domus divina* occurs here not for the first time in literature, but already in Phaedr., *Fabb.*, v, 7 extr. : superbiens honore divinae domus. Also in inscriptions it appears not only after 170, as Henzen first thought (*Ind.*, p. 57), but, as he remarked later (*BdI*, 1872, p. 105), earlier, especially in the Chichester inscription which undoubtedly belongs to the first century : *CIL*, vii, 11 = Orelli, 1338 (a *collegium fabrorum* erects a temple (pr)o salute do(mus) divinae (ex) auctoritate (Ti.) Claud. (? Co) gidubni r(egis) ? Tac., *Agr.*, c. 14) lega(ti) Aug. in Brit(annia) ; cf. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 818, 2 [and Mowat, *Bull. epigr. B.*, 5, 6. H.].
- 54, 26. command. Cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 204, 4 (as against Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 378, 3. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 851, 3 reads in Stat., v, 94 quis centum valeat frenare manipulis Intermixtus equos, and understands the command of the legionary cavalry).
- 55, 2. remains. Canina, *Topogr. d. v. App.*, *AdI*, xxv, 148 and *Via Appia*, i, p. 63. About 5 *miglie* from these remains, near the sixth milestone of the *Via Appia* was found in 1485 in a sarcophagus without inscription an artificially preserved female corpse, which Pomponius Laetus supposed to be the body of Cicero's daughter, Tullia or Priscilla. Chr. Hülsen, *Die Aufindung der römischen Leiche vom Jahre 1485*, in *Mitth. d. österr. Inst. f. Geschichtsforschg.*, iv, pp. 433-449.
- 55, 6. calligraphy. Plutarch, *D. Pyth. oracc.*, c. 7. For existing edicts (written *per cola et commata*) from the imperial chancellery of the fifth century see Mommsen, *Fragmente zweier lateinischer Kaiserrescripte auf Papyrus*, in Bekker and Muther, *Jahrb. d. gem. deutschen Rechts*, vi, 398 ff. Cf. Egger, *Obs. sur la fonction de secrétaire des princes*, p. 22.
- 55, 11. Hermes. Cf. Appendix viii.
- 55, 15. secretary. *Ibid.*
- 55, 22. verse. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 12 ; cf. i, 17.
- 55, 24. biographies. Their publication occurs in the year 120

(Roth. ed. Sueton. praef., p. ix ; cf. Appendix viii) ; it is possible that Suetonius obtained the office as early as 117.

- 55, 26. Sabine. *Hadrian.*, c. 11.  
 55, 34. reach out. Cf. Appendix viii.  
 55, 40. stylists. Dio, lxix, 3.  
 56, 1. chancery. Phrynichus, *Epit.*, p. 418, ed. Lobeck.  
 56, 12. co-regent. *Id. ib.*, p. 379.  
 56, 16. humanists. Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, pp. 224-227.  
 56, 23. letter. Philostrat., *Vitt. Soph.*, ii, 24, 1 sq.  
 56, 31. interpreter. *Id. ib.*, ii, 33, 3.  
 56, 36. staff. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 17.  
 56, 37. never. Henzen, *AdI*, xxix, 88 note. Freedmen : Or., 1635, 2905, 2906, 4663, 6334, *BdI*, 1862, p. 33. Cf. *CIL*, vi, 8758-8794 ; x, 6773 ; xiv, 3031 ; *CIG*, 2947 (prope Nysam Cariae) : Φυλὴ Καيسάρηον Πό[πλιον] Αἰλίον Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐπὶ κοιτῶνος Σεβ. φιλόπατριν καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως, 2948. The same man in Lebas-Waddington, 1652 sq. ; his son 1666. *CIG*, 3804. Slaves : *CIG*, 6418 (κοιτωνῆται Καίσαρος.  
 56, 40. stations. Henzen, *AdI*, 1856, 48, no. 139. Marquardt, *Privatl. d.R.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 144, 5, understands day and night duty.  
 57, 2. corn. O. Hirschfeld, *Philol.*, xxix, 55, 73 sq., *Ab aegris cubic.*, e.g. *BdI* 1864, 9 ; *Bull. comun.*, v, 1877, p. 173 (a frum. cub. . . . ab aeg.), 1866, p. 413, 1670.  
 57, 5. Cic., *Ad Att.*, vi, 2, 5.  
 57, 8. nobles. *Mémoires du Duc de Saint-Simon*.  
 57, 13. right-servant. Read 'rest-servant'.  
 57, 13. bodyguard. Philo., *Leg. ad Gai.*, 571 M.  
 57, 33. slave. *Ib.*, 570 and 576.  
 57, 34. executed. *Ib.*, 576.  
 57, 40. Sigerus. Martial, iv, 78.  
 58 1. chamber. Sueton., *Domit.*, 16. Dio, lxvii, 15. Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 35. On the form Sigerius cf. Letronne, *Recueil des inscr. de l'Egypte*, i, p. 159 (Ἐπαφρόδιτος δοῦλος Σειγηριανός). *CIL*, viii, 10,983 (Caesarea m.) : Dis Manibus | Flavius Sigerius | summa rudis etc. Also in Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 17 read Sigerius for Saturius.  
 58 2. sword. Dio, *loc. cit.* Cf. vol. i of this work, p. 47.  
 58, 5. suppliants. Martial, v, 6.  
 58, 7. throne. Dio, lxvii, 15.  
 58 11. Muse. Martial, xi, 1.  
 58, 12. poet. *Id.*, v, 6 ; xii, 11 ; iv, 45 ; viii, 28 ; ix, 49.  
 58, 17. success. *Id.*, xii, 11.  
 58, 19. fallen. Aurel. Vict., *Epit.*, 25. Perhaps he is mentioned in the inscription *CIL*, vi, 8761 : Ti. Claudius Eutomus Partheni Aug. liberti a quibiclo (*sic*) libertus. In that case Nero must have already freed him ; cf. Mommsen, *loc. cit.*  
 58, 29. temple. Dio, lxxii, 12 ; cf. lxxvii, 21 ; *Commod.*, c. 3 and 4. He appears in a list of priests of the *domus Augusta Palatina* as *Aelius Saoterus*, *CIL*, vi, 2010.  
 58, 29. Cleander. Herodian, i, 12 sq. ; *Commod.*, c. 5-7 ; Dio, lxxii, 9 sqq.

- 59, 2. freedman. *Commod.*, c. 6. Cf. Dio, lix, 26. On the *pugio* as *insigne* cf. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 434; also this work, i, 47. Hirschfeld (*VG*, p. 229) believes that the other two had no *pugio*. I believe that the intention was to indicate assassination, as his real office, from Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 49 (two *libelli* found in the possession of Caligula had the titles *gladius* and *pugio*; *ambo nomina et notas continebant morti destinatorum*).
- 59, 8. master. *Commod.*, c. 15.
- 59, 11. soldiers. Herodian, i, 17; Dio, lxxii, 22. *Pertinax*, c. 4 and 11.
- 59, 13. Caracalla. Dio, lxxvi, 14, where O. Hirschfeld reads τὴν μὴμην for τὴν γυνάμην ἐπέπιστευτο.
- 59, 15. *memoria*. Dio, lxxviii, 32; Herodian, iv, 8, 4.
- 59, 17. made. Cf. vol. i, pp. 45, 47. Galen mentions a Chari-lampes (ὁ κοιτωνίτης), xiv, 624.
- 59, 29. another. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 6, 31.
- 59, 34. freedman. One Julius Orpheus Pyladis l. (10 A.D.) in a Roman *columbarium* (Henzen, *AdI*, 1856, 12, no. 23), perhaps one of his musicians; *CIL*, ii, 2370 (conv. Bracar. Aug.): Duri C. Julius Pylades.
- 59, 35. Tiberius. Ti. Julius Aug. l. Mnester, Gruter, 615, 1. Nipperdey on Tac., *A.*, xi, 4. Cf. vol. ii, p. 114.
- 59, 38, 39. Domitia. L. Domitius Paris. One L. Domitius Agathemerus Paridis lib. *CIL*, xiv (with note).
- 60, 15. executed. Cf. vol. ii, p. 114.
- 60, 8. actor. In an inscription at Lanuvium (of the year 192?) *CIL*, xiv, 2113 he is called M. Aurel. Aug. lib.; in another of Praeneste of the time of Severus and Caracalla (*ib.*, 2977) M. Aurelius Augg. lib.
- 60, 10. Armenia. Perhaps chief of the staff; Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 853, 4. The command involved, no doubt, equestrian rank; Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL iii* (*Ephem. epigr.*, v, p. 578).
- 60, 10. Saoterus. Dio, lxxvii, 21.
- 60, 16. tribunes. *Vitt. Juv. Sat.*, vii, 90-92.
- 60, 20. freedom. Dio, lix, 5; Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 567 M.
- 60, 28. then. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 33.
- 60, 34. chains. Joseph., *Vit.*, c. 3.
- 60, 34. Emperor. Martial, x, 28.
- 60, 37. occurrences. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 15.
- 60, 38. feared. Schol. *Juv.*, 4, 53; cf. *Juv.*, i, 36.
- 61, 1. Carinus. Read 'Earinus'.
- 61, 12. Pergamus. *Stat., Silv., praef.* and iii, 4; Martial, ix, 16, 36.
- 61, 17. Africa. De Rossi, *Bull. d. Arch. crist.*, i, 72 and v, 75; Wilmanns, 163.
- 61, 23. God. Visconti e Lanciani, *Guida del Palatino*, pp. 78-86. (Julius) Philetaerus Aug. lib. paedagogus p(uerorum) C. n. *BdI*, 1865, p. 149. A subpaedagogus, Or., 2940. Tib. Claudius Aug. lib. Hermes m(agister) pueror. dom. August., Or., 2145. Cf. all the inscriptions *CIL*, vi, 8965-8990, where besides 'paedagogi' stand also 'praeceptores puerorum Caesaris n.' (8978 s.). *Paedagogi* of the imperial family at Carthage. *Add. ad CIL viii* (*Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 305), 380, 381. An ἀλειπτῆς

- παλδων Καίσαρος, *CIL*, iii, 2, 1434. The school for pages 'a capite Africa', 8982 ss. (Becker, *Topogr.*, i, 508).
- 61, 32. life. Joseph., *A. J.*, xvii, 5, 7 sqq.; *B. J.*, i, 32, 6, 7. Le-tronne, *Rec. des inscript. de l'Egypte*, v, ii, p. 359.
- 61, 36. years. Sueton., *Otho*, c. 2.
- 62, 5. St. Simon. *Mémoires du Duc de St.-Simon*.
- 62, 11. Empress. Tac., *A.*, xi, 29 sqq.
- 62, 26. Attali. Dio, lxi, 7; Tac., *A.*, xiii, 12 sqq.; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 28; *CIL*, x, 7980 (Olbia in Sardinia) Claudia Aug. l. Pythias Acteniana. Mommsen explains this *cognomen*, which is elsewhere used only in the families of men of the highest rank or of foreign kings, as due to her alleged royal origin, but we find it also in the families of freedmen who passed from the service of Caenis to that of the emperor. See vol. i, p. 63.
- 62, 29. sesterces. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 50.
- 62, 31. vocalist. Fabretti, *Inscr. ant.*, p. 124 G, 125 F, 125 G (*CIL*, vi, 3, 15,357). Henzen, 5412 (= 6425), 5413; Orelli, 2885; *CIL*, vi, 3, 15,137-15,176; *CIL*, x, 7640, 7980, 7984.
- 62, 33. Puteoli. Ph. a Turre, *Mon. vet. Antii.*, pp. 121-123 = Lanciani, *Acque e acquedotti*, pp. 245, 226.
- 63, 33. Velitrae. Lanciani, *op. cit.*, pp. 244, 214; cf. p. 304.
- 62, 34. Sardinia. *CIL*, x, 8046 a-e. Amphora with the inscription: Claud. Act., De Rossi, *Bull. mun. d. R.*, ii (1874), p. 197. Arthur Loth's essay, *Acté, sa conversion au christianisme*, in *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, ix [1875], pp. 58-113, is not worth refuting.
- 62, 39. memory. Dio, lxvi, 14; Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 3.
- 63, 7. him. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 12.
- 63, 18. children. *BdI*, 1864, p. 25 sq. = *CIL*, vi, 2, 12,037. Fl. Aug. lib. Helpis Caenidiana, in Or., 4647 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 18,358 (cf. 18,357). Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Hermes Caenidianus, in *CIL*, vi, 2, 15,110.
- 63, 20. Guards. *Anton. P.*, c. 8.
- 63, 22. Faustina. Henzen-Or., 5466 = *CIL*, vi, 8972.
- 63, 24. stepmother. *M. Anton.*, c. 29.
- 63, 28. Smyrna. Lucian, *Imagines*.
- 64, 11. well. *Pro imaginibus*.
- 64, 22. husks. M. Antonin., *Comm.*, viii, 37.
- 64, 24. love-boys. *Commod.*, c. 5.
- 64, 25. courtesanship. Aurel. Vict., *epit.*, 17, 5.
- 64, 26. magic. *Commod.*, c. 8.
- 64, 25. Marcia. Aurel. Vict., *Epit.*, 17, 5 (Marcia generis libertini). Perhaps identical with Marcia Aurelia Ceionia Demetrias stolata femina, Henzen, 7190, 2 = *CIL*, x, 5918 (Anagnia); her father was perhaps M. Aurel. Sabinianus Augg. lib., Henzen, 7190 = *CIL*, x, 5917. Filiae praeterea alia nomina duo videtur imposuisse in memoriam patronorum, alterum Marciae a Marco, alterum Ceioniae a L. natura Ceionio, antequam adoptione nomen mutaret. Mommsen.
- 64, 26. magic. Commodus, c. 5.
- 64, 29. conspiracy. Dio, lxxii, 4.
- 64, 31. arena. *Commod.*, c. 11.



- 64, 33. shield. Eckhel, *D. N.*, vii, p. 128; Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, iii, pl. 4.
- 64, 35. fire. Herodian, i, 16, 4.
- 64, 40. Victor. *Ref. Haeres.*, ix, 2; cf. vol. iii, p. 201. Adolphe de Ceuleneer, *Marcia la favorite de Commode*, in *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, xi, 1876, pp. 156-168, does not believe that so immoral a person could have been a Christian. Cf. however Aubé, *Le christianisme de Marcia*, in *Rev. archéol.*, 1879, pp. 154-175.
- 65, 4. murder. Herodian, i, 16; Dio, lxxii, 22; *Commod.*, c. 17.
- 65, 11. goodness. *Pertinax*, c. 5.
- 65, 13. executed. Dio, lxxiii, 16.
- 65, 16. palace. These had two names like the *servi publici*, but were treated in the *privilegia* of law as private slaves. Sometimes they have free *conjuges* (e.g., *CIL*, x, 529). Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 836, 5.
- 65, 21. purpose. Seneca, *De benef.*, iii, 28, 4.
- 65, 23. might be. *Hadrian*, c. 21.
- 65, 25. slaves. *Id.*, c. 23.
- 65, 28. Claudius. Dio, lx, 12; cf. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 67.
- 65, 30. privy. This is meant literally. Louis XIV had two inspectors of the royal night-stool (with a salary of 20,000 *livres* each). Taine, *Origines d.l. France contemporaine*, i, p. 125. See p. 127 on the crowd of domestics at the court of France at that time.
- 65, 39. Felicio. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 19, 16.
- 65, 41. insolence. *Id. ib.*, iv, 1, 149.
- 66, 4. support. *Id. ib.*, iii, 8, 31.
- 66, 5. woo him. *Id. ib.*, iv, 7, 23.
- 66, 7. death. Martial, viii, 52; xi, 6, 10.
- 66, 12. eunuchs. Liban., ed. R., i, 565.
- 66, 17. gardeners. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 195 note.
- 66, 22. slavery. Liban., *loc. cit.*
- 66, 35. purchased. Phaedr., ii, 5.
- 66, 37. intendants. They were always slaves. Fabretti, *Inscr. Ant.*, p. 293 sqq., cf. p. 334; Henzen, *Ind.*, p. 183; *CIL*, iii, 1, 354; Lebas-Waddington, 1719; Mommsen, *CIL*, v, 1, 83, and *Eph. ep.*, v, p. 590, 1391; 621, 1451; *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 839, 3 and 4; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 278. One M. Licinius Eutychus, qui dispensavit Volusio Torquato in *Bull. comun.*, i (1872), p. 92, was evidently only freed when he was no longer in this office. The inscriptions of the city of Rome: *CIL*, vi, 8819-8845. In Latium: *CIL*, xiv, 2259 (= Or., 2864), 3567 (= Or., 1914), 3639, 3920 (Felix Ti. Claudii Caesar. Augusti dispens. Fabianus). Cf. generally index, p. 560. The inscription describing the career of an imperial slave in Hirschfeld, p. 203, 1, is a forgery, as H. himself informs me.
- 66, 37. Court. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 12; *Vesp.*, c. 22.
- 66, 41. atrocity. Pliny, *H. N.*, vii, 129.
- 67, 1. extort. Sueton., *Otho*, c. 5.
- 67, 7. ones. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 145; Tertull., *De pall.*, c. 5.
- 67, 15. unspecified. Henzen, 6651.
- 67, 26. Nero. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 7.

- 67, 29. Commodus. Niebuhr, *Praef. ad Fronton.*, p. xxi.  
 67, 31. Rome. Quintilian, lib. iv, *prooem.*  
 67, 33. Gadara. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 57. On his residence in Rome cf. Cichorius, *Rom. und Mytilene*, p. 162 f.  
 67, 35. Herodes. *M. Anton.*, c. 2 and 3.  
 64, 40. 100,000. Sueton., *De ill. gramm.*, c. 17.  
 68, 3. heir-apparent. *Anton. P.*, c. 10; cf. *M. Anton.*, c. 3; Lucian, *Demon.*, 31; *M. Anton. Comment.*, i, 8.  
 68, 4. gymnasia. Herodian, i, 4, 9. On Julian's attendance at school in Antioch see Libanius, ed. R., i, 525, 7 sqq.  
 68, 10. Maximinus. Auson., *Ad Gratian. imp. gratiar. act. pro. cons.*, ed. Toll, p. 713.  
 68, 13. apartments. *CIL*, vi, 8895-8910; *ib.*, 8646, 8647 (medic. domus Augustianae), 8656 (medic. dom. Pal.), 8671 (medicus ex hortis Sallustianis).  
 68, 14. specialized. Cf. e.g., *M. Anton. Comm.*, viii, 31; Or., 2974, 4227; Sueton., *Cal.*, c. 8. Scribon. Larg., c. 120: ut ab eius (Cassii) servo Atimeto accepi, legato Tiberii Caesaris (*i.e.*, who came into Tiberius' possession as a legacy, Buecheler, *Rh. M.*, xxxvii, 324) quia is eam solitus erat componere.  
 68, 22. Xenophon. He is the first who bears the title ἀρχιατρός (τῶν θεῶν Σεβαστῶν *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, v, p. 479).  
 68, 25. much. Plin., *H. N.*, xxix, 7.  
 68, 31. theriac. Galen, xiv, 4.  
 68, 33. board. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 42.  
 68, 35. Theodoric. Marquardt, *Privatl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 776.  
 68, 37. Charicles. Tac., *A.*, vi, 50.  
 68, 38. Cretan. Galen calls him ἀρχιατρός (*Theriac. ad Pis.*, p. 470); Sprengel, *Gesch. d. Arzneik.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 70 f.  
 68, 39. campaign. Martial, xi, 60, 6; C. Mueller, *Fragm. hist. Gr.*, iv, 373 s.  
 68, 40. Hermogenes. Dio, lxi, 22.  
 68, 41. Demetrius. ἀρχιατρός, Galen, ed. K., xiv, 4.  
 68, 41. Commodus. Sprengel, ii, 140.  
 69, 3. Menecrates. *CIG*, 6604, 6607. Augustus' physician M. Antoninus Asclepiades, Sprengel, ii, 27.  
 69, 6. associates. Dio, liii, 30.  
 69, 9. situation. Cf. Appendix viii, p. 42 n.  
 69, 14. Claudius. His inscriptions in M. Dubois, *Un médecin de l'emp. Claude*, in *Bull. d. Corr. Hellén.*, v (1881), pp. 461-476, and Briau, *Rev. arch.*, xxiii (1882), pp. 203-216; *CIL*, vi, 8905 (Cosmiae | C. Stertini Xenophontis | medici Augusti etc.) *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, p. 104, 1160: leaden pipe in Villa Casali with the inscription, Stertini Xenophontis; cf. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 333, 2.  
 69, 15. well. Tac., *A.*, xii, 67.  
 69, 18. murder. *Id.*, xii, 77.  
 69, 20. Nero. [φιλονέρων]a according to the certain emendation of Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 479, in place of φιλοκλαύδιον erased.  
 69, 23. access. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 20.  
 69, 25. extant. *StRE*, vi, 2532 f.  
 69, 29. with her. Tac., *A.*, iv, 3, 11.

- 69, 34. wrongly. Galen, *De prænот. ad Epig.*, c. 5, ed. K., xiv, 625.  
 69, 39. fatalism. *Refut. hæres.*, iv, 7, ed. Duncker, p. 62.  
 69, 40. foretold. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 3.  
 70, 5. prediction. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 23; Tac., *Hist.*, i, 22.  
 70, 9. vain. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 92-94.  
 70, 10. counsellors. *Ibid.*, p. 93 f.  
 70, 12. monarchs. Joseph., *A. J.*, xviii, 6, 9; cf. Tac., *A.*, vi, 20 and 46; *Hadrian*, c. 16; *Ael. Ver.*, 2; *Sever.*, 3; *Geta*, 2, 3. *Alexdr.*, 5; Dio, lxxvi, 11 and 14.  
 70, 14. companion. Tac., *A.*, vi, 20 sq.; Sueton., *Aug.*, 98; *Tiber.*, 14, 62; Dio, lvii, 15; lviii, 27; Schol. Juv., vi, 576. One (Ti. Claudius Ti., Cl)audi Thrasylli (l.—without *cognomen*) at Smyrna (*Eph. ep.*, v, p. 57, 147) was perhaps his freedman.  
 70, 18. town. Dio, lxvi, 9.  
 70, 22. danger. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 36; Tac., *A.*, xv, 47; Dio, lxi, 18.  
 70, 24. marriage. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 22.  
 70, 29. honour. Dio, lvii, 10; Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 10; Dio, lxxviii, 2.  
 70, 35. live. Dio, lxvii, 15.  
 71, 12. senators. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 902-904.  
 71, 4. business. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 55.  
 71, 6. Severus. Herodian, vi, 1, 3; Dio, lxxxi, 1; Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 903, 3.  
 71, 11. friends. Juv., 4, 74 sq., 88.  
 71, 28. companions. *Hadrian.*, c. 18.  
 71, 33. part. Mommsen, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 988 ff.; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 215 ff.  
 72, 2. friends. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 6.  
 72, 7. prevail. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 65.  
 72, 20. like. Dio, Chr., *Or.*, iii, ed. Dindorf, i, 55 sqq.  
 72, 21. Priscus. *Hadrian*, c. 4.  
 72, 24. views. *Antonin. Pius*, c. 6.  
 72, 26. to him. *M. Antonin.*, c. 7.  
 72, 29. to his. *Id.*, c. 22.  
 72, 33. Emperor. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 18.  
 72, 35. near. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 1, 95.  
 72, 38. affairs. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 29.  
 73, 2. fabrications. *Id.*, c. 66.  
 73, 9. assembly. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vi, 34.  
 73, 10. admission. *Id.*, *De clementia*, i, 10. Primi et secundi loci: *Alex. Sever.*, c. 20.  
 73, 16. kinsmen. *E.g.*, Dio, lxix, 1; *Hadrian*, c. 15.  
 73, 16. Youth. *E.g.*, *M. Antonin.*, c. 13.  
 73, 21. friends. Sueton., *Vita Lucani*.  
 73, 23-55. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 12 and 46; Sueton., *Otho*, c. 3 sq.; Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 19.  
 73, 34. Emperor. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 270, 3.  
 73, 41. being. Henzen, 6429 = *CIL*, iii, 1, 781.  
 74, 6. work. Orelli, 4997; Lebas-Waddington, 1874.  
 74, 14. preserved. Mommsen in Bekker and Muther, *Jahrb. d. gem. Rechts*, vi, 407. Also the *magister memoriae*, Eumen., *Pro restaur. scholis*, c. 14.

- 74, 18. father. Dio, lxxii, 14.  
 74, 21. *parentem*. *Cod.*, viii, 38, 4; iv, 65, 4.  
 74, 24. assembly. *Did. Julianus*, c. 4, where read 'fratrem' etc. for 'patrem vel filium vel parentem'.  
 74, 28. inscriptions. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, 129 f.  
 74, 30. repasts. *Hadrian*, c. 9.  
 74, 31. occasions. *Antoninus Pius*, c. 12.  
 74, 34. abstained. *M. Antonin.*, *Comment.*, i, 16.  
 74, 37. pride. *M. Antonin.*, c. 29.  
 74, 38. uninvited. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 4.  
 74, 39. lived. *Hadrian*, c. 8: optimos quosque de senatu in contubernium imperatoriae majestatis adscivit; *Clod. Albin.*, c. 14: unum ex contubernalibus suis. On the other hand, Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 989: 'Probably the office of *consiliarius Augusti* involved the obligation to be ready for this duty in the palace, so that the *consilarii* were so to speak members of the emperor's household'.  
 74, 41. *amicorum*. Gruter, 63, 1 (= Or., 1588), 70, 2 (= Or., 2907), 598, 1, 2, 3, 4 (5 = Or., 2908 not genuine); Or., 2392 (all freedmen); *CIL*, vi, 604, 630, 8793-8799; xiv, 206, 3565. Marquardt, *Privatl. d. R.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 145 note, understands by it the *nomenclator ab admissione*.  
 75, 2. *comites*. Tacit., *A.*, i, 47: ceterum ut iam iamque iturus legit comites; conquisivit impedimenta.  
 75, 4. Republican. Mommsen, *Die comites Augusti der früheren Kaiserzeit in Hermes*, iv, 120ff. Their principal function was to serve as *consilium* to the emperor when travelling. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 836, 1. It is striking that among the few imperial *comites* mentioned in inscriptions in addition to one senatorial knight of Hadrian's time (*CIL*, viii, 7036) there is only one knight of the later time of Severus (*CIL*, xii, 856: C. Julio Pacatiano . . . adlecto inter comites Auggg. nnn.); perhaps the equestrian *comites* had previously no right to this title. *Ibid.*, 836, 2.  
 75, 9. returned. Sueton., *Caligula*, c. 19; Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, p. 124, 2. A round plate apparently for labelling luggage with the inscription: Ex comitatu | Imp. Domitiani Aug. | Germanici—ab aquis | Statiellis, in Wilmanns, 2752.  
 75, 11. senatorial. *M. Antonin.*, c. 8.  
 75, 13. pressure. *M. Antonin.*, *Comment.* i, 16.  
 75, 16. ill. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 7.  
 75, 20. home. *Id.*, *Vespas.*, c. 4.  
 75, 21. staked. Pseudo-Hygin., *Mun. castr.*, 10, 33, 39.  
 75, 24. largess. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 299 f.  
 75, 30, 400,000. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 46.  
 75, 31. friends. Quintilian, vi, 3, 52.  
 75, 33. ruinous. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 596 M.  
 75, 38. discipline. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 20.  
 75, 40. provincials. *Anton. Pius*, c. 7.  
 76, 6. Senate. The above follows Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, 129 ff. cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 271, 2.  
 76, 13. funeral. Dio, lvii, 11; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 32; cf. *Aug.*, c. 53.



- 76, 15. Trajan. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 35 ; Dio, lx, 3 ; lxxviii, 7.  
 76, 17. piece. Sueton., *Otho*, c. 4 ; Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 20 ; Tac., *Hist.*, i, 24.  
 76, 21. 4,000,000. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 27.  
 76, 22. Egypt. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 93.  
 76, 26. palace. Galen, xiv, p. 217.  
 76, 30. guard. Dio, lxxviii, 7 ; Auson., *Ad Gratian. gratiar. act.*, p. 300, ed. Bip ; p. 733, ed. Toll.  
 76, 36. popularity. *Hadrian*, c. 17.  
 76, 37. freedmen. *Ib.*, c. 9.  
 76, 41. town. *Ib.*, c. 17, 26 ; Dio, lxxix, 7.  
 77, 1. Hadrian. Or., 804 ; cf. Gruter, 107, 8 (hospes Ti. Caesaris).  
 77, 3. Emperor. *Hadrian*, c. 23.  
 77, 6. humbler. *Antoninus Pius*, c. 11 ; *Alex. Sever.*, c. 4, 20.  
 77, 9. Mucianus. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 13.  
 77, 14. dumb. *Antoninus Pius*, c. 11.  
 77, 25. received. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 18 ; xiv, 53-55.  
 77, 28. possessed it. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 50 ; cf. Rudorff, *Zeitschr. f. gescht. Rechtsw.*, xii, 371 f.  
 77, 29. invariable. *Hadrian*, c. 15.  
 77, 30. friends. Dio, lxx, 7.  
 77, 32. bestow. *M. Antonin.*, c. 3.  
 77, 36. notable. Victor, *Epit.*, c. 37.  
 77, 38. avaricious. Lib., ed. R., i, 589 sq.  
 77, 41. propertied. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 294.  
 78, 2. disappointment. Sueton., *August.*, c. 66.  
 78, 5. place. *Ibid.* c. 101. Cf. Dio, lvi, 32.  
 78, 14. again. Galen, xvii B, 150.  
 78, 24. friend. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 8, 41-50.  
 78, 30. all. Tac., *A.*, iii, 30.  
 78, 33. banishment. *Id.*, *Hist.*, iv, 8.  
 78, 37. countenance. Seneca, *De ira*, ii, 33, 2.  
 78, 40. visages. Juvenal, 4, 72 sqq.  
 79, 8. yesterday. Dio, lxxviii, 15.  
 79, 12. end. Sueton., *August.*, c. 66.  
 79, 14. death. Cf. vol. i, p. 80.  
 79, 15. escaped. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 55.  
 79, 15. Caligula. *Id.*, *Caligula*, c. 26.  
 79, 19. friends. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 13, 5.  
 79, 22. houses. *Hadrian*, c. 11.  
 79, 24. own. *Ib.*, c. 15.  
 79, 33. happy. Julian., *Orat.*, i, p. 46 B-D.  
 79, 36. friendship. Tac., *A.*, vi, 29 ; cf. ii, 70 ; Sueton., *Caligula*, 3 ; Lips., *Exc. L ad ann. ii.* In the inscription Orelli, 932 (according to Cavedoni, *AdI*, 1859, p. 284) the words AMICUM SUUM were chiselled out after the man in question had fallen into disgrace.  
 80, 3. undistinguished. Tac., *A.*, iii, 21.  
 80, 11. suicide. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 24 ; Dio, liii, 24.  
 80, 14. act. Tac., *A.*, i, 5 ; Plutarch, *De garrul.*, p. 508 A ; Pliny, *H. N.*, vii, 150.  
 80, 20. bandages. Tac., *A.*, vi, 9.

- 80, 28. observation. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 4 and 14; Dio, lxvi, 11.  
 80, 33. Poppaea. Sueton., *Otho*, 3; Tac., *A.*, xiii, 46.  
 81, 4. to him. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 10.  
 81, 10. State. Suet., *Titus*, c. 7.  
 81, 16. Pius. *M. Antonin.*, c. 7. Cf. the list of friends of the emperor in Appendix xi.  
 81, 19. father. Dio, lxvii, 2; lxxii, 4; *Commodus*, c. 3.  
 81, 22. patron. *Sever.*, c. 8.  
 81, 28. aristocracy. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 71; Plutarch, *Otho*, c. 1.  
 81, 35. banished. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 22.  
 81, 41. Court. Sueton., *Gramm.*, 17.  
 82, 2. grandchildren. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 48; *CIL*, vi, 8980: C. Julius Epaphra | divi Augusti l. | vixit ann. lx | Carus alumno suo | regis (of a later king?) paedagogus.  
 82, 3. Drusus. Joseph., *A. J.*, xviii, 6, 1; *ib.*, 6, 6.  
 82, 4. Claudius. *Ib.*, xix, 9, 2.  
 82, 5. Court. *M. Anton.*, c. 4.  
 82, 8. educated. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 32; Tac., *A.*, xiii, 16.  
 82, 13. Britannicus. Sueton., *Tit.*, c. 2.  
 82, 16. fellow pupils. *M. Anton.*, c. 3.  
 82, 19. boys. Henzen, 6326 = *CIL*, vi, 8981. In the inscription of an eminent knight (πατέρα κὲ πάππον συγλητικῶν) at Antycra, of the second half of the third century, von Damaszewski completes (perhaps rightly) σύντ[ροφον β]ασιλέων (*Oesterr. Mitth.* ix, 1885, p. 123, 85).  
 82, 37. slave. Cf. vol. iii, p. 264.  
 82, 39. philosophers. Diels, *Doxogr. Graeci*, p. 82, 2.  
 82, 40. Greeks. According to Diels, p. 86 sq., Didymus, son of Areus.  
 82, 41. Areus. Cf. Diels, p. 80 sqq., and Zeller, *Gesch. d. Philos. d. Griechen*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 545-548.  
 82, 41. Eclectic. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 98.  
 83, 5. known. Seneca, *Ad Marc.*, iv, 2; Julian, *Caes.*, 21 (φίλον καὶ συμβιωτήν, cf. vol. iii, p. 264); Suidas: Ἀποκρατίων Ἀργεῖος Πλατωνικὸς φιλόσοφος συμβιωτὴς Καίσαρος: Zeller, *ibid.*, p. 718.  
 83, 6. Caesario. Plutarch, *M. Anton.*, c. 81.  
 83, 10. literature. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 89.  
 83, 14. poet. Keil, *N. Rh. Mus.*, xviii, 58 (one Διονύσιος Νικάνωρ Ἱεραπολίτης, p. 62, is perhaps his son). Cf. *CIA*, iii, 1, and Dittenberger, *Ephem. epigr.*, i, p. 1148.  
 83, 16. life. Strabo, xiv, 670; cf. Diels, p. 100.  
 83, 20. postponement. Cf. Müller, *Fr. hist. Gr.*, iii, p. 485 sq.; and especially Plutarch, *Apophth. regall.*, p. 207 D.; Dio, lvii, 32.  
 83, 27. favour. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, i, 248 f.; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 494; *Sophronii S.S. Cyri et Johann. miracula* (Mai, *Spicil. Roman.*, ii, p. 550;) Lumbroso, *BdI*, 1877, p. 6.  
 83, 27. Timagenes. Mommsen, *Ammians Geographica*, in *Hermes*, xvi, 619.  
 83, 34. him. Seneca, *Controv.*, x, 5 (34), 22; Plutarch, *D. adul. et amic.*, p. 68, A.  
 83, 37. tolerated. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 3 *init.* Cf. vol. ii, p. 253.

- 84, 3. coin. Sueton., *Vita Horatii*. The Cnidian C. Julius Theopompus, ὁ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ φίλος, τῶν μεγάλα δυναμένων (Strabo, p. 656 C) was not, as Waddington assumes, a friend of Augustus, but of Caesar, and not the son of Artemidorus, who warned Caesar on the eve of his murder, but his father. G. Hirschfeld, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vii (1886) pp. 286–290.
- 84, 7. each. On their position without the *cohors amicorum* see Mommsen, *Hermes*, xiv, 29; *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 835, 2.
- 84, 11. lamentations. Plutarch, *D. def. orac.*, c. 17.
- 84, 12. distract. Tac., *A.* iv, 58.
- 84, 19. honour. *Ib.*, vi, 50; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 72.
- 84, 23. jest. Lehrs, *De studd. Aristarch.*, 3, p. 213.
- 84, 26. Sirens. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 70.
- 84, 31. suicide. *Id. ib.*, c. 56; Suid., Ἀλδυνμος ὁ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου, γραμματικός· ὃς διέτριψε παρὰ Νέρωνι καὶ ἐχρηματίσατο \* μουσικός τε ἦν λίαν καὶ πρὸς μέλη ἐπιτήδειος. Apparently M. Schmidt (*Didymi fragm.*, p. 3) is right in inserting Κλαύδιος after ἐχρηματίσατο and in explaining Νέρων as Tiberius.
- 84, 35. fools. Tac., *A.*, i, 14–16.
- 84, 37. carriage. Suid., s. Δίων.
- 84, 40. Favorinus. *Hadrian.*, c. 16. Cf. *Aelius Verus*, c. 4.
- 85, 3. orders. *Vita Herodiani*: Lentz, *Herodiani Technici vell. praef.*, p. vi.
- 85, 7. endure. Juv., 5, 1–4.
- 85, 11. wit. Schol. ad Juv., 5, 4; Plutarch, *Anton.*, c. 59, 2: ὁ δὲ Σάρμεντος ἦν τῶν Καίσαρος (Octaviani) παιγνίων [παιδάριον], ἃ δὲ Ἰλκία Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν.
- 85, 15. Maecenas. Plutarch, *Amatorius*, 16, 22, p. 760 (ἦν γὰρ ὁ Κάββας γελωτοποιός)). Cf. Mayor on Juvenal, i, 56.
- 85, 16. Martial. Martial, i, 41 M.
- 85, 16. Gabba's. *Ib.*, x, 101.
- 85, 20. Battus. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.*, viii, 6, 1, 3.
- 85, 27. Cappadocia. Tac., *A.*, xii, 49; cf. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 5.
- 85, 35. Nero's. Tac., *A.*, xv, 34; Juv., 5, 46; Martial, xiv, 94; Dio, lxxiii, 15; Tac., *Dial.*, 11; *Id.*, *Hist.*, i, 37.
- 85, 39. property. Dio, lxxiii, 6.
- 86, 3. morning. This appears from passages quoted later, e.g. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 34; Dio, lxvi, 10; cf. Aur. Vict., ix, 15.
- 86, 5. Fabius. Plutarch, *De garrul.*, c. 11, p. 508 A.
- 86, 6. Vespasian. Plin., *Epp.*, iii, 5.
- 86, 12. on him. Fronto, *Epp. ad Marc. Caes.*, i, 5, 8.
- 86, 21. fortitude. Tac., *A.*, xv, 23.
- 86, 23. seats. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 53; Dio, lvi, 41.
- 86, 24. attendances. Dio, lvi, 25.
- 86, 26. alone. Dio, lvii, 11.
- 86, 28. foretold. Sueton., *Galba.*, c. 4.
- 86, 31. mentioned. *Id.*, *Claud.*, c. 35.
- 86, 33. knights. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 834, 4, assumes, that from Vespasian onwards all persons belonging to the first two classes were admitted to the (daily) reception, except those to whom the privilege was denied. Cf. the passage he mentions *Cod.*

*Just.*, ix, 51, 1 : imp. Antoninus Augustus cum salutatus esset ab . . . praefectis praetorio . . . item amicis et principibus officiorum et utriusque ordinis viris et processisset.

- 86, 34. petitions. Dio, lxi, 26.  
 86, 37. elephant. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 53.  
 87, 1. Rome. Tac., *A.*, iv, 4, 1.  
 87, 4. memory. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 10.  
 87, 7. plebeian. Dio, lxi, 10.  
 87, 10. death. *Vit. Alex. Sever.*, c. 18.  
 87, 12. festival days. Dio, lvi, 31 : καὶ ἐν μὲν ἑορταῖς καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὄκαδε προσδεξαμένον (of Augustus).  
 87, 14. anniversary. Fronto, *Epp.* ad *A.P.*, 5.  
 87, 16. decorated. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 50 ; cf. c. 46.  
 87, 16. gave. Dio, liv, 35 ; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 57 ; Sueton., *Tib.*, c. 37 ; Dio, lvii, 9 ; Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 42 ; Dio, lx, 6. Cf. Preller, *RM*<sup>3</sup>, p. 180 f. ; Auson., *Epp.*, 18 ad Ursulum grammaticum (6 pieces of gold as *strenae* of the emperor).  
 87, 34. share. Cf. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 788, 4.  
 87, 39. recorded. Dio, lvii, 12.  
 87, 39. Agrippina. Dio, lx, 33. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 813, 6, concludes from these two passages, that also the receptions of the emperors were notified in the *acta publica* with complete lists of the visitors' names.  
 88, 4. receptions. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 8.  
 88, 6. *optimates*. Dio, lxxviii, 18.  
 88, 10. wife. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 25.  
 88, 11, 12. crush. According to Jerome, *Epp.*, 22, 6.  
 88, 15. Gellius. Gell., xx, 1, 2, 55 ; iv, 1, 1 ; xix, 13, 1. On the *area Palatina* cf. P. Rosa, *AdI*, 1865, p. 355.  
 88, 23. unbathed. Philostrat., *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, vii, 31, 310.  
 88, 25. petitioning. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 32 ; Macrobi., *Saturn.*, ii, 4, 31 ; Seneca, *Beneff.*, iii, 27.  
 88, 27. Court. Martial, iv, 78.  
 88, 29. dawn. Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, 1, 5, 8.  
 88, 31. dressing. Dio, lxvi, 10 ; Aurel. Vict., c. 9 ; Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 5. Cf. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 31.  
 88, 35. before. Dio, lvii, 11.  
 88, 35. Hadrian. Dio, lxix, 7.  
 88, 38. guard. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 29 ; Sueton., *Otho*, c. 6 ; cf. *Tiber.*, c. 34 ; Tac., *A.*, i, 7. Dio, liii, 11.  
 88, 38. *toga*. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 476, 7.  
 88, 39. entrance. Dio, lxvi, 10.  
 88, 41. palace. Dio, lxxvi, 4.  
 89, 2. Trajan. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 47. According to the inscription *CIL*, vi, 8748 : Ti. Claudio Aug. l. Dioscoro a cena centurionum, the centurions of the palace guard seem to have been regularly entertained there.  
 89, 4. retinue. Dio, lxxvi, 4.  
 89, 8. House. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 34 ; Tac., *A.*, xiii, 18. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 487, 7.  
 89, 11. expelled. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 35 ; cf. 27.  
 89, 16. style. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 35 ; Dio, lx, 3.



- 89, 7. dagger. Tac., *A.*, xi, 22.
- 89, 19. abuses. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 41. Cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, 129, 1 and *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 834, 3.
- 89, 21. Civil War. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 12. Dio, lx, 3.
- 89, 26. *admissionales*. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 14 (quidam ex officio admissionis); Aug. libb. ab admissione, Orelli, 2888 (H.), 5416. *Bull. comun.*, 1872, p. 76; Marini, *Atti d. fr. Arv.*, p. 214 (prox. ab adm.); *CIL*, iii, 2, 6107 (adjut. ab adm.); Muratori, 916, 6. Cf. *CIL*, vi, 8698–8702, 8931 (nomenclator ab ammiss.); *Bull. comun. d. R.*, 1885, p. 109, 1054 (in a *columbarium*): Tyrannus Antoniae Drusi ab admissione. A magister ab admissione, *CIL*, xiv, 3457; magister admissionum Valeriani principis, *Aurelian.*, c. 12. To this *officium* belong also the *velarii*, *CIL*, vi, 5183, 6258, 6371, 8549, 9086. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 198, 1.
- 90, 30. Jewish. Philo, *De leg.*, 572 M.; cf. Suidas, s. *Διονύσιος* (—ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ πρεσβειῶν καὶ ἀποκριμάτων), Appendix viii. According to Hirschfeld these officials belonged to the offic. ab epistulis (*VG*, p. 205, 2).
- 89, 30. interpreters. *CIL*, vi, 8481: T. Flavio Arzachi interpreti Aug.
- 89, 39. model. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 47.
- 90, 4. seen. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 4.
- 90, 6. century. *Hadrian*, c. 3, where Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 565, 1 and Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>2</sup>, 392, 3 = i<sup>3</sup>, 409, 3, read *ac togati* for *a togatis*. According to Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 420 the *prætexta* (a prerogative of the emperor like the fasces and the curule chair) was the costume he usually wore when he appeared in public; but some emperors wore as a rule the ordinary toga (p. 421, 3 and 4).
- 90, 10. buckles. *Gallieni*, c. 16; cf. Salmas. ad *Alex. Sever.*, c. 31; Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 431, 2.
- 90, 11. *toga*. *M. Anton.*, c. 27; *Alex. Sever.*, c. 40; cf. 4.
- 90, 13. convention. *Anton. Pius*, c. 6.
- 90, 16. acts. *M. Anton. Comment.*, i. 7.
- 90, 19. tunic. Dio, lxiii, 13.
- 90, 20. sleeves. *Id.*, lxxii, 17.
- 90, 23. garb. *Vict.*, *Caes.*, c. 21; *Carac.*, c. 9.
- 90, 24. name. *Diadum.*, c. 2.
- 90, 30. assembly. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 31.
- 90, 32. usual. Sueton., *Otho*, c. 6.
- 90, 34. Augustus. Lipsius, *Electa*, ii, 6. Cf. Appendix xi.
- 90, 38. kisses. Plin., *H. N.*, xxvi, 3.
- 90, 40. pastils. Galen, xiii, 836.
- 91, 4. plasters. Tac., *A.*, iv, 57.
- 91, 4. receptions. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 34.
- 91, 11. reverence. Valer. Maxim., ii, 6, 17; cf. Casaubonus ad Sueton., *loc. cit.*
- 91, 14. inevitable. Becker-Göll, i, 88; Sueton., *De gramm.*, 23.
- 91, 17. King. Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterth.*, iv<sup>4</sup>, 526, 4; Herodotus, i, 134; Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii, 11.

- 91, 18. Court. Letronne, *Rech. p. servir à l'hist. de l'Égypte*, p. 58 sqq. and 314; Curtius, vi, 5, 11; 26, 17.
- 91, 19. honour. Plutarch, *Alexander*, c. 54, 2; cf. Droysen, *Gesch. Alexanders*, p. 352 f.
- 91, 20. Ptolemies. Letronne, *loc. cit.*
- 91, 22. freedom. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, p. 562 M.; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 188.
- 91, 27. ground. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 2; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 179.
- 91, 29. slipper. Seneca, *Beneff.*, ii, 12.
- 91, 32. murdered. Dio, lix, 29.
- 91, 34. Claudius. *Id.*, lx, 5.
- 91, 37. hand. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 24.
- 91, 39. Lord. Dio, lxvii, 13.
- 92, 1. tyranny. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 1, 17.
- 92, 3. Severus. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 18.
- 92, 5. honour. *Maximin. jun.*, c. 2; *Aurelian.*, c. 14; Liban., ed. R., i, 574, 9: περιβαλὼν οὖν καὶ ἀσπασάμενος. ἡ νόμος τοῖς ἐδιώταις ἀλλήλους ἢ βασιλεῦσι γε ἀλλήλους. Gothofr. ad Cod. Theod., vi, 8, ed. Ritter, ii, 836. For the welcome of the provincials by the governors with kiss and embrace see Mommsen, *Obss. epigr.*, in *Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 633, 3-5.
- 92, 12. confidence. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 23, cf. c. 71.
- 92, 20. day. Dio, lix, 27.
- 92, 23. salutations. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 37.
- 92, 29. converse. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 40.
- 92, 33. claim. *M. Anton.*, c. 3.
- 92, 35. *parens*. Dio, lxxii, 14.
- 93, 12. eloquence. Fronto, *Ad L. Ver.*, 3, 3.
- 93, 8. loathing. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 78 sq.; cf. Appian, *B. C.*, ii, 107.
- 93, 10. stood up. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 397, 6.
- 93, 11. Tiberius. Dio, lvii, 11; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 29.
- 93, 23. apology. Pliny, *Paneg.*, 48.
- 93, 26. crust. *Anton. P.*, c. 13; Aur. Vict., *Epit.*, 15.
- 93, 26. Pertinax. *Pertinax*, c. 9.
- 93, 28. seated. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 18.
- 93, 30. receive. Dio, lxxvii, 17.
- 93, 31. receiving. *Id.*, lxxix, 14; cf. also the reception of two consuls by Julian, *Panegg.*, x, 28-30.
- 93, 36. frequent. Convivabatur assidue, says Suetonius of Augustus (c. 74); the same words of Caesar (c. 48); Claudius (c. 32), Vespasian (c. 19), Domitian (c. 21): convivabatur frequenter ac large, sed paene raptim.
- 93, 36. *convivia*. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 34; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 34 (solennes cenae).
- 93, 38. Severus'. Dio, lx, 3.
- 93, 41. guest. Seneca, *De ira*, ii, 33, 4.
- 94, 1. hundred. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 34.
- 94, 9. orderly. *Id.*, *Aug.*, c. 74.
- 94, 13. knight. Marquardt, *Hist. eqq.*, p. 72, 62.
- 94, 16. together. Plutarch, *Otho*, c. 3.
- 94, 19. divorce. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 36.

- 94, 22. there. Tac., *A.*, xi, 3. Dio, ix, 7 (cf. lvii, 12) has a different account.
- 94, 26. Commodus. *Pertinax*, c. 6.
- 94, 29. out. Dio, lvii, 11.
- 94, 30. standing. *Hadrian*, c. 22.
- 94, 32. separately. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 72.
- 94, 35. Drusus. Tac., *A.*, ii, 28.
- 94, 39. servile. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 2.
- 95, 1. Palatine. Martial, ix, 93.
- 95, 4. poem. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 2 (65 sqq.); cf. iv, *præf.*
- 95, 15. invitation. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 39.
- 95, 20. earthenware. *Id.*, *Claud.*, c. 34; Tac., *Hist.*, i, 48.
- 95, 25. disturbed. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 74.
- 95, 26. extravagant. *Id.*, *Titus*, c. 7.
- 95, 37. radiance. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 2.
- 96, 12. carouses. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 21: convivabatur . . .  
paene raptim.
- 96, 8. shortened. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 49.
- 96, 10. toper. Vict., *Epit.*, c. 13, 4; *Hadrian*, 3; Julian, *Caes.*,  
p. 23.
- 96, 15. parting. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 31.
- 96, 22. gifts. Dio, lxvii, 9.
- 96, 26. pricked. *Elagabalus*, c. 2.
- 96, 28. most. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 74.
- 96, 29. stingy. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 34.
- 96, 31. food. *Id.*, *Vespas.*, c. 19.
- 96, 32. severe. Tac., *A.*, iii, 55.
- 96, 33. banquets. *Vit. Pertin.*, c. 8.
- 96, 34. simplicity. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 34; cf. c. 37.
- 96, 38. to him. *Hadrian*, c. 17.
- 97, 3. Pertinax. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 38 sq.; Dio, lxviii, 2; Mar-  
tial, xiii, 15; Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 50; *Anton. Pius*, c. 7; *Pertin.*,  
c. 8; *CIL*, vi, 9035, 9035a: T. Flavius Aug. lib. Firmus Nar-  
cissianus relator auctionum (?).
- 97, 9. plate. *M. Anton.*, c. 17, 21; Vict., *Epit.*, 16, 8. Eutrop.,  
viii, 14.
- 97, 11. Elagabalus. *Elagab.*, c. 19.
- 97, 16. gold. Marquardt, *Privatl. d. R.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 313, 1.
- 97, 18. sacrifices. Dio, lvii, 14; Tac., *A.*, ii, 33; *CIL*, vi, 8732  
(praep. auri escari), 8733 (praep. auri potori), 8734-8736 (ab  
auro gemmato), 8737 (ab auraturis).
- 97, 19. licence. *Aurelian.*, c. 46.
- 97, note. haughtiness. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 12.
- 97, note. Marcus. *M. Anton. Comment.*, i, 17.
- 97, note. costume. *Aurelian.*, c. 50.
- 97, note. table. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 34; cf. 23.
- 97, note. servants. Ammian., xxvi, 6, 15; cf. Lips., *Elect.*, ii, c.  
xxv.
- 97, 24. accession. *Sever.*, c. i. Vestis cenatoria: *Maximin.*, c. 4.
- 97, 26. purple. In Stat., *S.*, iv, 2, 32: Romuleos procere trabeata-  
que Caesar Agmina mille simul jussit discumbere mensis does  
not mean (as Mommsen supposes, *StR*, iii, 1, 513, 2) that the

knights had put on the *trabea*, but *trabeata agmina* is simply a designation for the equestrian order.

- 97, 29. unnoticed. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 81.  
 97, 31. biographer. *Hadrian*, c, 22.  
 97, 33. century. *Vit. Salotin. Gallien.*, 2; cf. *XXX Tyr.*, 23 and Sueton. *Caes.*, c. 48.

### III. THE THREE ESTATES.

- 98, 29. two. Probably indicating a position between that of a really free man and a real slave; Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 323, 3.  
 99, 1. franchise. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 440 f.  
 99, 3. more. Mommsen, *Hermes*, ii, 157.  
 99, 5. freeborn. *CIL*, ix, 3358 (Pinna) the epitaph of a priestess of Ceres is striking: Sum libertinis ego nata parentibus ambis Pauperibus censu, moribus ingenuis. Other remarkable inscriptions are Suet., 65, 8 = Ursin., *Fr. hist.*, p. 91: Q. Trebonius Q. l. Cla. Gallus ex patribus libertinis; and Grut., 891, 8: Q. Trebonius Q. l. (not Q. f.) Cla. Aristo ex patribus libertinis. Cf. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 441, 1.  
 99, 5. grandsons. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 422, 3.  
 99, 11. offices. *Id.*, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 488, 2; Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 24; *Nero*, c. 15.  
 99, 15. rule. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 452; Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 2, 32; Dio, liv, 23.  
 99, 17. Republic. Appian, *B.C.*, i, 33 (A.U.C. 654).  
 99, 20. theatre. Dio, liii, 27.  
 99, 24. praetor. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 14; Schol. Juv. (Valla) i, 20: Turnus hic libertini generis ad honores ambitione proventus est, potens in aula Vespasianorum Titi et Domitiani.  
 99, 27. son. *Pertin.*, c. 1.  
 99, 27. top. Dio, lxxi, 22; Eurip., *Suppl.*, 119.  
 99, 36. alive. Martial., x, 27; cf. xi, 12.  
 99, 38. freedwoman. *Id.*, iii, 33.  
 99, 41. board. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 74; Mommsen *StR*, iii, 1, 424.  
 100, 3. gentle-born. Horace, *S.*, i, 6, 6 sq.; 45 ss.  
 100, 8. tribute-paying. Petron., c. 57.  
 100, 9. servitude. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 197.  
 100, 14. land. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 30.  
 100, 15. conserve. Dio, lvi, 33.  
 100, 18. wealth. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 534-539.  
 100, 21. prepared. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 30; cf. Mommsen, *Edict des Claudius*, in *Hermes*, iv, 117.  
 100, 23. juries. *CIL*, iv, 1943 (non est ex albo iudex patre Aegyptio); cf. 1942c. Aegyptium poeta sine dubio significat civem Graecum ex Aegypto, Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL iii*, in *Eph. ep.*, v, p. 13, 2.  
 100, 25. rights. Dio, lx, 17; cf. Hoeck, *RG*, 3, 285 f.  
 100, 27. preserve. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 3, 3. Seneca is thinking primarily of the transformation of the Ubian district and probably also of the Treviran and of all Noricum and western



- Pannonia into Claudian colonies. Mommsen, *Conscriptionsordnung d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, in *Hermes*, xix, 79.
- 100, 29. distinction. *CIL*, ii, 159 (Ammaia-Portalegre): *viritim a Divo Claudio civitate donato*.
- 100, 30. honourable. *CIL*, iii, 2, 5232 (Celeiae):—*donatus civitate Romana viritim et immunitate ab divo Aug.*; *CIA*, iii, 702: Μ. Αὐρήλιον Λιθόφορον Πρύσδεκτον . . . τιμηθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ Κομμόδου τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ. Cf. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 891, 4.
- 100, 34. folks. Cic., *Ad Qu. fr.*, i, 1, 9, 27.
- 101, 1. settled. Drumann, *RG*, v, 331–334.
- 101, 3. opinion. Cic., *Ad fam.*, ix, 15.
- 101, 10. stripe. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 76, 80.
- 101, 12. deposed. Cf. Marquardt, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, ii<sup>1</sup>, 3, p. 267.
- 101, 19. Latium. Dio, xlviii, 32; Pliny, *H. N.*, vii, 136.
- 101, 21. Senate. Drumann, *RG*, ii, 594 ff.
- 101, 23. theatre. Tac., *A.*, xii, 60 with Nipperdey's note.
- 101, 24. province. Plin., *H. N.*, iii, 31.
- 101, 26. senatorial. Tac., *A.*, xi, 24.
- 101, 28. representatives. Tac., ed. Nipperdey, ii<sup>3</sup>, p. 279.
- 101, 31. enmity. S. Haakh, *StRE*, vi, 2359. Speech of Claudius, *op. cit.*
- 101, 33. 69 A.D. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 77; cf. Herzog, *Gall. Narbon.*, pp. 113–115; other examples, p. 167.
- 101, 34. Nemausus. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 276, 5.
- 101, 34. Julii. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 4; Teuffel, 283, 4.
- 101, 36. Narbonese. Tac., *A.*, xii, 23.
- 101, 41. excepted. Tac., ed. Nipperdey, ii<sup>3</sup>, p. 281. Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 141.
- 102, 14. Aedui. Tac., *A.*, xi, 23–25. (For 'senatorum . . . jus' Hirschfeld *op. cit.*, p. 111 f. rightly reads 'honorum'.)
- 102, 17. senator. Dio, lxiii, 22.
- 102, 24. height. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 53.
- 102, 25. Vespasian. Sueton., *Vesp.*, c. 9; cf. Tac., *A.*, iii, 55.
- 102, 32. frontier. Dio, lxviii, 32; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 637, 2.
- 102, 34. African. Plin., *Epp.*, iii, 9, 3. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 350, 1.
- 102, 35. Cirta. Fronto, *Ad amicos*, ii, 10, ed., Naber, p. 201.
- 103, 2. Lydian. Cic., *Pr. Flacc.*, 27, 65.
- 103, 9. barefooted. Juv., 7, 14 sq., ed. Mayor (cf. Munro's note).
- 103, 14. Numa. Martial, x, 76.
- 103, 14. Severus. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 28 and 44.
- 103, 19. Bithynia. Nipperdey on Tac., *A.*, i, 10.
- 103, 20. censorship. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 338, 1.
- 103, 22. Atticus. Borghesi, *Ann. a Giovenale, Oeuvres*, v, 534; Lebas-Waddington, p. 720; *Fastes cons.*, no. 126.
- 103, 26. grandson. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xiii, 75 ff. (cf. the genealogical table of the family, p. 89). Mommsen, *RG*, v, 261 note, *Digg.*, xxxvi, 1, 22: Scaevola Divum Marcum in auditorio de hujusmodi specie judicasse refert: Brasidas quidam Lacedaemonius, vir praetorius etc.
- 103, 31. Philopappus. Mommsen, *Die Dynastie von Commagene, in Mitth. d. deutsch. archäol. Instituts in Athen*, i, 27–39; cf. *CIA*, iii, 557.

- 103, 34. consulars. *CIG*, 423 (Eleusis) = *CIA*, 677; *ib.*, 906; *CIG*, 2782, 2783 (cf. *Bull. d. corr. Hellén.*, xi, 349), 2790, 2792, 2793, 2831, 2781b. 2819b (all at Aphrodisias), 2944b (Nysa), 2933 (Tralles), 2996 (Ephesus), 3104 (Teos), 3151, 3491 (Smyrna); Lebas-Waddington, 214 (Miletus), 657 (Philadelphia), 705 (Coloe); Dittenberger, *Archäol. Zeitg.*, xxxiv (1876), p. 140 f. (εὐπατρίδην Ῥόδιον συγκλητικῶν γενετῆρα). Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 533, 3. Cf. Appendix xii.
- 103, 36. Boethus. Vol. iii, p. 249.
- 103, 37. Ptolemais. Galen, *De anatom. adm.*, i, 1, ed. K., iii, 215.
- 103, 39. numbers. Lebas-Waddington, p. 599 (no. 2600).
- 103, 41. Heyranus. *Id.*, no. 2621; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 427.
- 104, 3. mentions. Josephus, *Vita*, c. 76. That there were Palestinian Jews in the equestrian order is known from Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 14, 9: ὁ γὰρ μηδεὶς πρότερον, τότε Φλῶρος ἐτόλμησεν, ἀνδρας ἱππικοῦ τάγματος μαστιγῶσαι πρὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ σταυρῷ προσηλῶσαι ὧν εἰ καὶ τὸ γένος Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλὰ τὸ γοῦν ἀξίωμα Ῥωμαικὸν ἦν.
- 104, 11. Egypt. Haakh, *StRE*, vi, 2, 1943 f. Mommsen, *Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 578. *RG*, v, 566, 1.
- 104, 15. knights. Mommsen, *Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 13. *RG*, v, 562, 2.
- 104, 15. subjugation. Dio, lxxxvi, 5; cf. li, 17. His son was perhaps P. Aelius Coeranus (junior), an Arval 213-14 (*CIL*, xiv, 3586). Henzen, *Acta fr. Arval.*, p. 175.
- 104, 17. century. Kuhn, *Verf. d. R. R.*, ii, 86-91; Isidor. Pelusiota to the praef. praet. Rufinus (*Epp.*, i, 489).
- 104, 19. nationality. Martial, vii, 90; viii, 48; Juvenal, i, 27, 4, 1; 14; 24; 108. See Appendix xi, p. 69.
- 104, 26. consulate. Dio, lii, 20.
- 104, 28. govern. *Pescenn. Nig.*, c. 7.
- 104, 31. bigotry. Ammian., xiv, 6, 22; xxviii, 4, 32. Cf. Themist., *Or.*, 23, p. 298b: οἱ πάντας ἐκεῖνοι περιφρονοῦντες καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀφικνουμένων θαυμάζειν ἢ ἐθέλοντες ἢ δυνάμενοι διὰ τὴν περιουσίαν τῶν οἴκοι θαυμάτων κτλ.
- 104, 36. Aricinum. Cic., *Orat. Philipp.*, 3, 6, 15; cf. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 4.
- 104, 39. blood. Cicero, *Pro Sulla*, c. 7; *Pro Plancio*, c. 8.
- 104, 41. import. Sallust., *Cat.*, c. 31.
- 105, 2. Senate. Tac., ed. Nipperdey, ii<sup>3</sup>, p. 279.
- 105, 9. knight. So also Urlichs, *De vita et honoribus Taciti*, p. 1 s.
- 105, 13. municipal. Tac., *A.*, iv, 3; cf. iii, 29.
- 105, 16. remembered. *Id. ib.*, vi, 27; cf. vi, 15 on the 'oppidanum genus' of Vinicius.
- 105, 17. consul. *Id. ib.*, iii, 51.
- 105, 22. office. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 23.
- 105, 23. Marcus. *M. Anton.*, c. 20; cf. Borghesi, *Bull. Nap.*, T. iii, p. 121 sqq. (*Euvres*, iii, 124).
- 105, 29. capacity. Herodian, i, 2, 2.
- 105, 37. grandfather. Pater senatoris, Orelli, 804, 3108, 3719; Avus senatoris, Murat., 516, 6; Pater et avus senatorum, Orelli, 3761 = *CIL*, v, 1, 4333. Cf. *CIG*, 2790, 2792, 2793 = Lebas-Waddington, 595: Πόπλιον Αἰλίον Ἰλαριανὸν ἱππικόν, Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Ἀπολλωνιανοῦ πρεμιμπελαρίου υἱόν, Ποπλίου Αἰλίου

Ἰλαριανοῦ ὑπατικοῦ ἔκγονον, πολλῶν ὑπατικῶν καὶ συγκλητικῶν συγγενῇ Τιβερίᾳ Ἰουλίᾳ Ἀντωνία Λητωῖς μήτηρ καὶ μάμμη συγκλητικῶν τὸν γλυκύτατον υἱόν. *CIG*, 2933 (πατέρα συγκλητικοῦ), 2944 b (ὑπατικῶν καὶ συγκλητικῶν συγγενῇ), 2996 (συγγενίδος συγκλητικῶν), 3151, 3191, 3497, 3882 *F*) (add., p. 1100). Lebas-Waddington, 1178, 1189, 1224, 1385, 1596 *bis*, 1597. *Bull. d. corr. Hellén.*, x (1886), p. 456, 8. Cf. also *nutrix senatorum*, *CIL*, vi, 3, 16,592.

105, 41. differed. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 9 (utrumque ordinem non tam libertate inter se quam dignitate differre).

106, 1. Lords. Martial, xiv, 1, 1.

106, 9. punished. Paulus, *Sententiae receptae*, v, 4, 10; Hartmann, *De exilio*, p. 58.

106, 22. say. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 11.

106, 25. rhetor. Juv., 7, 198.

106, 30. Senate. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 841 f.

106, 31. happened. *Ibid.*, 1132; cf. iii, 2, 1267.

106, 32. *pares*. ὁμότιμοι in Dio; cf. Marquardt, *Hist. eqq.*, p. 53 sq., note 44, and Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 895. (The emperor was always *princeps senatus*, but as a rule the title was avoided.) Cf. also p. 960 ff.

107, 2. acts. Herodian, v, 1.

107, 14. degree. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 466-468; 507-509.

107, 17. outlawry. Marquardt, *loc. cit.*, p. 50; Tac., *A.*, i, 2.

107, 19. knights. Appian, *B. C.*, iv, 5.

107, 20. Scauri. Seneca, *Suasor.*, 2 (p. 21, Bip); Tac., *A.*, vi, 29.

107, 22. utterly. Tac., *A.*, ii, 38.

107, 25. Senate. The imperial *adlectio* seems to have become frequent only under Vespasian; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 245, 3.

107, 30. elevation. Cf. Appendix lvii, p. 304ff.

107, 34. dismissal. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 508.

107, 37. Salvidienus. See Appendix xi, p. 61.

108, 4. selfborn. Tac., *A.*, xi, 21.

108, 10. praetorship. *Id. ib.*, iii, 66.

108, 12. power. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 8.

108, 18. senator. Dio, lii, 25.

108, 24. consul. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 232.

108, 26. Niger. *Pertin.*, c. 1; *Pescenn. Nig.*, c. 1. Another example from the third century in Dio, lxxix, 7.

108, 29. rank. Their admission to offices in the imperial colonies over sea cannot have lasted long. Mommsen, *Lex Col. Genetivae*, in *Eph. epigr.*, ii, 133.

108, 31. patricians. *Commod.*, c. 6.

108, 35. degradation. Dio, lxxviii, 13.

108, 36. generals. *Elagab.*, c. 11.

108, 38. knights. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 19.

109, 1. descended. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 27 (plerisque senatoribus non aliunde originem trahi).

109, 8. Vitellius. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 2.

109, 9. senator. Suid., s. Θεόδωρος.

109, 10. exclusive. Tac., *A.*, xi, 24.

109, 11. adopted. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 24.

109, 14. offices. *Id.*, *Nero*, c. 15.

- 109, 18. *clarissimi*. *Cod. Justin.*, xii, 1, 9 (*clarissimam dignitatem*).
- 109, 21. Apuleius. *Apul.*, *Florid.*, i, 8 (ex senatoribus pauci nobiles genere).
- 109, 21. nobility. *Juv.*, i, 34 (nobilitate comesa).
- 109, 25. aristocracy. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 442 ff.
- 109, 30. deeds. *Juv.*, 8, 1-20; cf. Marquardt, *Privatl. d. R.*, i<sup>2</sup> 244, 3.
- 109, 31. Horace. *Horace*, S., i, 6, 17.
- 109, 35. aristocracy. Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, i, 277.
- 110, 10. age. *Tac.*, A., iii, 23.
- 110, 11. Juvenal. Seneca, *De benef.*, iii, 28, 2; *Epp.*, 44, 5.
- 110, 20. consulate. Seneca, *De benef.*, iv, 30 sq.
- 110, 22. honours. *Tac.*, A., iv, 6.
- 110, 23. Domitian. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 69.
- 110, 27. rate. Seneca, *Remed.*, 16, 6: ne imagines proavosque respexeris nec patrimonium, cui jam ipsa nobilitas primo loco cessit.
- 110, 31. Romulus. *Tac.*, A., xi, 25.
- 110, 32. families. Dionys. Halic., i, 85; cf. Mommsen, *Die römischen Patriciergeschlechter*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, xvi, p. 356.
- 110, 36. Aeneadae. Haupt, *Colloqu. scholast. ind. l. hib.*, Berol., 1871, p. 5, 34.
- 110, 38. images. Preller, *R. M.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 98 f.; *Tac.*, A., iv, 9.
- 110, 40. Varus. Haakh, *StRE*, vi, 372.
- 110, 41. Hercules. Drumann, *RG*, i, 59; Haakh, *StRE*, iii, 366.
- 111, 1. Lamus. Horace, C., iii, 17, 1.
- 111, 2. Numa. Marquardt, *Hist. eqq.*, p. 52, note 30.
- 111, 5. inferiors. *Tac.*, A., ii, 43.
- 111, 9. low. See p. 109, l. 1.
- 111, 10. Vitellia. Sueton., *Vitellius*, c. 1.
- 111, 15. laughed. *Id.*, *Vespas.*, c. 2 and 12.
- 111, 18. daughter. Read 'wife'.
- 111, 19. Minos. *Id.*, *Galba*, c. 2; cf. *Sil. Ital.*, viii, 470.
- 111, 23. Julia. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 6; *CIG*, 2957 = Lebas-Waddington, *Asie mineure*, 142 (Ephesus) — Γ. Ἰούλιον, Ἰουλίου υἱὸν Καίσαρα . . . τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρεως καὶ Ἀφροδίτης θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ.
- 111, 27. Aeneas. Herodian, ii, 3, 4 (ἦν δὲ ἐκείνος εὐγενέστατος μὲν πάντων τῶν εὐπατριδῶν).
- 111, 28. Numa. *M. Anton.*, c. 1.
- 111, 30. Anchises. *CIG*, iii, 6280 B, 3; cf. 38-40. The descent 'from the Aeneadae' mentioned here only means that she was a Roman; cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xiii, 78; Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.*, p. 468. I also only suppose that she was descended from a very ancient Roman race.
- 111, 31. Aeacidæ. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 1.
- 111, 32. founders. Becker, *Charikles*, i<sup>2</sup>, p. 22 f.; Martial, v, 35; Lebas-Waddington, *Asie mineure*, 239 (Tichiusa): προφήτης Φιλίδας Ἡρακλέωνος, φιλόσοφος Ἐπικούρειος, γένος ἀπ' Αἰαντος (probably a Teucride). Lebas-Waddington, ii, 174 (Sparta): 245 (L. Mindius Damocrates of Gythion was descended in the 39th generation from the Dioscuri, in the 41st from Heracles);



- cf. *CIG*, 1353, 44-48; 245<sup>b</sup>, *ib.*, p. 130. Dittenberger, *Inscr. aus Olympia*, in *Archäol. Zeitg.*, xxxv, f. 106, no. 82: Τίτον Φλάβιον Πολύβιον Μεσσήνιον . . . τὸν ὄντως Ἡρακλείδην. *CIA*, iii, 915: γένους ἀπὸ Περικλέους καὶ Κόνωνος, κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνες (*sic*) ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 257.
- 112, 2. 'purple'. Henzen, *Scavi n. bosco d. fr. Arvali*, p. 5, 110-115 and pp. 7-10. Cf. Mommsen, *Grenzboten*, 1870, i, p. 161 ff.
- 112, 4. triumphs. Suetonius names 7 consulates. Cf. Mommsen, *Die römischen Patriciergeschlechter*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, xvi, 322, 5.
- 112, 10. hereditary. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 1, 2. Cf. Mommsen, *Die patricischen Claudier*, in *Mon. Ber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1861, p. 320 n. 1, according to which the number of consulates, xxix, must be altered to xxii.
- 112, 11. Empire. Marquardt, *Privatl. d. R.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 245, 3; Gibbon, *Hist.*, ch. xxxi.
- 112, 15. frequent. Mommsen, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des jüngern Plinius*, in *Hermes*, iii, 70 ff.
- 112, 18. reasons. Henzen, *Coll. Inscr. Lat.*, iii, 237; Renier, *Mélanges d'épigraphie*, pp. 13, 23; Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iii, 180; iv, 488 ss.
- 112, 21. thirty-eight. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 75 f.
- 112, 23. lineage. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, p. 560 M.
- 112, 24. terms. Petron., c. 76: *patrimonium laticlavium*.
- 112, 24. Lentulus. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 56, 6; cf. vol. ii, p. 135.
- 112, 27. Crispus. Martial, iv, 54, 7; Tac., *Dial.*, c. 8.
- 112, 33. 95. Read '93': Tac., *A.*, xiii.
- 112, 34. freedmen. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 55 sq.; Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.* p. 202.
- 112, 34. Eprius. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 8.
- 112, 40. 6 per cent. Cf. on the proceeds of the most profitable cultivation (wine growing) Columella, *R.r.*, iii, 3 and Marquardt, *Privatl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 445.
- 113, 5. interest. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 19.
- 113, 5. Marcus. *M. Anton.*, c. 11.
- 113, 12. Liris. Horace, *C.*, i, 31; iii, 16, 33; *Epod.*, 4, 13.
- 113, 16. Sicily. Martial, iv, 37, 5; v, 13, 7; ix, 22, 4; x. 74.
- 113, 19. Tibur. *Id.*, vii, 31, 9-12; cf. i, 12.
- 113, 21. Perusia. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 4 (on the *nom. plur.* for the designation of estates, cf. Haupt, *Hermes*, vii, 180 f.). For imperial estates in Italy see Hirschfeld, *VG*, 24 f. Two villas of the two *Quintilii* (Condianus and Maximus) on the *via Appia* and *Latina*, Lanciani, *Acque*, pp. 303-305. *Latifundia* in Italy, Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 231, 3.
- 113, 27. Mauretania. Seeck, *De Symmachi vita* (Symmachi quae supersunt [1883], p. xlv sq.).
- 113, 31. subject. *Gordiani*, iii, c. 2.
- 113, 31. spread. Ammian., xxvii, 11, 1. Paulinus of Pella owned property in Gaul, Argolis, and Epirus. Jung, *Romanische Landschaften*, p. 267, 1.
- 113, 35. provinces. *Cod. Theodos.*, vi, 21, 11 (5).
- 113, 39. Sicily. Dio, lii, 42 (see above, p. 101, l. 37).
- 113, 39. Asia. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 22.

- 113, 41. Cyrene. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 6, 67.  
 113, 41. Africa. Pliny, *H. N.*, xviii, 35 ; cf. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 117 ; Symmach., *Epp.*, ix, 125.  
 114, 4. manorhouse. Frontin., *Grom.*, p. 53 Lachm.  
 114, 8. provinces. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vii, 10, 5.  
 114, 9. ride. Colum., i, 3, 12 ; cf. Arnob., *Adv. gentes*, ii, 40.  
 114, 12. roofs. Seneca, *Epp.*, 89, 20 sq.  
 114, 23. sleep. Martial, xii, 57, 19-25.  
 114, 36. 10,000,000. Mart., v, 70.  
 115, 1. tombstone. Henzen, *Due iscrizioni latine*, in *AdI* (1865), p. 6 = *CIL*, xiv, 2298. Cf. Appendix xi, p. 62.  
 115, 7. consul. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 180.  
 115, 25. surplus. Martial, xii, 6, 9-12.  
 115, 26. back. Vol. iii, p. 58.  
 115, 30. befriends. Martial, xiv, 122.  
 115, 35. gold. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 56, 12 ; cf. Hultsch, *Metrol.*<sup>2</sup>, 348.  
 115, 36. state. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 2.  
 115, 38. came. For what follows cf. Mommsen, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des jüngeren Plinius*, in *Hermes*, iii, 31-139.  
 116, 1. marriages. *Op. cit.*, p. 35.  
 116, 4. legacy. Cf. Rudorff, *Testament des Dasumius*, in *Zeitschr. f. gesch. R. W.*, xii, 327 ff., and Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 7 ; vii, 20.  
 115, 5. gifts. *Epp.*, iv, 13, 8.  
 116, 5. spectacles. *Paneg.*, c. 95.  
 116, 8. money. *Epp.*, iii, 19, 8. Sale of the vintage and abatements to purchasers, viii, 2 ; to the farmers, ix, 37, *Ad Tr.*, 8, 5.  
 116, 10. sesterces. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 1 ; v, 6 ; *Ad Tr.*, 8.  
 116, 11. 700,000. *Id. ib.*, iv, 6 ; vii, 11.  
 116, 11. Beneventum. Henzen, *Tab. alim. Lig. Baeb.*, in *AdI*, 1844, p. 63.  
 116, 12. Como. *Epp.*, ix, 7.  
 116, 14. comfortably. *Id.*, ii, 17 (iv, 13, 1 read with Mommsen, p. 53, 6 'in Tuscano' for 'in Tusculano').  
 116, 15. borrow. *Id.*, iii, 19.  
 116, 18. testimony. For the following cf. *Epp.*, i, 19 ; ii, 4 ; iii, 31 ; vi, 3, 25, 32.  
 116, 28. banquet. *Epp.*, iii, 4 ; iv, *A Tr.*, 8 ; Mommsen, p. 34, 4 and 103, 5.  
 116, 33. statue. *Epp.*, ix, 39.  
 116, 35. oil. The inscription in Gruter, 376, 5, Mommsen, p. 60.  
 116, 37. 'Italian'. All the following in Mommsen, p. 100-102. *CIL*, v, 2, 5262.  
 117, 17. interest. Martial, iv, 37.  
 117, 20. father. Apulei., *Apol.*, c. 23 sq.  
 117, 22. three. *Id. ib.*, c. 75.  
 117, 23. four. *Id. ib.*, c. 71.  
 117, 24. thirty. Petron., c. 45.  
 117, 27. again. *Id.*, c. 71, 74, 76.  
 117, 29. census. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 10 ; *Vespas.*, c. 17.  
 117, 31. eyes. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 12.  
 117, 40. senator. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 6, 100.

- 118, 2. shoes. Gell., xiii, 22 ; cf. Marquardt, *Privatl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 569, 4 ; 596, 9.
- 118, 3. purple. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 35.
- 118, 7. counts. Vellei. Paterc., ii, 10, 1.
- 118, 15. poverty. Tac. *A.*, iii, 55.
- 118, 25. able. Martial, iv, 67.
- 118, 27. stage. *Id.*, v, 27.
- 118, 28. woman. *Id.*, x, 41.
- 118, 30. horses'. Juv., ii, 195.
- 118, 37. war. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 24, 6 ; cf. iv, 1, 91.
- 118, 37. sent. Vol. i, p. 299.
- 119, 2. 63. Hirschfeld, *Bemerkungen zu Tacitus*, in *Wiener Studien*, v, 1883, pp. 119-121.
- 119, 3. praetor. Mommsen, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des j. Plinius*, in *Hermes*, iii, 80, 4.
- 119, 13. vicissitude. Cf. e.g. the inscription of C. Fulvius Maximus (Brambach), *CIRh*, 484.
- 119, 13. leisure. *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 588-590.
- 119, 16. re-enacted. Rein, *StRE*, iv, 966 and 977 ; Mommsen, *RG*, i<sup>3</sup>, 854, 864.
- 119, 18. tons. Graser, *De veterum re navali*, p. 45. For 'centner' read 'hundredweight'.
- 119, 20. taxes. Dio, lxix, 16.
- 119, 22. speculation. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 509 f.
- 119, 23. horses. Dio, lv, 10.
- 119, 26. enterprise. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 404.
- 119, 28. slaves. *Ib. id.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 164-166.
- 119, 30. standing. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 4.
- 119, 31. slaves. *Pertinax*, c. 3.
- 119 31. allowed. Pliny *Epp.*, iii, 19.
- 119, 35. dealings. Tac., *A.*, vi, 16.
- 119, 37. per cent. Mommsen, *Hermes*, v, 129 ff.
- 119, 39. 60 A.D. Dio, lxii, 2. Cf. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 26.
- 119, 41. affairs. Seneca, *Epp.*, 77, 3.
- 120, 3. unselfishness. *Anton. Pius*, c. 2.
- 120, 8. potteries. Marquardt, *Privatl. d. R.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 160 f.
- 120, 9. 'large dry-goods'. Read 'coarse earthenware'.
- 120, 9. landowners. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 665 ff.
- 120, 23. slaves. *Pertinax*, c. 3.
- 120, 25. inns. Marquardt, *op. cit.*
- 120, 26. fairs. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 4, 1 ; Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 887 ; *CIL* viii, 270 (SC. de nundinis saltus Beguensis).
- 120, 31. cohort. Juv., i, 58 : curam sperare cohortis. *Spes* is prospect of promotion, Mommsen in Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 239 ; cf. *CIL*, v, 1, 543.
- 120, 31. tribune. Mommsen, *Ber. d. sächs. Ges.*, 1852, p. 29.
- 120, 35. million. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 558, 2 ; cf. Mommsen, *G. d. R. Münzw.*, n. 333, 335, 336.
- 121, 2. resold. Seneca, *Beneff.*, i, 9, 4.
- 121, 18. gods. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 39 and 41 ; Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 11 sq. ; iii, 9 ; Juv., i, 47-50.
- 121, 25. off. Joseph., *A. J.*, xviii, 6, 5.

- 121, 26. Varus. Vellei., ii, 117.  
 121, 30. lauded. Sueton., *Otho*, 3; *Vitellius*, 5; *Vespas.*, 4; Martial, x, 78.  
 121, 33. out. Tac., *Dial.*, 41. Cf. also *Agric.*, 19, with Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 103, 1.  
 122, 6. lineage. Juv., 8, 87-139.  
 122, 12. absorb. *Avidius Cassius*, c. 13.  
 122, 16. 10,000. Tac., *A.*, xi, 7 sq. (se, modicos senatores, quietare publica nulla nisi pacis emolumenta petere). Keller, *Röm. Civilprocess*, p. 238. (Tac., *A.*, xiii, 5; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 17; Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 4, 14, 21; Quintil., xii, 7, 8 sqq. etc.).  
 122, 24. realizing. Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 42; Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 20.  
 122, 24. Crispus. Schol. Juv., 4, 62. Divitior Crispo, Martial, iv, 54, 7.  
 122, 26. Marcellus. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 8.  
 122, 31. councillor. *Hadrian*, c. 18. Heyne, *Honores Ictis habiti ab imp. Rom.* (*Opp. Acad.*, iv, 211); Hirschfeld, *VG*, 215 f.  
 122, 32. praefecture. Mommsen, *Über die Jurisdiction des Stadtpräfecten* in *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 1064 ff.  
 122, 34. Domitian. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 316, 2.  
 122, 34. Julianus. *Ibid.*, 350, 1.  
 122, 41. date. Nipperdey, Tac., *A.*, xiii, 30.  
 123 4. Verus. Teuffel, 316, 1; 342, 1 and 2; 350, 1 and 6; 360, 2. Aburnius Valens praef. u. feriar. Latinar, *CIL*, vi, 1421.  
 123, 9. Nero. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 14.  
 123, 14. creditors. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 7; Dio, lxxv, 5; cf. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 22; Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 59.  
 123, 14. Otho. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 21.  
 123, 19. chains. Dio, lx, 29.  
 123, 20. Claudius. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 24.  
 123, 24. families. Tac., *A.*, ii, 37 and 48.  
 123, 27. senators. Dio, lv, 13; cf. liii, 2; liv, 17; lvi, 41. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 41.  
 123, 29. over. Macrobi., *Satt.*, ii, 23.  
 123, 33. scared. Tac., *A.*, i, 75; cf. Dio, lvii, 10; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 47.  
 123, 39. reprimand. Seneca, *Beneff.*, ii, 7.  
 124, 5. sank. Tac., *A.*, ii, 37 sq.  
 124, 6. Senate. Dio, lv, 10.  
 124, 6. resignations. Tac., *A.*, ii, 48.  
 124, 9. late. Seneca, *Epp.*, 22, 10.  
 124, 14. inheritance. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 34; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 10.  
 124, 16. incomes. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 17.  
 124, 20. women. *Hadrian*, c. 7.  
 124, 22. spectacles. *Ib.*, c. 3; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 489, 5.  
 124, 23. Pius. *Anton. Pius*, 8.  
 124, 27. Fronto. Fronto, *Ad L. Verum*, 6.  
 124, 32. Piso. Symmach., *Epp.*, iv, 67. See above, p. 115, l. 3.  
 124, 40. censorship. Seneca, *Beneff.*, ii, 21, 5.  
 125, 4. shelter. Juv., 3, 216 sqq.  
 125, 9. special. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 20.  
 125, 11. Dasumius. Rudorff, *Testament des Dasumius*, in *Zeitschr.*



- f. gesch. Rechtsw.*, xii, p. 327 ff.; *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 229; cf. p. 1353.
- 125, 13. rank. Ulpian, *Fr.*, vii, 1; *Digg.*, xxiv, 1, 40.
- 125, 17. dwarfishness. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 2 sq.
- 125, 18. ambition. Martial, v, 17.
- 125, 35. honour. Libanius, ed. R., i, 369 sqq., adduces as a reason for the estimation of the consulate as the highest of distinctions, that the name of consul is known in the whole world, and can never perish. Julian, *Or.*, iii, vol. i, p. 108, Spanh. Jornand., *De reb. Geticis*, c. 57, in Marquardt, *Hdb. d. R.A.*, ii, 3, p. 242. Other assertions of the latest age in Casaubon on Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 26; Dahn, *Procopius von Cäsarea*, p. 139. The title of consul was still used in the tenth century; Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom.*, ii, 271. *CIL*, vi, 1754 (inscr. of Anicia Faltonia Proba):—consulis uxori consulis filiae consulum matri Anicius Probinus v.c. consul ordinarius (395 A.D.). Cf. 1755, 1756a.
- 125, 41. more. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 44.
- 126, 17. contumacious. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 23.
- 126, 20. *vigintiviratus*. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 544 and 557 f.
- 126, 26. insisted. *Ibid.*, pp. 545–548.
- 126, 35. praetorship. *Ibid.*, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 554 ff.
- 126, 40. Hadrian. *Ibid.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 202–204.
- 127, 3. dispense. *Ibid.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 919.
- 127, 6. Emperor. *Ibid.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 554 ff.
- 127, 7. Nero. *Ibid.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 924 f.
- 127, 19. consuls. Henzen, *De nundinis consularibus aetatis imperatoriae*, in *Ephem. epigr.*, i, pp. 187–199; Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 1, 83–87; Asbach, *Gesch. d. Consulats unter dem Kaiserreich*, in *Hist. Unters. zu A. Schäfers 25 j. Jub.*, pp. 190–207. Six months under Tiberius and Nero, arbitrary periods under Caligula and Claudius, four and two months under Vespasian (*Fasti Consulares*, ann. 68–96, p. 146), four months under Domitian (after 85), two under Nerva and the Antonines.
- 127, 20. years. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 559 f.
- 127, 24. thirty-three. *Ibid.*, 574.
- 127, 26. child. *Ibid.*, 536, 2.
- 127, 35. offices. More rarely inter quaestorios, *ibid.*, 941, 5.
- 127, 38. magistracies. *Ibid.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 939 ff.
- 127, 40. Senate. *Ibid.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 455 ff.
- 128, 4. appear. *Ibid.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 456 f.
- 128, 11. *Saturnalia*. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 5.
- 128, 13. insignia. *Id. Nero*, c. 35.
- 128, 25. lower. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 463–465.
- 128, 28. valid. *Ibid.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 921 ff.
- 128, 30. consuls. See vol. i, p. 127.
- 128, 34. periods. Mommsen *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 1, 92, 6.
- 128, 37. came. *Ibid.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 942.
- 128, 41. predecessors. Asbach, *Consularfasten*, 68–96, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxix, 1885, p. 143.
- 129, 1. lavish. *Hadrian*, c. 8.
- 129, 3. Ursus. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 521, 5. P. Valerius Comazon

- according to Dio, lxxix, 4, thrice consul (once in 220), was certainly only twice, because at that time the *ornamenta consularia* were counted as a first consulate; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 233.
- 129, 3. Trajan. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 61.
- 129, 6. utmost. *Id. Epp.*, ii, 1.
- 129, 10. distinction. Asbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-146.
- 129, 22. office. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 70.
- 129, 27. sign. *Id., Epp. ad Tr.*, 13, iv, 8. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 44.
- 129, 36. vain. Tac., *A.*, vi, 8. The absent emperor is considered and addressed as if present.
- 130, 5. conferred. Read 'worn'. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 81. Cf. vol. i, p. 97.
- 130, 7. carried. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 27 (*officiis et dignitatibus*).
- 130, 15. again. Seneca, *Beneff.*, ii, 24, 4; *De ira*, iii, 31, 2. Cf. Plutarch, *De tranqu. animi*, 10.
- 130, 23. daily. Seneca, *De brev. vit.*, 20, 1; Martial, xii, 26; Epictet., *Diss.*; iv, 10, 20 (cf. iv, 1, 148; 7, 23).
- 130, 34. support. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 9.
- 130, 41. letters. *Id. ib.*, vi, 6 and 9.
- 131, 3. electioneering. *Id. ib.*, viii, 23.
- 131, 8. waste. Columella, i, *praef.* 10.
- 131, 15. crime. Tac., *A.*, iv, 68.
- 131, 18. grants. *Ibid.*, xiv, 50; cf. Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, v, 531 (Juv., 3, 183).
- 131, 19. selling. Dio, lx, 17; Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 16.
- 131, 26. secretly. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 20; iv, 25.
- 131, 32. pranks. *Id. ib.*, iv, 25.
- 131, 37. years. Tac., *A.*, ii, 36.
- 132, 1. backwards. Seneca, *Epp.*, 73, 3; cf. 84, 11; 104, 9.
- 132, 5. sacrifice. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 7; Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 19, 24.
- 132, 10. consular. Tac., *A.*, iii, 30; *CIL*, viii, 7054 (Cirta) . . . matri . . . nuptae . . . praetorio viro; aviae . . . nuptae . . . praetorio viro (cf. 7055s.).
- 132, 13. right. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 58.
- 132, 17. security. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 52.
- 132, 21. kin. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 15.
- 132, 23. esteem. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 73.
- 132, 26. marry. Quintilian, vi, *prooem.* 13.
- 132, 28. carefully. Cf. e.g. Gellius, i, 2, 1; ii, 26, 1; ix, 2, 1; xii, 1, 3; xix, 12, 1.
- 132, 35. down. See the inscriptions of Pliny in Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, p. 108 ff.
- 132, 37. agent. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 6.
- 132, 39. set out. See note on i, 105, 37.
- 133, 1. knee. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 591. The purple stripe was worn from childhood, the shoe only with the *toga virilis*; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 470; iii, 2, 888 ff.
- 133, 5. spectacles. Dio, xlix, 16; cf. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 414, 1.
- 133, 6. consular. Dio, lx, 2; Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 397, 3.
- 33, 9. coaches. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 43. Cf. Appendix vi. Jerome on *Isai.*, xv, 66, ed. Vall., iv, 823s., says that at the advent of

the Messiah the children of Israel will return from the whole world to Jerusalem: qui autem senatoriae fuerint dignitatis et locum principum obtinuerunt . . . in carrucis venient.

- 133, 13. name. Mommsen *StR*, iii, 1, 471. This title is not however used everywhere, e.g. in the *Acta Arval.* it does not appear.
- 133, 14. censorial. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 945-947; iii, 1, 469; iii, 2, 879 ff.
- 133, 18. regulations. Tac., *A.*, iv, 42.
- 133, 22. over. *Id. ib.*, vi, 3.
- 133, 24. suicide. *Id. ib.*, xii, 59.
- 133, 25. voluntary. *Id. ib.*, ii, 48; xi, 25.
- 133, 28. penury. *Id. ib.*, xii, 52.
- 133, 37. consequence. Dio, lx, 24.
- 133, 41. Antonius. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 77; ii, 86.
134. THE KNIGHTS. This section is based essentially on Mommsen's account, *StR*, iii, 1, 476-509 (*die Ritterschaft*). As a rule I have quoted documents only if lacking there.
- 134, 2. liability. *Digg.*, l, 1, 22, § 5 sqq.; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 473 f.
- 134, 11. Vespasian. Dio, lix, 9; Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 9; cf. also the advice of Maecenas in Dio, lii, 19; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 489, 4 and 502, Bohn, (*Heimath der Prätorianer*, (1883) p. 7 note), believes that only from the time of Titus the *equo publico honorati* began to remain in the provinces; they are not frequent there till the time of Trajan and Hadrian.
- 134, 12. knights. Marquardt, *Hist. eqq.*, p. 88 sq.
- 134, 16. Rufus. Renier, *Inscr. de l'Algérie*, 3680 = *CIL*, viii, 9616 (Manliana Mauret. Caesar.). Cf. *CIG*, 2822, 3494.
- 134, 18. senators. Cf. e.g. *IRN*, 5369 = *CIL*, 3158 (apparently of the time of Augustus): tres ex eo superstites reliquit liberos . . . alterum castrensibus ejusdem Caesaris August[i] summis fun[ctum] atque acceptis eques[tris] ordini honoribus, etiam superiori destinatum ordini.
- 134, 20. provincials. Censorin., *D.n.*, c. 15.
- 134, 24. hereditary. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 496, 482 f.
- 134, 27. privileges. *Ib. id.*, 499.
- 134, 32. creditors. Apul., *Apol.*, 523.
- 134, 36. wore. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 316; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 86, 1.
- 134, 37. rings. Martial, viii, 5.
- 134, 38. Pollio. Juven., xi, 42.
- 135, 3. horse. Mommsen, 489 f.
- 135, 3, 4. century. *Ibid.*, 496, 2.
- 135, 6. maintained. *Ibid.*, 495, 1.
- 135, 8. ceremony. *Ibid.*, 491-493.
- 135, 12. relaxed. *Ibid.*, 452. Cf. note on i, 99, 4, 5 of this work.
- 135, 14. knights. Juv., 3, 33 ss.
- 135, 15. adoption. Mommsen, 518 f.
- 135, 19. favour. Cf. this work, i, p. 46 f.; Mommsen, 519, 1.
- 135, 22. Musa. Sueton., *August.*, c. 27; Dio, xlviii, 45; liii, 30.
- 135, 27. tribune. Horace. *Epodes*, 4.
- 135, 32. unfree. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 33. Cf. e.g. Orelli, 2176 =

- CIL*, vi, 1847; Mommsen, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1846, p. 21; Orelli, 3750 = *CIL*, v, 1, 4392.
- 135, 34. license. Mommsen, *StR.*, iii, 1, 519; cf. ii<sup>3</sup>, 893 f.
- 135, 39. suspicion. Dosith., *Hadrian. resp.*, 6; Pliny, *H.N.*, xxxiii, 152 (Arellium Fuscum motum equestri ordine ob signem calumniam).
- 136, 5. included. Mommsen, *StR.*, iii, 1, 508.
- 136-7. *turmae*. 'Ex equestribus turmis' as designation for the equestrian order, *CIL*, viii, 9754; *Arch. epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterr.*, viii, 1884, p. 243.
- 136, 13. *juventatis*. Mommsen, *StR.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 826-828.
- 136, 15. ascribed. *Ibid.*, iii, 1, 522-527.
- 136, 27. Augustus. Ulpian, *Digg.*, xlii, 1, 57; cf. i, 4, 8.
- 136, 28. Italians. See i, p. 100.
- 136, 31. East. Inscription from Attaleia (Pamphylia): ἐπιλεκτον κριτην ἐν τῶν ἐν Πρώμῃ δεκουριῶν, *Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, x (1886), p. 149. Tralles: τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐν Πρώμ[η] δικαστῶν; *ibid.*, p. 456, 8 = *Mitth. d. deutschen arch. Inst. zu Athen*, xi (1886), p. 204.
- 136, 32. years. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 527-539.
- 136, 33. officers. *Ibid.*, 539-552.
- 136, 41. posts. *Ibid.*, 544.
- 136, 41. age-limits. Commodus appointed a boy of 14 years to the first *militia*, *CIL*, xiv, 2947; Mommsen, 1196, 2.
- 137, 6. apart. Mommsen, 547.
- 137, 9. posts. After performing this duty they are called 'omnibus equestribus militiis functi' or 'a (iii, iv) militiis'; Mommsen, 549; cf. 543.
- 137, 13. promotion. *Ibid.*, 550, 3.
- 137, 16. once. *Ibid.*, 551 f.
- 137, 16. remained. *Ibid.*, 552, 2.
- 137, 23. fleets. *Ibid.*, 553.
- 137, 30. Claudius. *Ibid.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 981.
- 137, 33. Secretariate. Cf. p. 35.
- 138, 6. century. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 216-218; Mommsen, *StR.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 1120 f.
- 138, 9. nobility. Tac., *Agric.*, 4; *CIG*, 2790: Γ. Ίούλιον Φίλιππον τὸν κράτιστον, πατέρα συγκλητικοῦ, ἀπὸ ἐπιτροπῶν.
- 138, 16. honour. Fronto, *Ad Anton.*, 9 (dignitatis suae in senectute ornandae causa); cf. Appian, *prooem.*, 15. Mommsen, *StR.*, iii, 1, 559, 2.
- 138, 17. eighteen. *Ibid.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 573.
- 138, 20. beardless. *Hadrian*, c. 10.
- 138, 21. importance. According to Mommsen, *StR.*, iii, 1, 564, the basis of their gradation dates from Augustus.
- 138, 34. libraries. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 258-265.
- 138, 41. flotilla. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci e dei Romani*, p. 26; cf. *De bello Alexandrin.*, c. 13.
- 139, 6. Egypt. Renier, *Mélanges d'épigr.*, p. 88 ss. Henzen, 6928; cf. iii, 522. Hübner, *CIL*, ii, 1970. Hirschfeld, *Philol.*, xxix, 30, 11. Other examples: Orelli, 3331, 3651, 5530; *CIL*, ii, 4135; *Pertinax*, c. 2, and in particular Wilmanns, *Ex. Inscr.*, c. vii.



- 139, 10. Africa. Seneca, *Epp.*, 31, 9; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 261, 1.
- 139, 13. Spain. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 252, 1.
- 139, 14. perhaps. Pliny, *H. N.*, xvii, 41: in Byzacio vidimus.
- 139, 14. procuratorships. The following inscription, *CIG*, iii, p. 1178, n. 4536 sq.: [*Ἀραδίων | ἡ βουλ[ῆ] καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Ἰάσιον Π[α]λινιον Σέκουιν[δον] | ἐπαρχ[ον] σπειρ[ε]ως [Θ]ρ[α]κ[ῶν] | πρ[ω]τ[η]ς, ἐπαρχ[ον] ΝΘ . . | . . ὡν ἀντεπίτρο[πον] Τιβερί[ου] Ἰουλί[ου] Ἀλ[ε]ξ[άνδρου] | ἐπ[α]ρχ[ου] τοῦ Ἰουδαί[κου] στρατοῦ | ἐπίτ[ρο]πον Συρ[ίας]. . . . Ὡς λεγεώ[ν]ος ἐ . . . .*] (cf. Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL* iii, in *Eph. ep.*, v, p. 578; *Hermes*, xix, 644-648) can hardly, as Hirschfeld (*Mitth. d. röm. Inst.*, ii (1887), p. 152) remarks, be referred to Pliny, as there is no mention of the procuratorship in Spain; while it is hardly credible that the Secundus L. Plin. et P. Mestri libertus, mentioned in a Bulgarian inscription (*Oesterr. Mitth.*, x, 204) was the father of Pliny.
- 139, 17. literary. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 312.
- 139, 23. back. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, c. 20. The expression 'vacationem procurationis', however, makes Hirschfeld's identification (*Philol.*, xxix, 27) with *praefectus annonae* C.T. dubious.
- 139, 27, 28. seven. Dio, lxi, 19; Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
- 139, 29. said. See i, p. 137.
- 139, 32. rare. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 560, 4.
- 139, 37. service. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 251.
- 139, 38. praefects. *Ibid.*, 253 ff.
- 140, 8. Literary. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 561. [Cf. also the inscription not quoted there, *CIL*, xiv, 2916: T. Aelio T. f. Largo eq. R. proc. Aug. bybliothecaru[m] juris publici [et] privati p[er] [it-issimo].]
- 140, 10. jurisdiction. A subpraefectus vigilibus juris peritus, Or., 3436; a Marinus eq. R. juri peritissimus (Sitifi), Henzen, 7234 = *CIL*, viii, 8489; *CIL*, xiv, 2916 (note 6); *CIL*, vi, 1, 1602: P. Carbetanio Rufo eq. R. magistro juris; Pompon., *De orig. jur.* (D., i, 2, 2 § 47): Fuit et alius Longinus ex equestri quidem ordine qui postea ad praeturam usque pervenit.
- 140, 11. *consilium*. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 215 f.; see vol. i, p. 71 of this work.
- 140, 16. equivalent. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 254 f. If, as Fronto relates (*Ad Anton.*, c. 9) Antoninus answered Fronto's petition for a procuratorship for Appian: futurum ut . . . causicorum scatebra exoreretur idem petentium (Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 561, 5) the words certainly implied no objection to lawyers.
- 140, 20. Modestinus. Bremer, *Rechtslehrer*, 61, 261.
- 140, 23. Alexandria. Cf. Zimmern, *Gesch. d. v. Privatrechts*, i, 353; also Appendix xi, p. 72.
- 140, 24. Praetorium. Zimmern, *op. cit.*, i, 356; Karlowa, *R. Rechtsgesch.*, 732; also Appendix vii, p. 46.
- 140, 26. governors. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, 122 ff.
- 140, 27. officials. Hirschfeld, *loc. cit.*
- 140, 28. Hadrian. *Hadrian*, c. 20; cf. Haubold, *Opusc.*, i, 276; Mommsen, *De C. Caelii Saturnini titulo*, in *Mem. dell' Inst.*, ii, 331 s. Cf. *CIL*, v, 1, 4332; Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 29 and 32; Hirschfeld, 49-51; Schurz, *De mutationibus in imp.*

- roman. ordin. ab. imp. Hadriano factis (Bonn, 1883), pp. 25-27.
- 140, 31. Aurelius. Aurel. Victor, *Caes.*, 20, 30; not by Antoninus Pius, as stated in *H. A., Geta*, c. 2, because he was only 15 years old at that emperor's death. Cf. *Vit. Severi*, c. 1.
- 140, 36. assessors. Bremer, *Rechtslehrer*, 62. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 231, 234 f.
- 140, 40. Purse. *Opell. Macrin.*, c. 2, 4, 7; Hirschfeld, 231 f.
- 141, 4. Councillor. Orelli, 2648 = *CIL*, x, 6662; cf. Garrucci, *Rev. arch., nouv. sér.*, v, 393, and Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 330; Hirschfeld, 215, 4.
- 141, 10. frequent. Orelli, 3153 = *CIL*, vi, 1421: Aburnio Valenti pontifici praef. urbi feriarum Latinar. facto ab imp. Hadriano Aug. ii cos. (118) . . . tribuno plebis designato candidato Aug. eq. publ. c[larissim.] j[uveni] d.d.
- 141, 12. edict. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 565. In Juvenal, 10, 95 egregii equites are the tribunes of the Praetorians.
- 141, 23. hereditary. Hirschfeld, 272-275.
- 141, 26. quaestors. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>2</sup>, 337, 3 and 4.
- 141, 28. played. Schol. Juvenal, 5, 3.
- 141, 29. knights. Mommsen, *De apparitoribus*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, 1846, p. 42 ff, no. 2. Cf. Henzen, 6023<sup>a</sup>, 6565; *AdI*, 1865, p. 13, 1; *BdI*, 1865, p. 151 ss.
- 141, 38. immunities. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 566-569.
- 142, 4. life. Seneca, *Epp.*, 98, 13; Plutarch, *Prof. in virt.*, 5, p. 77 E; *CIL*, xii, 1783: Huic divus Hadrianus latum clavum cum quaest. optulit et petentis excusationem accep. Teuffel *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 266, 5.
- 142, 11. fortune. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 17.
- 142, 13. pelf. Tac., *H.*, ii, 86.
- 142, 18. Terentius. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 14; iii, 2; vii, 25.
- 142, 20. described. See p. 128 above.
- 142, 25. rank. Marquardt, *Hist. eqq.*, p. 60, 31; 65, 76; 87, 8. Cf. Henzen, 6790 note 3; 6747; *CIL*, vi, 1606, 1632.
- 142, 26. Misenum. Mommsen, *IRN*, 2567, cf. 1488. *Eph. epigr.*, iv, 97 (Salonis): Caeciliae Logianae e[gregiae] m[emoriae] v[iri] fil. et Tullio Callipiano eq. R. etc. 'Notabile est matrem propter hos ut videtur natales patri equiti Romano anteponi'. Mommsen.
- 142, 28. fortune. Ovid, *Trist.*, iv, 10, 7; *Amor.*, iii, 15, 6.
- 142, 32. Etruscan. Persius, 3, 9.
- 142, 35. tribunate. Martial, iii, 95; v, 13; ix, 49; xii, 26.
- 142, 37. Emperor. To Domitian v, 19; vi, 10; vii, 60; viii, 24; to Regulus vii, 60; to Stella vii, 36 etc.
- 142, 38. cloak. *Id.*, vi, 82.
- 142, 41. shabbiness. *Id.*, viii, 28; ix, 49.
- 143, 2. suborned. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 21.
- 143, 4. knighthood. Martial, i, 31 (cf. v, 48); iv, 13, 29; vi, 58; vii, 97, 3; viii, 63.
- 143, 5. epitaphs. *Id.*, i, 93; x, 26.
- 143, 8. Narcissus. Juv., 14, 316-331.
- 143, 10. wine. Gell., xi, 7, 3.
- 143, 14. rich. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12; cf. vol. ii, p. 17.

- 143, 17. left. *Vita Persii*.  
 143, 19. Alba. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 288, 1.  
 143, 23. Livia. Dio, liv, 23; Ovid, *Fast.*, vi, 639; cf. Teuffel, *StRE*, vi, 2, 2419.  
 143, 26. rates. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 39.  
 143, 27. merchants. Orelli, 4077: C. Sentius Regulianus Eq. R. diffusor olearius ex Baetica; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 469, 1.  
 143, 28. shipping. Seneca, *Epp.*, 119, 5.  
 143, 28. manufacturers. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 258, 2375.  
 143, 28. tax-farmers. Tac., *A.*, iv, 6; xiii, 50; Sueton., *Vespasian.*, c. 1; Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 313, 1; Rein, *StRE*, vi, 248.  
 143, 30. Circus. Pliny, *H. N.*, x, 71.  
 143, 34. formed. Seneca, *Epp.*, 101, 1-4.  
 143, 34. investment. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 511.  
 143, 37. follow. Quintilian, iv, 2, 45: cum praesertim lector non fere sit nisi eruditus, judicem rura plerumque in decurias mitant, de eo pronuntiaturum quod intellexerit. Similarly Juvenal, 7, 116 (of the advocate): Dicturus dubia pro libertate, bubulco Judice.  
 144, 4. acquittal. Horace, *S.*, i, 5, 51-69. Schol. Juv., 5, 3.  
 144, 8. *Visellia*. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 32; Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 424, 2 and 3.  
 144, 10. confiscated. Pliny, *loc. cit.*, Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 15.  
 144, 13. stars. Petron., c. 32. The five golden rings which his statue is said to wear (c. 71), apparently belong to him as master of the games (like the tribunal and the *praetexta*); Mommsen, *op. cit.*, iii, 1, 514, 4.  
 144, 13. Martial. Martial's Zoilus apparently wore the gold ring without opposition, xi, 37; cf. iii, 29.  
 144, 15. unqualified. Martial, v, 14, 2: Tunc cum liceret occupare; cf. v, 8, 23, 25, 27, 35, 38, 41.  
 144, 18. removed. *Id.*, v, 8.  
 144, 21. *equites*. Martial, i, 84; Juvenal, 9, 9 s.  
 144, 25. Sicily. Martial, vii, 64.  
 144, 39. stature. *Id.*, ii, 53; cf. vol. i, pp. 4 and 5 of this work.  
 145, 2. food. Martial, xi, 56. There is also here a reminiscence of Catullus, 5, 4: Et tristis nullo qui tepet igne focus Et teges et cimex; Catull., 23, 1: Furi cui neque servus est neque arca Nec cimex neque araneus neque ignis. Cf. Martial, xi, 32.  
 145, 2. lunch. Martial; x, 48, 16; xiii, 13, 1.  
 145, 3. garlic. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 424.  
 145, 3. *as*. Martial, ii, 104, 10; in Petronius, c. 14, Ascyrtos and Encolpius went to buy for a *dipondius* 'cicer lupinosque' for both of them.  
 145, 4. fish. Juv., 14, 127 sqq.  
 145, 5. pig's head. Pers., iv, 69.  
 145, 5. luxury. Juv., 3, 292 sqq.  
 145, 18. free. Martial, xii, 32, where in l. 5: Et cum lucerna corneoque cratere, should perhaps be read *corneaque laterna*. Cf. xiv, 61 (laterna cornea) and 62 (laterna de vesica): Cornea si non sum, numquid sum fuscior? On *pulejum* see Pliny, *H. N.*, xx, 152.

- 145, 18. bridges. Martial, xii, 32, 25: *haec sarcinarum pompa convenit ponti*.
- 145, 19. thresholds. Juv., 5, 8.
- 145, 19. beggars'. Seneca, *De vita beata*, c. 25.
- 145, 20. *fora*. Jahn, *Ueber Darstellungen des Handwerkes und Handelsverkehrs auf antiken Wandgemälden*, in *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Ges.*, iv, 287.
- 145, 21. wounds. Cf. the description of the lame, blind and ulcerated beggars in Prudent., *Peristeph.*, ii, 141-160.
- 145, 21. dog. Jahn, *op. cit.*, 288.
- 145, 22. pity. Seneca, *De clementia*, ii, 7.
- 145, 22. intoned. Schol. Hor., *Epp.*, i, 17, 48.
- 145, 25. dog's bread. Martial, x, 5, 5: *Oret caninas panis improbi buccas*; cf. iv, 53, 6: *Cui dat latratos obvia turba cibos*. Seneca, *Controv.*, i, 7, 18 (Kiessling, *N. Jahrb. f. Ph.*, 1871, 716; Quintilian, viii, 3, 22); Juv., 5, 11.
- 145, 25. bran-bread. Phaedr., ii, 17, 3 sq. M. Voigt, *Die verschiedenen Sorten von triticum, Weizenmehl und Brot bei den Römern*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1876, 105 ff.
- 145, 26. mat. Juv., 9, 140; Martial, iv, 53.
- 145, 26. salvation. Martial, x, 5; xiv, 81; Juv., 5, 8.
- 145, 33. candelabrum. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiv, 11; *CIL*, i, 805 = *CIL*, x, 6488 = Wilmanns, 1317 (Ulubris): Clesipus Geganius mag. Capitol. mag. Luperc. viat. tr. Cf. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 566, 3.
- 145, 37. price. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 17, 4.
- 145, 39. lord. Juv., 1, 24, 15, 224.
- 145, 41. estates. Martial, ix, 73.
- 146, 4. centre. Blümner, *Gewerbl. Thätigkeit der Völker des kl. Alterth.*, 100, 6.
- 146, 3. Modena. Juv., 3, 36-40; Martial, iii, 16, 59, 99.
- 146, 6. advocates. Quintilian, i, 12, 17. According to Galen, *Προτρ. λόγ.*, c. 14, ed. K., i, p. 38: *οἱ διοικούντες τὰ τῶν πλουσίων, οἱ τελῶναι, οἱ ἔμποροι* gained wealth. Also, according to Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 17, 5, 'alienorum honorum mercenaria procuratio' was lucrative.
- 146, 7. livelihood. Martial, iii, 10. This is the 6 per cent. interest of the equestrian census.
- 146, 11. poverty. Juv., 9, 140-147.
- 146, 18. known. Orelli, 4066: *colleg. balistariorum*. Also the *colleg. centonariorum* (4068) perhaps consisted of workmen employed on military works. Plin., *H. N.*, iii, 54. Cf. p. 13, ll. 1 and 2 above.
- 146, 24. porters. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 379 ff. *Geruli* taxed by Caligula, Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 40. Cf. also De Rossi, *Le horrea sotto l'Aventino e la statio urbis Romae*, in *AdI*, 1885, p. 223 sqq. with *Tav. d'agg.*, i (delivery and weighing of the corn of the *canon urbicus*).
- 146, 25. money-lenders. Colum., *praef.*, 8, names *foeneratio* among the means of living preferable to agriculture. Pawnbrokers, see Martial, ii, 57, 7; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 62 ff.; also



- nummularii*, Petron., c. 56; Martial, xii, 57. Inscriptions of the *argentarii*, *CIL*, vi, 9155-9186.
- 146, 31. terms. Ambrose, *De Tobia*, c. 6, 23.
- 147, 6. oil shops. Preller, *Reg. d. St. R.*, p. 30 f.; cf. 111 and 236.
- 147, 8. markets. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 412.
- 147, 16. Severus. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 33.
- 147, 17. shoemakers. In the *collegium fabrum, solearium, baxearium* (Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 597, 6) *centuriarum trium* the *fabri* are perhaps makers of lasts and wooden shoes.
- 147, 18. craft. Marquardt, *op. cit.*
- 147, 20. pastries. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
- 147, 24. swords. *Ibid.*, pp. 713, 715.
- 147, 25. formed. *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, p. 368, 1397: Mellax Veidianus | decur. iter. | parietes et camaras | scalariorum opere | tectorio expolitum (*sic*!) | d.s.p.d.d. | C. Caesare L. Paullo cos. (1 A.D.).
- 147, 27. machine-workers. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 684 ff.
- 147, 28. diamonds. *Ibid.*, p. 707.
- 147, 29. ring-makers'. *Conlegium anularium*, *CIL*, vi, 1107.
- 147, 29. gilders'. The inscription, Orelli, 4067, reads according to Henzen, iii, 450, 'collegi grattiariorum et inauratorum', but only *brattiarii* can be meant (Marquardt, p. 686).
- 147, 34. easy. Augustine, *C. D.*, vii, 4.
- 147, 36. districts. Gaudy (1839), *Werke*, vi, 61 f.
- 148, 1. worked. Goethe, 31, 252 ff.
- 148, 3. *Recta*. *Bull. d. I.*, 1859, p. 68 ss.
- 148, 4. wharves. Becker, *Topogr.*, i, 465; cf. vol. ii, p. 307.
- 148, 4. transformed. Appian, *B. C.*, iii, 3: καὶ ἔδρας ἐνιοὶ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντων ἐπεδείκνυν ἀνηρημένων ὥς δέ τις αὐτοῖς ἔφη καὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον ἐνθα οἱ ἀνδριάντες ἀνεσκευάζοντο δεῖξιν, εὐθὺς εἶποντο καὶ ἰδόντες ἐνεπύμπρασαν.
- 146, 7. substituted. *Digg.*, xxxiv, 2, 14 (15).
- 148, 9. monuments. Read 'monument'. Petron., cc. 65 and 75.
- 148, 11. other. *Digg.*, xvii, 2, 52, 7.
- 148, 13. Castor. Gruter, 25, 1; Orelli, 4195; R. Rochette, *Lettre à Mr. Schorn*, p. 385. Cf. vol. ii, p. 307.
- 148, 13. eyes. Orelli, 4224; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 688, 12.
- 148, 16. portraits. Cf. Appendix liii.
- 148, 17. specialization. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 33; cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 465 ff.
- 148, 19. toilette. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 782. A *collegium aromatariorum* in Rome, Orelli, 4064.
- 148, 21. garments. On *paenularii, sagarii, vestiarii, tenuarii*, see Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 585 ff. *Sagaria negotiatio*, *Dig.*, xvii, 2, 52, § 4; Juv., 6, 591 (an *saga* vendenti nubat copone relicto).
- 148, 24. nuisance. Cf. vol. i, p. 6.
- 148, 27. scythemakers. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 413; Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 515 ff. The 'vicus pulverarius' probably took its name from depots of pozzolana earth (Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxv, 166; pulvis Puteolanus; Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 3, 52: opusque texunt Cocto pulvere sordidoque tofo).
- 148, 29. Augustine. See vol. i, p. 147.

- 148, 33. teacher. Preller, *Regionen*, p. 129; Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 287.
- 148, 34. 'Caietan'. Galen, x, 942.
- 148, 36. banquets. Becker, *Topogr.*, i, 236. According to Martial, ii, 63, 2 (e sacra Leda redempta via) there were also, it seems, brothels here.
- 149, 2. wares. Martial, ix, 59.
- 149, 3. arcades. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 489; Tac., *A.*, xv, 38.
- 149, 7. paintings. Juv., 8, 168: inscripta lintea (h.e. pictis velis popinae succedit, Schol.); cf. Mayor's note.
- 149, 9. shopkeepers'. Jordan, *Über röm. Aushängeschilder*, in *Arch. Zeit.*, N. F., iv (1871), 74; cf. also Blümner, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1877, 128 ff. (relief of a wine-seller).
- 149, 19. modern. Jahn, *Ueber Darstellungen antiker Reliefs, welche sich auf Handwerk und Handelsverkehr beziehen*, in *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1861, p. 373. The reliefs mentioned are on p. 353, plates xi and xiii; cf. pp. 364 and 371.
- 149, 27. bawdy house. Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
- 149, 33. linen merchant. Haupt, *Colloquia ex cod. Montepessul. S.* ix, in *Ind. lect. Berolin. hib.*, 1871, p. 7, 9 = *Opusc.* ii, 446.
- 149, 36. bed-linen. Juv., 7, 221.
- 149, 41. support. Lebas-Waddington, 1687<sup>b</sup>: τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς προσέλας (indigence) τῶν πορφυροβαφῶν. I see no reason for the editor's assumption that the influence of Christianity is to be seen here.
- 150, 3. discontinued. Lebas-Waddington, 628; cf. the commentary.
- 150, 9. counter. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 552, 6. Κάπηλοι ἀνεξωσμένοι, Dio Chr., *Or.*, 72, ed. Dindorf, ii, 245.
- 150, 10. cap. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 8, 16.
- 150, 11. bread. Cic., *Catiline*, iv, 7, 17: illum ipsum sellae (Marquardt, *op. cit.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 725, 7) atque operis et quaestus cotti-diani locum. Cic., *De off.*, i, 42, 150.
- 150, 14. scents. Juv., 14, 200.
- 150, 16. property. *Digg.*, v, 3, 27, § 1.
- 150, 17. spirit-stills. Cf. e.g. Bernhardt, *Gesch. Russlds.*, ii, 2, 689.
- 150, 24. disposition. Pliny, *H. N.*, xviii, 225. (Apparently the words 'negotiatoris avaritia' are merely a marginal gloss.)
- 150, 25. *corollarium*. Seneca, *De benef.*, vi, 17, 1.
- 150, 31. burnt. Cic., *Catiline*, iv, 7, 17.
- 150, 34. houses. Herodian, vii, 12, 5. Cf. vol. i, p. 6.
- 150, 36. Emperors. Fronto, *Epp. ad. M. Caes. et inv.*, iv, 12, ed. Naber, p. 74: cum interim numquam tua imago tam dissimilis ad oculos meos in itinere accidit, ut non ex ore meo excusserit rictum osculei (read *oscitandi*) et somnum.
- 150, 39. lighted. Tertullian, *Apologet.*, c. 35; *De idolatria*, c. 15.
- 150, 40. closed. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 525 M., § 8: τὰ ἐργαστήρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων συγκεκλεισμένα διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Δρουσίλλῃ πάθος.
- 151, 1. holy days. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 136, Gaudy (1839), *Werke*, vi, 61 f.
- 151, 7. pupils. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 139 and 572.
- 151, 10. mills. *Ibid.*, p. 332.

- 151, 14. tunes. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 577. τὰ γεινόμενα εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τῆς στατίωνος εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος were part of the regular expenses of the Tyrian factory in Puteoli.
- 151, 18. men. Jahn, *Darstell. d. Handwerks etc.*, p. 313, plate iv.
- 151, 21. bearers. *Ephem. epigr.*, ii, 316, 432 (Sarmizegetusae): vex[illifer] [col]l. fabro[r]. Cf. besides the passages mentioned there (*Vit. Gallieni*, 8, *Aurelian*, 34), *Paneg.*, vii, 8, 4 (omnium signa collegiorum).
- 151, 25. birthdays. *CIL*, xiv, 326.
- 151, 35. mockery. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 388b. Ovid, *F.*, iii, 523 sqq.; Preller, *R. M.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 344. Cf. Martial, iv, 64, 16 with my note.
- 151, 36. funerals. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 135 ff. Wilmanns, i, 325 ss.
- 151, 41. pigeon-holes. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 370; on the designation of these associations as 'collegium salutare' (at least from the beginning of the second century) see De Rossi, *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1882, p. 144 ss.
- 152, 3. banquet. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 141 f.
- 152, 7. festivals. Mommsen, *De collegiis et sodaliciis*, p. 89 sqq.; Henzen, 6086 = *CIL*, xiv, 2112.
- 152, 19. sardines. I understand thus the difficult passage Col., ii, 15: Magistri cenarum ex ordine albi facti. (This is to be understood as a heading, just as those in the *Lex metalli Vis-pacensis* stand in the nominative, Mommsen, *Eph. epigr.*, iii, 189.) Quo ordine homines quaterni ponere debebunt: vini boni amphoras singulas, et panes A. ii (qui numerus collegi fuerit) et sardas quattuor, strationem, caldam cum ministerio. Differently interpreted by Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 108, differently again by Huschke, *Ztschr. f. g. R.W.*, xii, 218 f., and Mommsen, xv, 364. Both admit that every four members always received one amphora of wine, certainly an excessive amount with so little bread.
- 152, 38. graves. Cyprian *Epp.*, 67, 6.
- 152, 41. Gellius. Gell., xix, 10, 9.
- 153, 2. Virgil. Petron., c. 39: *Aen.*, ii, 44. Cf. Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 365.
- 153, 7. eternal. *Aen.*, i, 607.
- 153, 12. jewels. Henzen, 7352 = *CIL*, vi, 9437.
- 153, 15. elbows. Auct. ad Herenn., iv, 54, 67; Sueton., *Vit. Horat.*; cf. D. Laert., iv, 46; Suid., s. ἀγκών.
- 153, 15. vulgar. Martial, i, 41, 8; Quod viles pueri salariorum (Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 469, 3).
- 153, 18. last. Ulpian, *Dig.*, ix, 2, 5, § 3.
- 153, 22. discentes. *CIL*, iv, 673.
- 153, 22. sic. *Ib.*, 275; cf. 694, 698.
- 153, 27. avaricious. Gruter, 639, 12 = *CIL*, vi, 9222. Cf. Jahn, *op. cit.*, 305.
- 153, 30. poor. Henzen, 7244 (about the time of Augustus); cf. also 7231 the inscription of a faber tign. corp. Ar[elatensis].
- 153, 38. heirs. *CIL*, ix, 4796 = Meyer, *Anthol.*, i, 1412.
- 154, 4. sparrow. Manilius, v, 384 sqq.

- 154, 9, 10. price. Macrobi., *Saturn.*, ii, 4, where there is also mentioned an *opifex* as teacher of a raven.
- 154, 16. end. Plutarch, *De sollert. animal.*, 19, 5 (Ἑλλήνων ἀγορά is the Graecostasis, Urlichs, *N. Rh. Mus.*, xii, 219).
- 154, 27. March. Plin., *H. N.*, x, 121.
- 154, 37. rubbish. Juv., 3, 30 [38 conducunt foricas is explained by Rodbertus (*Z. Gesch. d. v. Tributsteuern* in Hildebrand's *Jahrb. f. Nationalök.*, v, 309–311) as the farming of the tax on privies. Marquardt (*StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 280, 2 and 3) is of a different opinion. Cf. Cujac., *Obss.*, 22, 34]; Juv., 7, 4.
- 155, 2. auctioneering. Juv., 3, 33; Horace, *Sat.*, i, 7, 55 sqq. (Volteius Menas.); Martial, i, 85; Joseph., xix, 1, 18.
- 155, 4. disrepute. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 365 f. Praeco facetus, Martial, i, 85, 1.
- 155, 14. business. Mommsen, *Die Pompejanischen Quittungstafeln des L. Cācilius Jucundus*, in *Hermes*, xii (1876), pp. 88 ff., esp. 91–98.
- 155, 15. crier. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 6, 86; cf. Mommsen, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1846, p. 48 ff. (*Digg.*, xl, 7, 40, § 8; Cic., *Pro Rabirio*, 11, 30); *CIL*, vi, 9186–9190.
- 155, 17. profits. O. Jahn, *Allg. Litt.-Zeitg.*, 1842, p. 198.
- 155, 18. changing. Strabo, v, p. 235 C.: τὰς οἰκοδομίας, ὥς ἀδιαλείπτους ποιοῦσιν αἱ συμπώσεις καὶ ἐμπρήσεις καὶ μεταπράσεις, ἀδιάλειπτοι καὶ αὗται οὖσαι.
- 155, 20. Josephus. Joseph., *loc. cit.*
- 155, 24. foolishly. Martial, vi, 8.
- 155, 26. long-headed. *Id.*, v, 56.
- 155, 32. many. Cic., *De off.*, i, 42, 151; Vitruv., vi, *praef.* 5 sq.
- 155, 36. country. Cf. vol. ii, p. 193.
- 155, 38. painters. Cf. vol. ii, p. 319.
- 155, 41. Marcellus. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 19.
- 156, 5. manual. Juv., 7, 175.
- 156, 8. citharist. Martial, iii, 4; cf. vol. ii, p. 354.
- 156, 9. dancing. Cf. vol. ii, p. 113.
- 156, 9. fencing. Cf. vol. ii, p. 54.
- 156, 10. circus-driving. Cf. vol. ii, p. 23 f.
- 156, 15. painting. Galen, i, p. 38.
- 156, 17. Lucian. Lucian, *Somn.*, 1 sqq.
- 156, 20. Juvenal. Juv., 3, 156.
- 156, 27. State. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 106 f.
- 156, 28. municipalized. Kuhn, *Verfassung d. r. R.*, i, 94, 669 and 99, 714.
- 156, 31. Portugal. Lex metalli Vipascensis, *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, 185.
- 156, 37. pupils. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 3, 162 ss.
- 157, 1. senators. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 6, 75.
- 157, 8. committees. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 13. A grammaticus latinus at Comum, *CIL*, v, 2, 5278 = Orelli, 1197.
- 157, 9. letters. Fronto, *Ad amicos*, i, 11 (ed. Naber, i, 7, p. 179).
- 157, 15. questions. Gell., xvi, 6, 1.
- 157, 16. salaries. Anton. Pius, c. 11.
- 157, 23. last. *Digg.*, xxvii, 1, 6, § 2.
- 157, 29. refers. Gellius, iv, 1; v, 4; vi, 17; xiv, 5 and 10; xv,



- 9; xx, 10. Among the *magistri* and *praeceptores*, very likely were also grammarians, *CIL*, vi, 10,008.
- 157, 35. twenty-five. *CIL*, ii, 2, 892.
- 157, 38. *decurio*. *CIL*, v, 1, 3433.
- 158, 2. pedagogy. Quintilian, i, 2, 10.
- 158, 7. expense. *M. Antonin., Comment.*, i, 4.
- 158, 10. flocked. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 42; *id.*, *Aug.*, c. 42 (*peregrinosque omnes exceptis medicis et professoribus*).
- 158, 25. clown. Sueton., iii, gr. 19 sq., 23, 9, 24, 22, 18.
- 158, 27. service. *Pert.*, c. 1.
- 158, 28. bread. Ann. Flor. fr., in Jahn, *Flor.*, p. xliii (on the sitting of the teachers cf. Jahn, *Darst. des Handwerks etc.*, *op. cit.*, p. 292).
- 158, 31. grammar. Auson., *Epigr.*, 138.
- 158, 34. knowledge. Ann. Flor. fr., in Jahn, *Flor.*, p. xliv.
- 158, 37. begrimed. Juv., 7, 222 sq.
- 158, 39. six. Auson., *Epist.*, 18, 10.
- 159, 1. wine. Galen, xi, 242.
- 159, 4. afternoon. *Colloqu. Scholast.* (Stephan., ed. Londin., p. 426). Boucherie, *Ἐμπνεύματα*, p. 207.
- 159, 6. seven. Cf. Quintilian, i, 1, 15.
- 159, 9. exercises. Paul. Aegineta, *De arte med.*, i, 14. It is striking that instruction in rhetoric is not mentioned.
- 159, 11. father. Juv., *loc. cit.*
- 159, 16. pantomimes. Augustine, *Conf.*, i, 19, 30.
- 159, 27. Millenarian. Petron., ed.<sup>2</sup> Bücheler, p. 231 sq.
- 159, 33. time. Philogelos, ed. Eberhard, 61.
- 159, 35. rivalry. Quintilian, i, 2, 20.
- 159, 36. corrupted. *Id.*, i, 2, 4.
- 159, 38. impugned. Cf. Nissen, *Hermes*, i, 147; Juv., 10, 224: *quot discipulos inclinet Hamillus*. Quintilian, i, 3, 17; Lucill., *Ep.*, 4; *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, 1794, iii, p. 29 (t. ii, p. 317).
- 159, 39. whip. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 113, 7; Auson., *Id.*, 4, 24 sqq. Cf. the picture in Jahn, *op. cit.*, plate i, 3 (pp. 288 and 294).
- 159, 40. Quintilian. Quintilian, i, 3, 14.
- 160, 3. book. Sueton., iii, gr. 9.
- 160, 5. taught. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 93 f. Cf. also Dio Chr., *Orat.*, p. 264, 14, and Jahn, *op. cit.*, 289. The figures which Jahn takes to be temporary auditors are paedagogues escorting the scholars.
- 160, 7. curtain. Augustine, *Conf.*, i, 13, 22.
- 160, 7. holidays. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 113, 9.
- 160, 8. healthy. Martial, x, 62, 12.
- 160, 13. tailor. Lucian, *De merc. cond.*, 38.
- 160, 16. home. Juv., 3, 69 sqq.; Lucian, *loc. cit.* 17.
- 160, 20. deductions. Juv., 7, 243 (cf. schol.).
- 160, 24. children. Martial, x, 60.
- 160, 27. denarii. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 94. Cf. Hultsch, *D. Denar. d. Diocletian*, in *N. Jahrb.*, 1880, p. 27 ff.
- 160, 28. schools. Sueton., iii, gr. 3.
- 160, 29. partnership. *Digg.*, xvii, 2, 71.
- 160, 31. assistants. Augustine, *Conf.*, viii, 6, 13. Menelaus ante-

- scholarius, *Petron.*, c. 81; *Auson.*, *Proff.*, 22: Victorio subdotori seu proscholo. Boucherie, Ἑρμηνεύματα, p. 206 (description of school teaching): ἄλλοι πρὸς τὴν ὑποδιδασκτὴν τάξει ἀποδιδάσκουσιν.
- 160, 32. incomes. Ovid, *Fasti*, iii, 829.
- 160, 34. sesterces. Sueton., *loc. cit.*, 17.
- 160, 39. profits. *Id. ib.*, 23.
- 161, 2. Seneca. Plin., *H. N.*, xiv, 48-52.
- 161, 3. estate. Seneca, *Qu. N.*, iii, 7, 1; *Epp.*, 104 and 110. Cf. Columella, iii, 3, 3.
- 161, 6. rarity. Suidas, s. Ἐπαφρόδιτος.
- 161, 9. exceptionally. Sueton., iii, gr. 20 (Hyginus); see also Appendix viii, p. 42 (Dionysius).
- 161, 11. parents. *Petron.*, *Sat.*, 4; Quintilian, ii, 4, 16.
- 161, 14. malinger. Juv., 7, 213; Pers., iii, 44-51.
- 161, 16. value. Quintilian, i, 2, 22.
- 161, 16. boys. *Auson.*, *Profess.*, 17, 10.
- 161, 16. still. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 13; *Vita Persii*; Orelli, 2432 = *CIL*, vi, 2188 (studioso eloquentiae. vixit annis xv); Kaibel, *Epigr.*, 229 (ἐτη δ' ἐπὶ πέντε λόγοισιν εἶν' Ἐφέσω σχολάσας εἰκοσέτης ἔθανον). *Auson.*, *Mosella*, 403 (praetextati celebris facundia ludi). According to Libanius (ed. R., i, 178, 15: οὐδὲν δέομαι πληγῶν, ἐκόντων ἅπαντα ποιούντων. ἑτέρους δὲ ἴσμεν μυρίας ῥάβδους ἀνηλωκότας and elsewhere) corporal punishments were usual in the rhetorical schools of Antioch; but it would be rash to draw conclusions from that for the West and for earlier times.
- 161, 17. Gellius. Cf. Appendix lx.
- 161, 17. older. *Auson.*, *Idyll.*, 4, 73: Idem vesticipes motae jam puberis aevi Ad mores artesque bonas fandique vigorem Produxi.
- 161, 19. youth. Martial, ii, 90.
- 161, 21. influence. Tac., *A.*, xv, 71; Gellius, xix, 9, 2 (Antonius Julianus rhetor, docendis publice juvenibus magister).
- 161, 22. beaten. Juv., 7, 213 sq.
- 161, 25. discipline. Augustine, *Conf.*, v, 8, 14.
- 161, 26. Milan. *Ibid.*, v, 12, 22.
- 161, 28. gambled. Liban., ed. R., i, p. 198 sq. (199, 2: πάλαι γὰρ ἐθάς εἰμι τοῦ μὴ λαμβάνειν). The payment was made on the 1st of Jan., p. 259, 20.
- 161, 31. fee. Juv., 7, 217; cf. 186 sq. According to *Cod. Theod.*, *De med. et prof.*, i, 11 (Kuhn, *Verfassung*, i, 94, 664), the salary of the rhetors was double that of the grammarians; but cf. Kuhn, p. 102 (note 740 on the fees of the Greek rhetors).
- 161, 32. adults. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 111 f.
- 161, 36. elsewhere. *Anton. P.*, c. 11.
- 161, 39. tribune. See vol. i, p. 120. The salary of 600,000 sest., which Eumenius of Augustodunum received (*Orat. pro restaur. scholis*, c. 11, 14, 16), after having received 300,000 as *magister sacrae memoriae* was a particular token of imperial favour.
- 161, 41. insignia. Juv., 7, 186. Cf. vol. i, p. 68.
- 162, 3. honours. Cf. vol. i, p. 31.
- 162, 3. century. The 'Rhetor Secundus' in *Otho*, p. 183.
- 162, 5. offices. See Appendix viii (p. 46ff.), also Kuhn, *Verf. d. R.*, i, 92 f.

- 162, 7. governor. *Philogelos*, 202.  
 162, 11. repute. Seneca, *Controu.*, ii, *prooem.*, 5.  
 162, 15. Alexandria. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 22, p. 224.  
 162, 17. Emperor. *Id. ib.*, ii, 32, p. 273 sq. . . . καὶ μὴν καὶ  
 προϋστήσατο αὐτὸν τῆς μεγίστης τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην συνηγοριῶν ὡς  
 ἐπιτηδεύτερον δικαστηρίοις καὶ δίκαις . . . ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 προσετάχθη μὲν τις αὐτῷ νῆσος κ.τ.λ.  
 162, 25. Comum. Pln., *Epp.*, iv, 13.  
 162, 27. Gaul. Fronto, *Ad amicos*, i, 11 (ed. Naber, i, 7, p. 179).  
 162, 28. appointments. Strabo, iv, 181.  
 162, 30. post. Lucian, *Apol.*, c. 15.  
 162, 31. profitable. Cf. Kuhn, *op. cit.*, i, 103.  
 162, 34. passed. Martial, ii, 64.  
 162, 35. peaceful. Quintilian, xii, 11, 4.  
 162, 39. *advocati*. Quintilian, xii, 3; Tac., *Dial.*, c. 31, 32.  
 163, 2. toga. Tac., *A.*, xi, 7. Inscriptions of *causidici*, *CIL*, iv,  
 9240-9242.  
 163, 3. clients. O. Hirschfeld, in *Göth. gel. Anz.*, 1872, p. 680  
 (*togati* = *advocati*, Dirksen, *Manuale*, s.v. § 2; Heinrich on  
 Juv., 8, 49); Sidon. Apoll., *Epp.*, vi, 3 (*togatorum illic perorantium peritiam consulere*).  
 163, 4. Quintilian. Martial, ii, 90, 2.  
 163, 7. Petronius. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 46.  
 163, 13. power. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 9, 11, 13. See vol. i, p. 122.  
 163, 14. Pliny. Seneca, *Epp.*, 49, 2: modo apud Sotionem philosophum puer sedi, modo causas agere coepi; so it was probably before he entered the Senate. On Suetonius cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 43, 4; on the elder Pliny see Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 5, 7.  
 163, 15. year. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 78 and 103-105.  
 163, 18. atria. Vitruv., vi, 5, 1: forensibus autem disertis (atria) elegantiora et spatiosiora ad conventus excipiendos.  
 163, 19. sought. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 6, 7.  
 163, 22. equestrian. Martial, ix, 68, 5; Juv., vii, 124 sqq. Cf. Müller, *Hdb. d. Archäol.*, § 199, 4.  
 163, 24. victory. Martial, vii, 28; Juv., 7, 118.  
 163, 27. gods. Martial, ii, 74.  
 163, 29. janitors. Seneca, *De ira*, iii, 37; Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 4, 41.  
 163, 29. wealth. Martial, i, 17, 76; ii, 30; v, 16; viii, 16, 17.  
 163, 30. fashion. Quintilian, xii, 7, 10.  
 163, 32. gold. Juv., 7, 122.  
 163, 33. rents. Martial, ii, 38, 5. In the *Colloq. schol. Labb. Gloss.*, ii, p. 247, in a provincial lawsuit the moderate amount of 100 *denarii* is mentioned as the fee for all the counsel: ἀγωνομεν ἡμεῖς πρὸς τὸν τραπεζίτην, λάβωμεν παρ' αὐτοῦ δηνάρια ἑκατόν· δῶμεν τῷ δικολόγῳ τιμικῶ καὶ τοῖς συνηγόροις καὶ τῷ νομικῶ, ἵνα σπουδαιότερον ἐκδικήσωσιν ἡμᾶς. The δικολόγος is the *causidicus*; what τιμικός (in the Latin text honorarius) means I do not know, the νομικός is the *pragmaticus* (Latin, jurisperitus), the συνηγόροι (Latin *advocati*) apparently were counsel, who assisted the principal speaker. Cf. *Colloq. schol.*, ed. Haupt, *Ind. lect. Berol. hib.*, 1871, p. 6, 3. On lawsuits for fees cf. *Digg., L.*, 13, 1, § 10-13.  
 163, 36. Marsian. Persius, 3, 75.

- 163, 39. napkin. Martial, iv, 46.  
 163, 40. wine. Juv., 7, 119.  
 164, 6. marble. Martial, x, 87.  
 164, 12. terms. Juv., 7, 105-149.  
 164, 15. perspicuity. Quintilian, xii, 8.  
 164, 17. water. Martial, vi, 35.  
 164, 20. alleviation. *Id.*, vi, 19.  
 164, 21. applause. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 26; Quintilian, xi, 3, 131; Plin., *Epp.*, ii, 14, 4; Juv., 13, 29-31.  
 164, 22. home. Quintilian, xii, 8, 3.  
 164, 24. Gaul. Juv., 7, 129, 147 sq.  
 164, 25. cause. Quintilian, xii, 1, 25; 7, 7.  
 164, 26. fees. *Ib.*, xii, 7, 11.  
 164, 28. lost. Martial, viii, 17.  
 164, 30. talents. Philostrate., *Vitt. sophist.*, i, 22, 4.  
 164, 31. judges. Petron., c. 14: quid faciant leges ubi sola pecunia regnat . . . atque eques in causa qui sedet empta probat.  
 164, 32. prolonged. Cf. Mayor on Juv., 16, 42-50.  
 164, 32. twenty years. Martial, vii, 65.  
 164, 33. parties. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 10.  
 164, 34. litigation. Martial, ii, 13.  
 164, 36. penalty. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 14. On being struck off the roll of advocates, *Digg.*, iii, 1, 8; xvii, 1, 6 § 7.  
 164, 37. venal. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 12, 3, 54; cf. Tac., *A.*, xi, 5.  
 164, 39. food. Fronto, *Epp. ad Marcum Caesarem*, ii, 9, 2: neque est Gratia mea, ut causidicorum uxores feruntur, multi cibi.  
 164, 41. well. Quintilian, xii, 9, 10 and 8; Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 8.  
 165, 2. pushfulness. Lucian, *Piscator*, 29.  
 165, 3. Marcellinus. Ammian., xxx, 4; cf. Augustine, *Conf.*, iii, 3, 6; ix, 2, 2.  
 165, 5. dogs. Quintil., xii, 9, 9; Columella, i, *praef.*: caninum studium. So Firmic. Matern., *De mathesi*, iv, *praef.*; Prudent., *Hamartig.*, 400: Inde canina foro latrat facundia toto.  
 165, 7. imitator. Henzen, 6188.  
 165, 12. standing. Quintil., ii, 4, 24.  
 165, 16. barristers. *Id.*, xii, 3, 9.  
 165, 16. Libanius. Liban., ed. R., i, 214, 2: ἀγεται μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων μάθησιν, ὃ τῶν τὴν διάνοιαν βραδυτέρων ἐστίν. ὦν δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις λίθος, διφθέρas μὲν παχείas τε καὶ πλατείas, τὰ γόνατα βαρυνούσας, ἔφερον.  
 165, 21. money. Petron., c. 49.  
 165, 22. unravelling. Juv., 8, 49.  
 165, 25. centurionship. *Id.*, 14, 190.  
 165, 30. Rome. Cf. Kuhn, *Verf. d. r. Reichs*, 1, 88, 608; also Appendix iii.  
 165, 34. Africa. Bremer, *Rechtslehrer*, pp. 76-101.  
 165, 38. support. Pompon., *De orig. jur. D.*, i, 2, 2 § 47.  
 165, 40. enforced. Instead of 'in ingressu sacramenti' Bremer (*op. cit.* p. 5) reads *sacrarii*; but cf. Karlowa, *Rom. Rechtsgesch.* i, 673, 1.  
 165, 41. provinces. Modestin., i, ii, *excus.* (D., xxvii, 1, 6 § 12). Juris studiosus at Nemausus in Herzog, *Gall. Narbon.*, App. 226;



- at Jader, *CIL*; iii, 1, 2936. Lambaesi in praetorio, *Eph. epigr.*, v, 411, no. 776. The inscription of the Jur. doctor at Dea Augusta, 469, is probably false.
- 166, 3. law. Karlowa, *op. cit.*, p. 673, assumes that the stations were offices belonging to the fiscus or the state which placed them at the disposal of the lawyers. He also believes, p. 722, that Gaius was teacher at a *statio* exclusively or mainly destined for the instruction of provincials.
- 166, 6. praetor. Gell., xiii, 13. Cf. Appendix lx.
- 166, 10. remained. Martial, vii, 51; cf. Becker, *Topogr.*, n. 712.
- 166, 13. Court. Pompon., *loc. cit.*; Puchta, *op. cit.*, p. 566 f.; Bremer, *op. cit.*, p. 10 f.; Karlowa, *Röm. Rechtsgesch.*, p. 659 ff.; Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 912, 2; Mart., x, 37; juris et aequarum cultor sanctissime legem Veridico Latium qui regis ore forum.
- 166, 16. cock-crow. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 1, 9.
- 166, 19. rich. Ammian., xxx, 4, 11 and 12.
- 166, 22. avoid. Dolus malus abesto et juris consultus, Orelli, 4374, 4390, 4391, 4821 (ab iis omnibus dolus malus abesto et jus civile). Cf. Marini, *Atti d. fr. Arv.*, ii, p. 556.
- 166, 23. Claudius. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 15 sqq.
- 166, 28. corpses. Seneca, *Apocol.*, c. 12.
- 166, 29. advocates. Brenner, *op. cit.*, p. 59 f.; Consultus juris et actor Causarum mediocris; Ovid, *A.a.*, iii, 531: jus quo profitebitur adsit, Facundus causam saepe clientis agat; Horace, *A.P.*, 369; Ed. Dioclet. advocato s. jurisperito mercedis in postulationem (a term) 1250, in cognitionem (lawsuit) 1000.
- 166, 32. *pragmatici*. Orelli, 4981 (prope Mogontiacum). Henzen, 7270 (Magontiaci); Mordtmann, *Z. Epigraphik von Thracien*, in *Archäol. epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, viii, 1884, p. 222, 52 (Heraklea—πραγματικός).
- 166, 33. powder monkeys. Quintilian, xii, 3.
- 166, 36. recite. Liban., ed. R., i, 185, 20: καρποὶ δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλῶν φωνῆς . . . καὶ τῶν νόμων, οὓς ἔδει πρότερον φέροντας τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ἐστάναι πρὸς τὸν ῥήτορα βλέποντας, ἀναμένοντας τὸ ὧ οὗτος ἀναγίνωσκε.
- 166, 37. low fees. Juv., 7, 122.
- 166, 38. kind. Martial, xii, 72, 3.
- 166, 40. petitions. Augustine in *Evang. Johann. tract.*, 7, 11: qui volunt supplicare imperatori, quaerant aliquem scholasticum iuris peritum, a quo sibi preces componantur. Bethmann-Hollweg, *Röm. Civilprocess*, iii, 162. Fees of the scholastici in the ordo salutis. sportularumque sub Juliano imp. in prov. Numidia, *Eph. ep.*, v, p. 629: cf. Mommsen, 640 ff. Inscription at Cologne, Rutilio Primo scholastico (cf. *CIL*, viii, 9182). J. Klein, *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxx (1885), 158–160.
- 167, 4. wills. Ulpian, l. x, *de officio procons.* (D., xlviii, 19, 9) §§ 4–7.
- 167, 7. offending. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 32.
- 167, 11. assistance. Henzen, 7236; cf. Mommsen, *Zeitschr. f. gesch. Rechtsw.*, xv, 370.
- 167, 11. proficiency. Nissen in *Hermes*, i, 149.
- 167, 13. cognomen. *CIL*, ii, 1734.

- 167, 19. clerks. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 3, 4 (praetor adeuntibus adsesoris verba pronuntiat).
- 167, 22. *Vigilibus*. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 145, 1 and 3.
- 167, 26. custom. Joseph., *C. Ap.*, ii, 17-19. Α νομικὸς σὺλκάθεδρος of a Proconsul of Africa, *CIL*, iii, 1640; Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 317, 2.
- 167, 28. rescript. *Digg.*, 1, 13, 4; cf. Zimmern, *G. d. v. Privatr.*, i, 252.
- 167, 31. Treasury. *Pescenn. Niger*, c. 7; *Alexand. Sever.*, c. 46 (assessoribus salaria instituit). Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 303, 3. Cuq, *Mem. s. le consil. principis*, *Mém. prés. à l'acad.*, Tom. ix, 2, 1884, p. 354.
- 167, 36. upwards. Bremer, *Rechtslehrer*, pp. 36-38.
- 167, 40. slaves. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 156, 9. Cf. e.g. the will of Dasumius, l. 72 (*Zeitschr. f. gesch. Rechtsw.*, xii, 364) and Exer. Otto, *De vit. Serv. Sulpic. et Alfeni Vari*, p. 237 sqq. Julian, *Orat.*, 7, p. 207 D.: ἐὰν . . . τις οἰκέτης γένηται τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἱατρός, πράγματα ἔχει κολακεῖν ἅμα καὶ θεραπεῖν τὸν δεσπότην ἀναγκαζόμενος. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 772, 1-6.
- 168, 1. fifty. *Cod. Just.*, vii, 7, 1, § 5; vi, 43, 3; cf. Gaupp, *De profess. et medicis*, p. 16.
- 168, 8. visits. *Digg.*, xxxviii, 1, 25-27. On imperantes sibi (26), cf. my *Programm*, Acad. Alb., 1865, 1.
- 168, 9. Teachers. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 42; *Aug.*, c. 42.
- 168, 9. civic. Dio, liii, 30.
- 168, 10. Romans. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 17.
- 168, 11. Orientals. Lucian, *Tragodop.*, 265. The inscriptions of the *medici* in the city of Rome, *CIL*, vi, 9562-9617.
- 168, 14. Egypt. *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 319; cf. Stephan, *Das heutige Aegypten*, p. 70.
- 168, 19. eruption. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxvi, 3; Galen, ed. K., xi, 142; cf. vol. i, p. 76 of this work.
- 168, 22. Rumi. H. Frhr. v. Maltzan, *Arabische Sagen über Alexander*, in *Ausland*, 1870, p. 967.
- 168, 23. foreign. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 17.
- 168, 26. Britain. Scribon. Larg., c. 42, 163; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 773.
- 168, 32. Clemens. Galen, ed. K., xiii, 1027.
- 168, 33. oculists. Grotefend, *Stempel der Röm. Augenärzte*, 127 f.
- 168, 40. smallest. See vol. i, 157. On the division of the cities into three classes see Mommsen, *RG*, v, 303.
- 169, 4. offices. Galen, xviii<sup>b</sup>, 678.
- 169, 5. Beneventum. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 1873.
- 169, 7. Hygieia. Promis, *Storia dell' ant. Torino*, p. 452, no. 209.
- 169, 7. priests. *CIG*, 4315<sup>a</sup>. (p. 1148): Rhodiapoli Lyciae.
- 169, 11. officers. Cf. vol. ii, p. 56.
- 169, 13. medical. Gaupp, *Das Sanitätswesen in den Heeren der Alten* (Blaubeuren, 1869); R. Briau, *L'assistance médicale chez les Romains* (1869).
- 169, 14. oculist. Grotefend, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
- 169, 16. Ferentinum. Orelli, 3507.
- 169, 20. hygienics. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 556.

- 169, 22. arrows. *Ibid.*, note 3.  
 169, 23. *archiater*. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 774 f.  
 169, 25. Gaius. See vol. i, p. 68 f.  
 169, 25. Andromachus. Briau, *L'archiatrie Romaine* (1877), p. 20 ss.; Erotian., *Glossar. in Hippocr.*, *praef.*; Galen, *De antidot.*, i, 1; Lebas-Waddington, vol. iii, 1695 (ἀρχιατρὸς Σεβαστῶν); cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 775, 8; and see note above on vol. i, 68, 22.  
 169, 30. Jew. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 777.  
 169, 32. century. *Cod. Theod.*, xiii, 3.  
 169, 34. post. Galen, xiv, 211; Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 775, 7.  
 169, 41. worthy. *Cod. Theodos.*, xiii, 3, 8.  
 170, 4. degree. *Id.*, xiii, 3, 9; cf. Symmach., *Epp.*, x, 40 (384) and *C. Th.*, xiii, 3, 13 (387).  
 170, 19. cases. Galen, ix, 873 (*De dieb. decret.*, ii, 7).  
 170, 21. responsibility. On the cases of *actio ex lege Aquilia* cf. *Digg.*, ix, 2, 7 § 8, 8, 9 and *StRE*, iv, 1702 note; Briau, *L'archiatrie*, p. 7.  
 170, 24. smiths. Galen, *De meth. med.*, i, 1, ed. K., x, p. 5.  
 170, 27. still. Martial, i, 30; viii, 74, i, 47.  
 170, 29. read. Galen, *De libr. propr. prooem*; ed. K., xix, p. 9.  
 170, 30. grammar. Galen, *Comm. in Hippocr. epid.*, iv, 9, ed. K., xvii, 2, p. 146.  
 170, 32. philosophy. Galen, xi, 541; ix, 789.  
 170, 34. months. *Id.*, *De meth. med.*, *loc. cit.*; Sprengel, *Gesch. d. Arzneik.*, ii, 42 ff.  
 170, 38. fever. Martial, v, 9.  
 170, 40. pupils. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, vii, 349, ed. K., p. 162.  
 171, 1. Egypt. Herodot., ii, 85. But cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 1901, p. 215 f.  
 171, 3. bled. Galen, ed. K., xvii<sup>b</sup>, p. 229.  
 171, 5. consumption. Philostrat., *Gymnast.*, 15.  
 171, 7. operators. Or., 4228; *CIL*, 1737 and 5055; v, 1, 3490. *Clinicus chirurgus ocularius*, Or., 2983, cf. Galen, x, 941, 1019; v, 846-850.  
 171, 9. oculist. Scribon. Larg., v, 38.  
 171, 11. so-called. Galen, vii, 392; cf. xviii<sup>a</sup>, 47-50.  
 171, 12. uvulae. Or., 4227; Galen, x, 1019; *Digg.*, 1, 13, 1 § 3.  
 171, 17. fractures. Martial, x, 56.  
 171, 18. doctors. Soran., *De muliebr. affect.*, c. 47, ed. Ermerins, p. 191, 15.  
 171, 21. *regio*. Or., 4230-32; *CIL*, vi, 9614-9617. *Imperial obstetrices*, *ib.*, 8947-8949; others, 9720-9725. Cf. also Galen, xiv, p. 641.  
 171, 19. diseases. Martial, xi, 71.  
 171, 25. omen. Soran., *loc. cit.*, cc. 1 and 2.  
 171, 28. lips. Galen, vii, 414; cf. Martial, xi, 7, 11.  
 171, 29. drug. Juv., 2, 141.  
 171, 30. gout. Galen, xiii, 341.  
 171, 33. territory. Plutarch, *De frat. am.*, 15.  
 171, 34. surgeon. Galen, x, 454 sqq.  
 171, 37. shoulder. *Id.*, xviii<sup>a</sup>, pp. 346-348.

- 171, 40. eyelids. *Id.*, v, 846 sqq.
- 172, 12. bones. Martial, vi, 70, 6; xi, 84, 5.
- 172, 3. Pompeii. Jahn, *Ber. d. Sachs. Ges.*, 1861, 330. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 713, 8. Cf. the illustrations in the article on *Chirurgie* by Saglio (Daremberg and S., *Dictionnaire des antiquités*).
- 172, 5. used. Seren. Sammon., 998.
- 172, 4. mandragora. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvi, 56; Dioscorid., i p. 574; ii, p. 99 sq.; i, p. 817. Cf. Kobert, *Zustand der Arzneikunde vor 18 Jahrhunderten* (1887), p. 21 (narcotics), 22 (dilatation of the pupil). Mandragora contains atropine. Cf. Appendix xiii.
- 172, 7. couching. Epictet., *D. I.*, i, 25, 32: καὶ τί παραδοξότερόν ἐστιν ἢ κεντεῖν τινα τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἵνα ἴδῃ;
- 172, 8. anagallis. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxv, 144 and 150. Cf. A. Hirsch, *Gesch. d. Augenheilkunde* (Grafe and Gemisch, *Hdb. d. Augenheilkunde*, vii), 261. Celsus undoubtedly describes in the operation of *suffusio* the cataract depression (260 f.). There is no trace in Galen, as has been supposed (280), of any knowledge of extraction.
- 172, 14. reckoned. Galen, xviii<sup>b</sup>, 258.
- 172, 21. bleed. *Id.*, xi, 299.
- 172, 23. Xenophon. See vol. i, p. 68, l. 21, p. 69, l. 6.
- 172, 26. death. *Digg.* xxxiii, 1, 10, § 1.
- 172, 27. January. Mommsen, *ad Digg.*, xix, 5, 26.
- 172, 29. scab. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxvi, 4.
- 172, 31. second. *Id. ib.*, xxix, 29.
- 172, 33. wife. Galen, xiv, p. 647.
- 172, 37. saw. *Id.*, viii, 22, 4.
- 172, 39. Dionysius. *Id.*, xi, 357 sqq.
- 173, 2. projects. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 8, 9.
- 173, 4. return. *Id. ib.*, 22.
- 173, 8. Wright. G. O. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, Tauchn. ed., iv, 58. Also under the Khalifs medical fees were very high. The monthly salary of the second oculist of the Khalif Harun Rashid amounted to 2,000 dirhems (francs), besides rations worth 20,000 dirhems a year.
- 173, 15. 520,000. Wilmanns, 2486; Mommsen, *Hermes*, xiii, 120.
- 173, 21. bouts. *CIL*, iii, 4315<sup>n</sup>. (p. 1148).
- 173, 21. Pliny. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 21.
- 173, 24. death. *Id. ib.*
- 173, 27. restitution. *Digg.*, 1, 13, 3 (Ulpian, lib. v, *Opinionum*).
- 173, 31. desperation. *Cod.*, x, 52, 9.
- 173, 38. medicaments. *Plinii quae fertur medicina*, ed. v, Rose, p. 1.
- 173, 39. counsel. Galen, xvii<sup>b</sup>, 144-152.
- 174, 10. overcome. *Id.*, xvii<sup>a</sup>, 150.
- 174, 25. pages. *Id.*, x, 4.
- 174, 28. whims. *Id.*, xiii, 597.
- 174, 37. prediction. *Id.*, xvii<sup>b</sup>, 135-143.
- 174, 39. patient. *Id.*, xi, 10.
- 175, 1. beloved. *Id.*, xviii<sup>b</sup>, 40; xiv, 631.
- 175, 2. discover. *Id.*, ix, 218.
- 175, 7. diagnosis. Sprengel, *G.d.A.*, ii, 169.



- 175, 9. course. Galen, xvii<sup>a</sup>, 148.  
 175, 13. bleed. *Id.*, xv, 313-316.  
 175, 16. prize-fighters. *Id.*, xviii<sup>b</sup>, 692.  
 125, 18. cases. Epictet., iii, 10, 15; M. Antonin., *Comm.*, iv, 48.  
 175, 19. multitude. Plutarch, *De adulat. et amico*, 32, p. 70.  
 175, 20. out. Cels., v, 26, 1.  
 175, 22. hawkers. Galen, xiv, 305.  
 175, 26. headaches. Epictet., iii, 23, 30.  
 175, 29. handles. Lucian, *Adv. indoct.*, 29.  
 175, 30. patients. Epictet., iii, 23, 27.  
 175, 32. Temple. Galen, *De libr. propr.*, p. 363, K. xix, p. 21 sq.,  
*Id.*, *De praenot. ad Epig.*, p. 455 sqq.; cf. also ed. K., ii, pp.  
 622 and 690 (on public dissections and demonstrations).  
 176, 4. converted. Galen, xi, 186-194.  
 176, 8. unanswerable. *Id.*, xi, 331 sqq.  
 176, 10. knowledge. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xxxiii, p. 395, 31.  
 176, 15. books. *CIG*, 3311 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 305.  
 176, 15. support. *CIG*, 6607; see also vol. i, p. 69.  
 176, 16. Heraclitus. See vol. i, p. 173, l. 16.  
 176, 23. Alps. Kobl, *Alle und neue Zeit*, p. 114 f. Frankfort  
 acquired a dispensary 1343, Leipzig 1409, Berlin 1488, Dresden  
 1490, Halle 1493, Bremen 1532.  
 176, 29. dispensed. Hufeland's autobiography in Göschen, *Deutsche  
 Klinik*, 1863, no. 13 ff. (*Deutsche Lehr- und Wanderjahre*, 1874,  
 ii, 216).  
 176, 32. swindlers. Cic., *Cluent.*, 14, 40; Horace, *Sat.*, i, 2, 1.  
 Cato, *ap. Gell.*, i, 15.  
 176, 37. plasters. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiv, 108.  
 176, 41. towns. Galen, xiii, 571.  
 177, 1. experts. *Id.*, xiv, 7.  
 177, 6. unconscientious. *Id.*, xii, 215.  
 177, 11. able. *Id.*, xiii, 570 sq.  
 177, 20. Mauretania. *Id.*, xiv, 6 sqq.  
 177, 25. distribution. *Id.*, xiv, 7 sqq.; xii, 220-238.  
 177, 26. Pergamus. *Id.*, xii, 229.  
 177, 27. jet. In Dioscorid., v, 145, *Γάγας*.  
 177, 29. stones. Galen, xii, 202 (375).  
 177, 32. fisc. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 781, 5 and 6.  
 177, 34. impure. Galen, xii, 216.  
 177, 41. centenarian. *Id.*, xiii, 703 sq.  
 178, 2. century. Kohl, *Alte u. neue Zeit*, p. 115.  
 178, 7. pictures. The (574) coloured illustrations in the Dioscorides  
 manuscripts are probably copies of coloured 'originals painted  
 in Alexandria at the time of the Ptolemies; F. Cohn, *Jahresber.  
 d. Schles. Ges. f. vaterl. Cultur*, 1881, 27 October.  
 178, 14. senility. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxv, 1-10; Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 283,  
 2; Luxor. (*Anthol.*, i, ed. Riese, i, no. 369), *De horto domini  
 Oageis, ubi omnes plantae medicinales plantatae sunt*.  
 178, 29. cinnamon-tree. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 781.  
 178, 32. sent. Paus., x, 32, 11.  
 179, 5. failed. Scribon., *Compos. medic. praef.*  
 179, 6. Africa. *Id. ib.*, 122.  
 179, 18. belts. *Id. ib.*, 163.

- 179, 18. use. *Id. ib.*, 171 sq.  
 179, 21. vouch. *Id. ib.*, 152.  
 179, 22. Messalina. *Id. ib.*, 60.  
 179, 23. friends. *Id. ib.*, peroratio.  
 179, 27. stores. Galen, xiii, 861.  
 179, 30. adders. Sprengel, ii, 80.  
 179, 32. centipedes. Dioscorid., *Mat. med.*, ii, 36, 37.  
 179, 38. prescribe. Cf. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 446, 6 (Placitus' drugs), and Jerome, *Adv. Jovinian.*, ii, 6, ed. Vallarsi, ii, 337s. (where many drugs of this sort are mentioned and also the diseases they were supposed to cure).  
 180, 3. donkeys. Galen, xii, 248-250, 290 sqq.  
 180, 9. die. *Id.*, xii, 251 sq.  
 180, 19. poisons. *Id.*, xi, 336-338.  
 180, 24. well-hated. *Id.*, xiv, 32 and 216.  
 180, 28. Augustus. Scribon., 177 sqq.  
 180, 32. unworthy. Galen, xii, 445 sqq.  
 180, 34. dearest. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 24 and 28.  
 181, 4. plutocrats. Galen, xiii, 636-638, 954.  
 181, 5. expensive. Seren. Sammonic., 523-526.  
 181, 10. puzzle. Galen, xii, 423 sq.  
 181, 13. Galen. *Id.*, xii, 772; cf. Kühn, *Ind. s. Paccius*; Martial, xiv, 78.  
 181, 18. libraries. Scribon. Larg., c. 23, 97. Buecheler (*Rhein. Mus.*, xxxvii, 328) believes the edict of Claudius, nihil aeque facere ad viperae morsum quam taxi arboris sucum (Sueton., c. 16) to be based on Scribon. c. 168, of which only the heading 'ad viperae morsum proprie' is preserved.  
 181, 20. Marcellus. *Anthol. Pal.*, T. iii, p. 273; d. lxxix (ed. Jacobs, iv, 239).  
 181, 25. instantaneous. Galen, xii, 749.  
 181, 27. blinded. *Id.*, xii, 768. Cf. Grotefend, *Stempel d. v. Augenärzte*, p. 68.  
 181, 28. chin. Galen, xii, 839; cf. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxvi, 3.  
 181, 30. cure. Galen, xiii, 1019.  
 181, 33. nerves. *Id.*, xiii, 1027.  
 181, 37. colour. S. Kuhn, *Ind.*  
 181, 39. bursts. Galen, vii, 549.  
 182, 5. dissolving. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 780, 3. Grotefend, *op. cit.*, and supplement in *Jahrbb. d. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl.*, 1867, p. 220; Zangemeister in *Hermes*, ii, 313 ff.; Schuermann, *Rev. arch.*, 1867, 75 ss.; Roulez, *ib.*, 180 ss.; Longpérier, *ib.*, 1869, 61 ss.; Robert, 1870, 348; *BdI*, 1868, pp. 104-108, cf. p. 176; Mommsen, *Eph. epigr.*, ii, p. 450; Huebner, *ib.*, iii, 147; Jos. Klein, *Stempel v. röm. Augenärzten*, in *Jahrbb. d. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl.*, 1875, pp. 93-136 (where 128 are enumerated); 1876, p. 200 f. (another). Dr. E. Bertheraud, *Recherches des cachets des oculistes Romains dans le Nord de l'Afrique* (Alger, 1876), counts 131 (one found in the ruins of Lambessa, p. 5). Desjardins, *Comptes rendus*, viii (1880), p. 481, mentions 159. Keller, *Ein neuer röm. Augenarztstempel*, in *Rheinl. d. Jahrbb.*, 1881, pp. 140-150 (the first with a Greek

- inscription). Héron de Villefosse et Thédenat, *Cachets d'oculistes romains* (T. i, 1882) contains 18 new stamps, 17 of them certainly found in France. Zangemeister, *Zwei neuerdings gef. Oculistenstempel*, in *Bonner Jahrbh.*, lxxvi (1883), p. 224 f. Cf. Fröhner, *Krit. Analekten*, 93 (*Philol. Supplementbd.*, v, pp. 87-89). S. Reinach, *Liste des coulistes Romains*, in *Rev. archéol.*, 1888, p. 254 ss.
- 182, 8. spoon. Martial, ix, 96.
- 182, 8. prisoning. Liban., ed. Reiske, iv, p. 908 : Κοινὸς τόπος κατ' ἰατροῦ φαρμακείως,
- 182, 8. adultery. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 20.
- 182, 9. husband. Martial, vi, 31.
- 182, 10. extortion. Galen, xiv, 660.
- 182, 12. fights. *Id.*, viii, 357 and 495.
- 182, 13. Apollo. *Id.*, vii, 419.
- 182, 16. profits. *Id.*, xiv, 621.
- 182, 15. murder. *Id.*, xiv, 602 ; cf. 623 sq., 625, 660, and xix, 15.
- 182, 20. tripod. *Id.*, xvi, 456 sq.
- 182, 22. training. Galen very often repeats this reproach, e.g. i, 53 sqq.
- 182, 29. monument. *CIG*, 6007.
- 182, 30. method. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 779, 7. Cf. *CIA*, iii, 779.
- 182, 37. torpidity. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 10 ; cf. Seneca, *Ep̃p.*, 53 and 83.
- 182, 39. methodists. Galen, ix, 657 ; x, 909 sqq. ; xvii<sup>a</sup>, 274.
- 182, 40. Valens. Cf. vol. i, p. 69.
- 183, 27. high. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxvi, 12 sqq. ; K. Sprengel, *op. cit.*, ii, 5 ff. One M. Apronius Eutropus medicus Asclepiadius (Lyon), *Bull. d. I.*, 1864, p. 67.
- 183, 32. ladder. Pliny, *H. N.*, vii, 124 ; xxv, 6.
- 183, 35. provide. *Id. ib.*, xxix, 1-11.
- 183, 37. faith. Cf. the two small bronze tablets with receipts, Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2753 s.
- 184, 1. dumb. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxi ; cf. xxxvii, 50.
- 184, 4. begotten. *Id.*, xxiv, 1-5.
- 184, 8. Turkey. R. Kobert, *Ueber den Zustand der Arzneikunde vor 18 Jahrhunderten* (1887), p. 7.
- 184, 6. remedies. *Id. ib.*, pp. 16-18.
- 184, 12. death. Dioscorid., *Mat. m.*, iv, 149 (ed. K., i, 632).
- 184, 16. pangless. *Id. ib.*, v, 159 sq. (i, 818K.).
- 184, 23. converted. Röper, in Marquardt, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, iv<sup>1</sup>, n. 741 and 751.
- 184, 29. other. Galen, ix, 934 sq.
- 184, 31. effects. *Digg.*, l, 13, 1 § 3.
- 184, 31. ancient. *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 319.
- 184, 32. Jews. Joseph. *A. J.*, viii, 2, 5.
- 184, 33. astrology. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 928 ; cf. also Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 9, and the pseudo-Galenian *Prognostica de decub. ex math. scient.*, Galen, ed. R., xix, 529.
- 184, 35. doctors. Juv., 4, 553 sqq.
- 184, 37. ninety-three. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 592 = *CIG*, 5821.
- 185, 9. unknown. Galen, ix, 910-913.

- 185, 13. penalties. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 92-94. On the persecution of astrologers in Byzantium under Justinian see Procop., *H. arc.*, c. 11.
- 185, 17. astrologers. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 44.
- 185, 22. broke. Auson., *Parent.*, 4, 17-21.
- 185, 25. turned. Augustine, *Conf.*, iv, 3, 5.
- 185, 29. purge. Firmic. Matern., *De mathesi*, iv, *praef.*
- 185, 32. men. *Id. ib.*, iii, 8, 9.
- 185, 35. paid. Suid., s. Βλᾶκα and Casaubon, ed. Sueton., *Caligula* c. 40; Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 200, 5. Sacerdos d[ei] s[ancti] i[n]victi M[ithrae] s[tudiosus] astrologiae (Mediolani) in Orelli, 1202 = *CIL*, v, 2, 5893.
- 185, 37. Egyptians. Juv., 3, 41; Ammian., xxii, 16, 18s.
- 185, 37. Emperors. Cf. vol. i, p. 69.
- 186, 7. suicide. Tac., *A.* xvi, 14.
- 186, 14. horoscopes. Artemidor., *Onirocr.*, ii, 69. But he wrote not only οἰωνοσκοπικά but also χειροσκοπικά; Suid., s.v.
- 186, 16. holy. Quintilian, *Declam.*, 4, 16 (sacrae artis antistites).
- 186, 18. price. Cf. Horace, i, 6, 141; Juv., 6, 588.
- 186, 20. Columella. Colum., xi, 2, 31.
- 186, 21. farmer. Marquardt, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, iv<sup>1</sup>, n. 691.
- 186, 22. merchant. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 76.
- 186, 25. suited. Apulei., *Apol.*, 553; Lucian, *Dial. mort.*, 11, 1.
- 186, 25. rich. Galen, xiv, 604.
- 186, 30. denarii. Apul., *Met.*, ii, 28 sq.
- 186, 37. fortune. Petron., c. 77.
- 186, 40. 354 A.D. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 406, 1-8.
- 188, 4. knowledge. Firmic. Matern., *De mathesi*, ii, 33; cf. viii, *praef.*
- 188, 15. Tarpeian. *Id.*, v, *praef.*
- 188, 22. occupation. Colum., i, *praef.*, 1.
- 188, 24. per cent. *Id.*, iii, 3; Rodbertus, *Z. Gesch. d. agrarischen Entwicklung Roms*, in Hildebrand's *Jahrb. f. Nationalökon.* ii (1864), 208-228. Cf. also vol. i, p. 2 of this work.
- 188, 25. land. Dio, li, 21; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 41.
- 188, 29. paid. Rodbertus, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Pliny, *H. N.*, xvii, 8.
- 188, 30. Ostia. Barnabei, *Libello di Geminio Eutichete*, in *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst. Röm. Abth.*, ii (1887), p. 203 ff.
- 188, 36. prosperity. Mommsen, *Das Decret des Commodus für den saltus Buruntianus*, in *Hermes*, xv (1880), p. 408 f. The *coloni* in the inscriptions mentioned are all lease-holders.
- 188, 39. small. The whole paragraph is taken (mostly verbally) from Mommsen, *Die ital. Bodentheilung und die Alimentartafeln*, in *Hermes*, xix (1884), 393-416.
- 189, 1. provinces. *H. N.*, xviii, 35.
- 189, 6. value. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 145.
- 189, 13. valued. Columella, iii, 3, 8.
- 189, 21. million. In all these statements it is presupposed that all the proprietors had not only mortgaged parts of their landed property, but all of it. Sale of an estate for 70,000 S. is mentioned in *CIL*, xiv, 3471.
- 189, 30. show. Marquardt, *Pvl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 445. Cf. vol. i, 160 f.



- 189, 37. sea. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 404 ff.  
 189, 41. needs. Manilius, *Astron.*, iv, 162 sqq.  
 190, 23. statue. *CIL*, xiv, 2852.  
 190, 45. Umbria. *CIL*, xiv, 12 :

notus in urbe sacra, notus quoque finibus illis,  
 quos Umber sulcare solet, quos Tuscus arator,

According to this in both districts at that time corn-growing was certainly important.

- 190, 9. detail. Vol. i, p. 299 ff.  
 190, 13. priests. What follows is taken from Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 332-371 and his paper, *De apparitoribus magist. Roman.*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1848, vi, 1-57.  
 190, 23. wished. Petron., c. 71.  
 190, 25. paid. The salaries of the *apparitores* in the *lex Coloniae Genetivae* (*Ephem. epigr.*, iii, 91 s.) are : scribes ii virorum 1200 HS, scribes aedilium 800, accensi 700, lictores 600, viatores 400, librarii 300, haruspices II virorum 500 (aedilium 300), praecones 300, tibicines 300.  
 190, 26. *scribae*. On the signification of *scriba* see Mommsen, *StRE*, i<sup>3</sup>, pp. 346, 1.  
 190, 33. law. *Ibid.*, 352, 5.  
 190, 39. knights. See vol. i, p. 141.  
 191, 3. covered. Vitruv., vii, 9, 2.  
 191, 9. boats. Gruter, 391, 1.  
 191, 17. statues. *CIL*, ii, 4536-4548.  
 191, 28. debtors. Manilius, v, 315-322.  
 191, 35. Praetorian. Mommsen, *Die röm. Gardetruppen*, in *Hermes*, xvi, 643 ff. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 475 ff.  
 191, 36. cohorts. *Ib. id.*; 475 ff.; cf. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 1067, 4.  
 192, 5. used. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 141 ff.  
 192, 8. pension. *Ibid.*, 564 ff.  
 192, 11. rack. *Digg.*, xlix, 16, 3, 1; 18, 3 etc.; Hartmann, *De exilio*, p. 58, 5.  
 192, 13. excesses. Juv., *Sat.*, 16, 7-34.  
 192, 18. violence. Herodian., ii, 4.  
 192, 20. voluntarily. Mommsen, *Conscriptionsordnung*, in *Hermes*, xix, 58.  
 192, 23. 37. Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 4: quia plerumque inopes ac vagi sponte militiam sumant.  
 192, 23. 42. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 542, 6.  
 192, 24. frontiers. *Id. ib.*, p. 560 ff. A proof of the celibacy of the soldiers is given also in Liban., ed. R., i, 184, 20, where he says that in the good old times the soldiers οὐκ ἐγάμων, ἀλλ' ὅπως μηδὲ δεήσωνται γάμων εὐρητο; apparently this means permission to keep concubines.  
 192, 26. rob. Philo, in *Flacc.*, i, p. 518 M. Avillius Flaccus kept the soldiers in Egypt at first in good discipline, also τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἵνα μὴ τὰς μισθοφορίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι πρὸς ληστείας καὶ ἀρπαγὰς αὐτοὺς ἀλείψωσι.  
 192, 30. familiar. Quintilian xi, 1, 86.  
 193, 1. executed. Apulei., *Metam.*, ix, p. 205 sqq.

- 193, 4. *privates*. Oscar Bohn, *Ueber die Heimath der Prätorianer* (1883), p. 9 f.
- 193, 8. *Cohorts*. Dosith., *Adrian. sent.*, § 2.
- 193, 14. *City*. Bohn, pp. 5 and 10, 9; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 442 and 451.
- 193, 14. *garrison*. Mommsen, *Conscriptionsordnung*, in *Hermes*, xix, 58, 2.
- 193, 17. *Italy*. Tac., *A.*, iv, 5; cf. *Hist.*, i, 84.
- 193, 28. *fire*. Mommsen, *Edict des Claudius*, in *Hermes*, iv, 118. (The doubts there expressed on καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας in Dio, lxxiv, 2 were afterwards withdrawn by Mommsen, *Hermes*, xix, 52, 2). Cf. Bohn, p. 4 f.; Mommsen, *Hermes*, xix, 53.
- 193, 35. *men*. *Latercula militum praetor.*, *CIL*, vi, 2375-2403. Cf. *Eph. epigr.*, vi, n. 887; *Bull. com. d. R.*, iv, 76; v, 77. *Laterc. cohort. urb.*, *CIL*, vi, 2404 sq.; cf. 2384 and 3884; Bohn, p. 7 f.
- 193, 40. *Syrians*. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 53 f.
- 94, 1. *polished*. Henzen, *Monumenti di pretoriani* (second half of the third century) in *AdI*, 1864, p. 19 sqq.; cf. esp. p. 25.
- 194, 5. *legion*. Henzen, 6686 = *CIL*, v, 1, 923. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 479, 1.
- 194, 7. *bandits*. Dio, lxxiv, 2.
- 194, 8. *caliga*. *Militare in caliga*, *CIL*, vi, 2440; *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 544; 7 leg. iii Aug. qui et caligatus stip. xiiii m[eruit].
- 194, 9. *centurion*. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 376.
- 194, 9. *position*. P. Ann. Flori fr., in Jahn, ed. Flor., p. xlv.
- 194, 14. *year*. Juv., 14, 194 (ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus adferat; cf. Marquardt, 354, 1). Revolts of Moors and Britons under Hadrian, see *Hadrian*, c. 5. and 12. On the inscription of Bulla regia (*CIL*, viii, 10,579) ; p.p. praerogativo tempore factus (a) d. Hadriano, cf. the note by Mommsen.
- 194, 17. *fair*. J. Karbe, *De centurionibus Rom. quaestiones epigr.* (Halis, 1880), pp. 1-8. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 376 f.; *CIL*, xiv, 349 (Ostia): . . . p[rimi]p[ilaris] f[ilio] p[rimi]p[ilaris] n[e-poti]. It is at least doubtful whether the *primipilares* received the sum of 600,000 S. (Sueton., *Gai.*, 44; Karbe, p. 8, 15). Of their privileges we only know one that they received from Hadrian, 'vacatio a tutela' (Karbe, *ib.*).
- 194, 18. *knights*. J. Schmidt, *Die Rangklasse der Primipilaren* (*Hermes*, xxi. 1886, p. 90 ff.), is not successful in his attempt to prove that it always happened from the time of Augustus.
- 194, 18. *sons*. Karbe, pp. 10-12.
- 194, 19. *tone*. Cf. e.g. Horace, *S.*, i, 6, 72; Persius, 5, 189; 3, 77.
- 194, 22. *Decurio*. Appian., *B. civ.*, v, 128. Madvig, *Verf. und Verw.*, ii, 12.
- 194, 24. *patrons*. Karbe, pp. 12-14.
- 194, 26. *trustworthy*. *Id.*, p. 15. Cf. *Did. Jul.*, c. 5: Nigrum misso primipilario occidi praeceperat.
- 194, 35. *militiis*. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 378-380; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 543 ff.
- 194, 40. *procuratorship*. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 379.
- 195, 1. *encouraged*. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 547.

- 195, 3. appointed. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 547, 4. Marquardt, 458 f.  
 195, 8. veterans. Mommsen, 547, 5.  
 195, 14. ways. For numerous examples see the German original, ed. 6, 1888, i, 378 f.  
 195, 21. banished. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 4.  
 195, 36. live. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 7, 46 sqq.  
 195, 39. tradition. Marquardt, *Prl.* i<sup>2</sup>, 204 ff.  
 196, 4. chairs. Juv., 7, 144 sqq. In the epitaph of a certain Manlia T. l. Gnome (*CIL*, vi<sup>3</sup>, 21,975) are the words: *clientes habui multos*.  
 196, 4. imputation. Marquardt, *op. cit.*  
 196, 6. disposal. Manil., v, 61 sqq.  
 196, 8. food. On this and on the signification of *sportula* cf. Appendix xiv.  
 196, 12. Cottae. Aurelius Cotta, Tac., *A.*, xiii, 34 ?  
 196, 12. times. Martial, xii, 36, 8; iv, 40, 1; Juv., 5, 108-113 (*modici amici*, as often, clients).  
 196, 16. clients. Colum., *praef. lib.*, i, 9 and 12.  
 196, 19. valued. Juv., 5, 12-18.  
 196, 20. cloak. Pers., 1, 54.  
 196, 21. sometimes. Martial, x, 11, 6.  
 196, 22. land. Juv., 9, 59.  
 196, 25. property. Cf. vol. iii, p. 61, also vol. i, pp. 160 and 161.  
 196, 28. Lupus. Martial, v, 56; x, 48, 6.  
 196, 31. must. *Id.*, xi, 18.  
 196, 34. conducting. Columella, *praef. lib.*, i, 12 (the words 'qui vectigalis esse non possit' Gesner recognized to be a gloss). The 'cotidianum tributum' is the 'meritoria salutatio' (Seneca, *Brev.*, v, 14, 6).  
 196, 35. lodgings. *Digg.*, vii, 8, 2 § 1, 3; ix, 3, 5 § 1. Also *contubernium* (cf. Gierig, *Plin. Epp.*, ii, p. 545 sqq., de *contuberniis Romanorum*) implies sometimes a real client-relationship.  
 196, 37. expected. Martial, ii, 32; x, 18.  
 196, 39. clients. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 22.  
 197, 1. pale. Martial, iii, 38, 11.  
 197, 3. *toga*. *Id.*, x, 18.  
 197, 4. paid. *Id.*, x, 75, 11.  
 197, 5. barely. *Id.*, iii, 30; Juv., 1, 119 sqq.  
 197, 9. atrium. Seneca, *Epp.*, 22, 7.  
 197, 13. call. Martial, x, 70, 5. A number of passages in Casaubon on Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 53.  
 197, 14. digestion. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 9, 48.  
 197, 18. orbit. Juv., 5, 19.  
 197, 20. sleep. Martial, x, 74.  
 197, 22. repose. *Id.*, iii, 4; xii, 68; xiv, 125.  
 197, 28. worn. *Id.*, ix, 100; x, 96, 11; xii, 18, 5.  
 197, 32. school. *Id.*, xii, 57, 4; cf. Juv., 7, 225; Martial, xiv, 223.  
 197, 32. home. Pliny., *Epp.*, iii, 12.  
 197, 33. snow. Martial, iii, 36; x, 82; xii, 26; Juv., 5, 76.  
 197, 33. deterred. Seneca, *Beneff.*, iv, 39, 3 (Kölle) *Rom. im Jahre* 1833, p. 197: 'As soon as the snow lies, lawcourts and schools

are closed. When it rains fairly heavily no hawkers or beggars are to be heard'.

- 197, 34. dirty. Juv., 3, 247.  
 197, 35. distances. Martial, i, 108; v, 22.  
 197, 38. waggons. *Id.*, v, 22, 7; Juv., 3, 243 sqq.  
 197, 40. gout. Martial, vii, 39.  
 198, 3. following. *Id.*, ii, 18, 5; iii, 46; x, 10, 7.  
 198, 4. visits. *Id.*, ix, 100, 3.  
 198, 6. Titus. *Id.*, iii, 36.  
 198, 7. elbow. *Id.*, iii, 46; Cic., *In Pisonem*, 122.  
 198, 9. chariot. Hor., *Epp.*, i, 7, 75.  
 198, 11. signal. Martial, x, 10.  
 198, 14. scullions. *Id.*, vi, 48; xi, 24. Persons who were not clients were of course also hired for this purpose: Quintilian, xi, 3, 131; Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 14, 4; Juv., 13, 29-31.  
 198, 18. two people. Seneca, *De ira*, iii, 8, 6.  
 198, 25. relegation. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 19-21.  
 198, 26. elections. *CIL*, vi, 822, 933, 1011, 1016, 593.  
 198, 27. atrium. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiv, 17.  
 198, 34. porter. Columella, *praef. lib.* i, 9.  
 198, 37. out. Martial, v, 22.  
 198, 40. clients. Juv., iii, 184-189.  
 198, 41. inside. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vi, 34, 1.  
 199, 1. frown. Seneca, *Ad Serenum*, 14, 1.  
 199, 4. return. Juv., *loc. cit.*  
 199, 6. answer. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 14, 4.  
 199, 9. name. Petron., c. 44.  
 199, 11. king. Mommsen thinks that the 'ordo regalium', who dedicated a statue at Formiae to a 'patronus coloniae' (*CIL*, x, 6094), was perhaps a collegium clientum, quale est Aeserninum cultorum statuarum et clipeorum L. Abulli Dextri (ix, 2654). Quod si quis cum hoc ordine mirum illum collegii ministrum interregem hominem libertinum (6071) componet, fortasse non errabit (?).  
 199, 12. reward. Martial, ii, 68; cf. i, 112; vi, 88; ix, 92. On the other uses of the address *Domine* at this time cf. Appendix xv.  
 199, 13. presence. Martial, x, 14, 9.  
 199, 14. change. *Id.*, iii, 36.  
 199, 15. enraged. *Id.*, iii, 37.  
 199, 16. generosity. *Id.*, xii, 13.  
 199, 17. client. Juv., 3, 125.  
 199, 18. burdensomely. Martial, xii, *praef. init.*  
 199, 19. expect. *Id.*, ii, 55.  
 199, 26. evident. Cf. also Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 48; Pliny, *H. N.*, p. xiv, 91; Musonius in Stob., *Floril.*, i, 298, 13, ed. Meinecke: ὁ μὴ νέμων ἴσα τοῖς συνεσθλοῦσι. Petron., c. 31: vinum dominicum ministratoris gratia est.  
 199, 34. himself. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 6.  
 199, 40. obscuring. Martial, i, 20; iii, 60; iv, 85; vi, 11; x, 49.  
 200, 2. love. Seneca, *Epp.*, 9, 6.  
 200, 17. guests. Juv., 5.  
 200, 21. laughter. Cic., *In Pisonem*, 104-115,



- 200, 32. hands. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 4, 37; *Man.*, 25, 2; 33, 13; *Diss.*, iii, 24, 39.
- 201, 1. freedman. Fronto, *Epp. ad L. Ver. Aug.*, (ed. Nieb.), 6, 2.
- 201, 2. Galen. Galen, vi, 758.
- 201, 6. haste. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 21 sqq.
- 201, 8. favourers. Tertullian, *Patient.*, c. 16; *Apolog.*, c. 38.
- 201, 29. Juvenal. Juv., 5, 130.
- 201, 32. throne. Sueton., *Claudius*, c. 25.
- 201, 34. through. Lucian, *Pro lapsu in salutando*, 16.
- 201, 38. Agrippina. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 21.
- 201, 41. Soranus. *Id.*, xvi, 32.
- 202, 10. crowds. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 2, 4.
- 202, 12. waited. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 5, 31.
- 202, 13. refusal. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 14, 4.
- 202, 13. requests. Martial, i, 49, 33 and iv, 88, 4.
- 202, 14. secrets. Martial, vii, 62, 4.
- 202, 15. freedmen. Juv., 5, 25 sqq.
- 202, 16. birthday. Marquardt, *Prl.*, 12, 250, 6.
- 202, 18. angling. Martial, v, 18.
- 202, 21. gold. Martial, v, 19, 14.
- 202, 23. fame. Lucian, *Cronosolon*, 15 sq. The *πένητες* throughout the work are all clients.
- 202, 27. commission. Lucian, *ib.*
- 202, 28. pounds. Martial, vii, 53.
- 202, 32. treatment. Lucian, *Cronosolon*, 17 sq.; *Epp. Saturn.*, 1, 22; 4, 38.
- 203, 2. Caesar. Sueton., *Caesar*, c. 42.
- 203, 3. freedmen. Mommsen, *L. col. Genetivae*, in *Eph. ep.*, ii, 133.
- 203, 4. Corinth. Strabo, viii, 6, 23.
- 203, 10. scum. Lucan, vii, 405.
- 203, 13. Orontes. Juv., 3, 58 sqq.
- 203, 16. Pontus. Athen., i, 36.
- 203, 19. Jews. Joseph., *A. J.*, xvii, 11, 1.
- 203, 20. Sardinia. Tac., *A.*, ii, 85; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 36, mentions Jews only. Joseph., *A. J.*, xviii, 3, 5.
- 203, 24. decline. Tac., *A.*, iv, 27.
- 203, 27. sorts. Dio, lvi, 33.
- 203, 32. ingratiated. Martial, vii, 64; Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiv, 11. Cf. vol. i, p. 145 (Ctesippus, etc.).
- 203, 34. shameful. Dionys. Halicarn., iv, 24.
- 203, 38. brought. Juv., 1, 104-106; 2, 58. Cf. vol. i, p. 145 (Philostorgos).
- 204, 15. philosopher. Petron., c. 76; cf. 29 and 71.
- 204, 19. million. Petron., c. 38.
- 204, 20. talents. Plutarch, *Pompei.*, c. 2.
- 204, 22. slaves. Martial, iii, 31; cf. iii, 93, 22; iv, 5, 10.
- 204, 27. properties. Seneca, *Epp.*, 27, 5. Libertinae opes, Martial, v, 13, 6.
- 204, 29. mine. Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 6.
- 204, 30. waterfalls. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 7.
- 204, 32. dowries. *Id.*, *Q. N.*, i, 17, 10.
- 204, 37. marks. Martial, vi, 64, 26; x, 56, 6. Scribon. Larg., 231.

- 204, 40. Theatre. Martial, ii, 29.  
 205, 8. silence. *Id.*, ii, 16, 19, 42, 58, 81; iii, 29, 82; iv, 77; v, 79; vi, 91; xi, 12, 30, 37, 54, 85, 92; xii, 54.  
 205, 9. bread. *Id.*, ii, 19.  
 205, 14. descent. Cf. vol. i, pp. 108 (last line) and 109.  
 205, 14. families. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 301. In the survey of the families of the equestrian nobility (contained in Hirschfeld's list of the magistrates from Augustus to Diocletian) the imperial family names are very frequent, so that the descent of a large part of these families from imperial freedmen is very probable.  
 205, 20. outdo. Cic., *Pro Quinct.*, 8, 31.  
 205, 40. refuge. Juv., 8, 231-275.  
 206, 1. sport. *Id.*, ii, 162-176.  
 206, 2. cobbler. *Id.*, 8, 181 sq.  
 206, 7. Hermes. *Id.*, 8, 39-35.  
 206, 8. sense. *Id.*, 8, 73: *Rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa Fortuna.*

## IV. ROMAN SOCIETY.

- 207, 6. prominent. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 6, 93 sqq.  
 207, 14. sound. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vi, 34, 4.  
 207, 15. shoes. Juv., 3, 417 sqq.; 5, 137.  
 207, 16. cause. Seneca, *Ad Marciam*, 10, 1; *Epp.*, 84, 12; *Beneff.*, vi, 34, 4.  
 207, 19. clients. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vi, 28, 5. Cf. Juv., 3, 239; Martial, ix, 22, 9; xiv, 129.  
 207, 21. consul. Pliny, *Paneg.*, 61. Cf. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 376, 1. Consuls and praetors as *salutatores*, see Juv., 3, 126; Martial, x, 10; cf. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 2, 232.  
 207, 26. patron. Lucian, *De mercede cond.*, c. 10.  
 207, 29. table. *Id.*, *Nigrin.*, 24; *Piscator*, 34.  
 207, 30. consulate. Martial, xii, 26; Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 10, 20.  
 208, 1. tribunate. Juv., 7, 90 sqq.  
 208, 2. flies. Plutarch, *loc. cit.* Cf. also Martial, ix, 92, 5.  
 208, 9. whipping. Seneca, *Ad Seren.*, 14, 2; cf. also *De ira*, iii, 37, 2.  
 208, 10. shut. Epictet., *Man.*, 33, 13.  
 208, 13. capacious. Vitruv., vii, 5, 1.  
 208, 17. fall. Dio, lviii, 5; cf. Becker, *H.d.R.A.*, ii, 2, 124, n. 281.  
 208, 18. portraits. Martial, i, 55, 5; ii, 90, 5.  
 208, 22. bribed. Seneca, *Ad Seren.*, 14, 1; Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 30, 7.  
 208, 23. lists. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vi, 33, 4.  
 208, 23. memorist. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 19: *aliena memoria salutamus.*  
 208, 25. doors. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vi, 33, 4; 34, 1.  
 208, 27. levee. Pliny, *H. N.*, xv, 38: *mala Mulviana jam et virorum saluatoriis cubilibus inclusa, simulacris noctium consociis imposita.*  
 208, 30. secured. Dio, lxxvi, 5.  
 208, 33. seen. *Id.*, lviii, 5.

- 208, 34. porters. Tac., *A.*, vi, 8 and iv, 74.  
 208, 36. friends. Plutarch, *De amicor. mult.*, 3.  
 208, 38. morning-receptions. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 56.  
 208, 39. eminent. *Id.*, *Dial. de oratt.*, 6.  
 208, 40. wave. Virgil, *G.*, ii, 461.  
 209, 8. receive. Jerome, *Epp.*, 43, 2.  
 209, 9. Symmachus. Symmachus, *Epp.*, viii, 41.  
 209, 13. bribe. S. Orientius, *Commonitor. lib. ii de ebrietate* (Gallandi, x, p. 191).  
 209, 16. inexpensive. Sidon. Apoll., *Epp.*, i, 9.  
 209, 18. humble. Paulin. Petrocord., *Eucharistic.*, 436: nec pompa minor polleret honoris Instructa obsequiis et turbis fulta clientum.  
 209, 21. morning. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 77: si vel officii vel sacri causa maturius evigilandum esset. Cf. Marquardt, *Pr.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 125, 8; Casaubon on Sueton., *Aug.*, 53, who erroneously assumes that the *officia* were partly held at night. One had to get up by night to be there in time. So also Symmach., *Epp.*, i, 23: certe antelucano somno indulseris, ut detur aliquod tempus officiis.  
 209, 26. avoid. Sueton., *Claud.*, 2.  
 209, 28. daybreak. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 2, 229; cf. Juv., 2, 132.  
 209, 29. celebrated. Festus, p. 343 M.  
 209, 30. digestion. Seneca, *Beneff.*, iv, 39, 3; cf. Stat., iv, 9, 48.  
 209, 35. mentioned. Becker, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, ii, 2, 124. Cf. Mommsen, *StR.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 616, 3.  
 209, 35. dignitaries. *E.g.* Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 5, 11.  
 209, 36. praetors. *Hadrian*, c. 9.  
 209, 40. functions. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 8.  
 209, 41. Pliny. *Id. ib.*, iv, 17, 6.  
 210, 4. considered. *Id. ib.*, viii, 37.  
 210, 6. tribune. Martial, iv, 78.  
 210, 9. retinue. Ammian., xxvi, 1, 1.  
 210, 10. funerals. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 14, 4.  
 210, 18. banquet. Plutarch, *De amicor. mult.*, 6.  
 210, 27. compose. Martial, x, 70.  
 210, 34. Rome. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 9.  
 210, 36. assessors. Epictet., *Man.*, 25, 1; Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 20, 12; xi, 6, 1; cf. Juv., 3, 162.  
 211, 1. legacy. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 20, 10.  
 211, 3. received. Seneca, *Beneff.*, iii, 15, 3.  
 211, 3. wills. *Digg.*, xxix, 3, 4-7.  
 211, 4. manumissions. Martial, ix, 87.  
 211, 5. ranged. Juv., 3, 82: me prior ille Signabit fultusve toro meliore recumbet? Cf. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 76. In the inscription CIG, 1732b (decision in a boundary dispute of the Daulians in Phocis, 118 A.D.) the participators in the proceedings signed as follows: , Παρήσαν· Κούρριος Αὐτόβουλος κέκρικα καὶ τὴν πρῶτην ἐσφράγισα. Νικήφορος Λυκομήδους κέκρικα. Ἀγασίας Τείμωνος κέκρικα. Π. Αἰλῖος Δαμόξενος ἐσφράγισα τετάρτην. Εἰσίας πέμπτην etc. Cf. *testamentum Porcelli* (Petron., ed. Buechler, p. 232, 16-18). On the number seven of the witnesses (for wills,

- private declarations of public consequence such as weddings and divorces, copies of public documents etc.), see Bruns, *Die sieben Zeugen d. Röm. Rechts, Comment. Mommsen.*, p. 489 ss.
- 211, 6. *étiquette*. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 303-308.
- 211, 7. Seneca. Seneca, *Ad Seren.*, 10, 2; *De ira*, iii, 37, 4.
- 211, 9. Ages. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 308, 1.
- 211, 10. congratulations. *Ibid.*, p. 250, 5.
- 211, 11. visits. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 2, 65-70; *Sat.*, i, 9, 17.
- 211, 11. condolences. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 2, 4.
- 211, 13. official. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 19, 24.
- 211, 14. governor. Sueton., *Caes.*, 71.
- 211, 15. assessorship. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 12, 4.
- 211, 16. weeks. *Id.*, *Brev. vit.*, 77; cf. *Epp.*, 8, 6.
- 211, 19. fires. Juv., 3, 9.
- 211, 22. forum. Cic., *Pro Murena*, 33, 69.
- 211, 27. established. Cf. Appendix xiv.
- 211, 34. fruitlessly. Martial, x, 58, 7.
- 212, 1. congratulating. Manil., v, 61.
- 212, 4. bore. Phaedr., *Fab.*, ii, 5.
- 212, 17. *da capo*. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 12.
- 212, 19. kisses. Martial, viii, 44.
- 212, 24. excuse. *Id.*, iv, 78; cf. vol. i, p. 210.
- 212, 30. breaks. Galen, *Meth. med.*, i, 1, ed. K., x, 3.
- 212, 37. aim. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 5, 8; cf. i, 1, 62.
- 212, 39. emigrated. For 'Martial' read 'Juvenal'. Juv., 3, 162 sq.
- 213, 4. virtues. Pliny, *H. N.*, xiv, 5.
- 213, 6. supreme. Juv., 1, 112.
- 213, 7. ideals. Galen, x, 2 and 172.
- 213, 14. Pliny. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 20. Cf. Cic., *Cluent.*, 14; Lucian, *Dial. mort.*, 7. Cf. vol. i, p. 182.
- 213, 25. advantage. Tac., *A.*, iii, 25.
- 213, 26. calm. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 73 f.
- 213, 31. Haterius. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vi, 38, 3.
- 213, 40. presents. Martial, iv, 56; Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 5, 12; *Epp.*, i, 1, 78; Ovid, *A. a.*, ii, 271; Martial, ii, 40; v, 39; vi, 27, 9; ix, 48; Juv., 4, 18; 6, 38-40 and 97.
- 214, 4. spending. Martial, ix, 9.
- 214, 5. observed. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 5, 93.
- 214, 5. nursing. Ovid, *A. a.*, ii, 319 sqq.; Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 1, 148.
- 214, 9. men. Martial, xii, 90; Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 20; Juv., 12, 98 sqq.
- 214, 10. given. Martial, xi, 83.
- 214, 11. fire. Juv., 3, 221.
- 214, 11. defend. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 5, 27 sqq.
- 214, 16. friends. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 52.
- 214, 17. panegyricized. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 5, 74.
- 214, 18. Cornutus. Aelian, ed. Hercher, ii, 227, fr. 83.
- 214, 21. subserved. Martial, xii, 40.
- 214, 22. Ladies. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 5, 75; Petron., c. 140.
- 214, 25. cronos. Martial, ix, 100, 4.
- 214, 26. colleague. Juv., 3, 128 sqq.
- 214, 31. heir. Martial, xi, 55.



- 214, 33. invalidity. *Digg.*, xxx, 64 (66, v, 63 ss.). Gaius (libro xv ad edictum provinciale); Captatoriae scripturae simili modo neque in hereditatibus neque in legatis valeant. Cf. Mühlenbruch, *Lehrb. d. Pandektenrechts*, 4. Ausg., iii, § 649; Bynkershoek, *De captatoriis institutionibus* (OPP., i., p. 359 sqq.). Cf. also Lucian, *Dial. mort.*, 8.
- 214, 36. burst. Martial, ix, 88.
- 214, 41. will. *Id.*, xi, 67; xii, 73.
- 215, 1. year. *Id.*, v, 39.
- 215, 2. illness. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 7, 3: simulatus aeger, anus efferendis heredibus lassa.
- 215, 2. cough. Martial, ii, 26.
- 215, 5. paleness. Pliny, *H. N.*, xx, 160; cf. Sillig's note.
- 215, 9. Caecuban. Martial, ii, 40.
- 215, 11. show. Petron., c. 117.
- 215, 13. bit. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 18.
- 215, 16. gifts. *Id. ib.*, v, 1.
- 215, 22. buried. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 7, 33.
- 215, 32. plague. Petron., C., 116.
- 215, 39. incentive. *Id.*, c. 141.
- 216, 3. popularity. Tac., *A.*, xv, 19.
- 216, 4. legacy-hunting. *E.g. Epp.*, 19, 4; 68, 4; 95, 44; *Beneff.*, iv, 20, 3; vi, 38, 3.
- 216, 4. accused. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 42: Romae testamenta et orbos velut indagine ejus capi.
- 216, 10. disown. Seneca, *Ad Marc.*, 19, 2.
- 216, 12. honour. Pliny, *H. N.*, xiv, 5.
- 216, 13. influential. Tac., *A.*, i, 73.
- 216, 14. Germany. *Id.*, *Germ.*, c. 20.
- 216, 18. burden. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 15.
- 216, 19. barrenness. Plutarch, *De amore prolis*, c. 4. Cf. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 1, 148 (cf. vol. i, p. 214).
- 216, 23. hen. Juvenal, 12, 93 sqq.
- 216, 25. perversities. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 17. Cf. also *Adv. indoct.*, 19, and on the spread of legacy-hunting in Greece, *Dial. mort.*, 5-9.
- 216', 29. forced. Tertullian, *Patient.*, c. 16; cf. Lactant., *Instit.*, v, 9; Ammian., xiv, 6, 22; xviii, 4, 22; Ambrose, *De offic.*, iii, 9: aucupia quaesitae hereditatis, continentiae atque gravitatis simulatione captatae, quod abhorret a proposito Christiani viri.
- 216, 35. 'stations'. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 13, 2; ii, 9, 5; Juv., 11, 4.
- 216, 35. walks. Martial, vii, 97, 11.
- 216, 35. baths. Athen., i, p. 1 E.; cf. Gell., iii, 1, 1.
- 216, 35. temples. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 1.
- 216, 36. libraries. Martial, xii, *prooem.*; Preller, *Reg. d. St. Rom.*, p. 219.
- 216, 36. book-shops. Gell., v, 4, 1; xiii, 31, 1; xviii, 4, 1; Athen., i, p. 1 E.
- 216, 36. apothecaries' shops. Rein, *StRE*, vi, 2029 and Heindorf on Horace, *Sat.*, i, 7, 3. Clem. Alex., *Paedag.*, iii, 11, 75, p. 297, Pott: μή τοίνυν μηδὲ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κοιρῶν καὶ καπηλείῳ διατρίβοντες ἀδολεσχούντων στωμυλευόμενοι, καὶ τὰς παριούσας θηράμε-

νοι γυναῖκας παυσάσθων ποτέ· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ βλασφημοῦντες εἰς γέλωτα οὐ παύονται. Also Jerome, *Epp.*, 50, 5, speaks of *garrive per angulas et medicorum tabernas*. Even in the public latrines (*conclavia*) people lay in wait for their acquaintances, Martial, v, 44; xi, 77.

- 217, 6. rewarded. Becker, *Topogr.*, p. 631 and Strabo, v, p. 236; Horace, C., i, 8, 3; iii, 12, 8; *A. P.*, 379; Ovid, *A. a.*, iii, 383; *Carm. in Pison.*, 165 sqq.; Martial, ii, 14, 4.
- 217, 11. *poetarum*. Martial, iii, 20 (where in l. 10 for 'porticum terit templi' should perhaps be read *p.t. Magni*) iv, 61.
- 217, 15. Argonauts. Martial, xi, 1; cf. Becker, *Topogr.*, p. 572.
- 217, 20. advertised. Martial, vii, 97.
- 217, 21. nickname. Athen., i, p. 1 E.
- 217, 27. occupation. Martial, v, 20, 8.
- 217, 29. gatherings. *Circuli* are simply rings of persons standing or sitting together for conversation, playing at ball (Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 6, 27) etc.; *circulus* differs from *corona* only by the circumstance that the latter always refers to a person stationed in the middle. The words occur together in Quintil., xii, 10, 74; Apulei., *Metam.*, ii, p. 120. *Circuli* and *convivia* stand in the same relation as in Juv., 11, 4: convictus, thermae, stationes, omne theatrum, and Martial, vii, 97: convivia, forum, aedes, compita etc. Cato in Quintil., vi, 3, 105: qui in sermonibus circulis conviviis, item in contionibus . . . . ridicule commodeque dicet. Livy, xlv, 22: In omnibus circulis atque etiam (si diis placet) conviviis sunt, qui exercitus in Macedoniam ducant. Cic., *Pro Balbo*, c. 26: more hominum invident, in conviviis rodunt, in circulis vellicant. Cic., *Ad Att.*, ii, 18, 1: sermo in circulis duntaxat et conviviis est liberior quam fuit. Tac., *A.*, iii, 54: nec ignoro in conviviis et circulis incusari ista et modum posci.
- 217, 38. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Quaest. conviv.*, vii, 8, 4.
- 218, 3. moulders. Plutarch, *loc. cit.*, 12, 4, 2.
- 218, 7. obscenities. Jahn, *Proll. ad Pers.*, p. lxxxiv, sqq.; Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 17. Γελωτοποιοί and μῖμοι at table, Athen., xi, p. 464 E; xiv, 613 D.
- 218, 9. impertinences. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 152 f.
- 218, 14. applause. Plutarch, *De vitioso pudore*, cap. 6.
- 218, 18. loud. Martial, ix, 77, 5.
- 218, 19. banquets. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 15; ix, 17, 40; Martial, v, 78; cf. vol. ii, p. 349 bottom.
- 218, 21. anecdote-tellers. Juv., 11, 179.
- 218, 26. Forum. Meyer, *Anthol.*, 1361 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,097 (l. 11 adque meos mecum evigilare locos (locos auctorum quibus recitandis convivae exhilarabantur?).
- 218, 27. Homerists. Athen., xiv, 620 B: τοὺς δὲ νῦν Ὀμηριστὰς ὀνομαζομένους πρῶτος εἰς τὰ θέατρα παρήγαγε Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς. A wandering Homerist with a box full of costumes, in Achill. Tat., iii, 20, 4, 6.
- 218, 28. certain. Petron., c. 59: cum Homeristae Graecis versibus colloquerentur, ut insolenter solent.
- 218, 29. compositions. Becker-Göll, iii, 373.

- 218, 31. vice. Juv., i, 88; 8, 10; 14, 4.  
 218, 41. Stoic. Galen, xvi, 310.  
 219, 5. judicial. Ambrose, *De Tobia*, c. 11, 38; cf. Cyprian, *De aleat.*, 5-11.  
 218, 10. play. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 71.  
 219, 11. book. *Id.*, *Claud.*, c. 33.  
 219, 17. restriction. Tac., *A.*, iii, 54.  
 219, 28. arrest. Champagny, *Les Antonins*, ii, 193 s.  
 219, 32. reports. Cf. the chronologically arranged collection of fragments in Huebner, *De senat. pop. q. R. actis*, pp. 41-58. A 'proc. Aug. ab actis' of the equestrian order is named as editor of the *acta*; he held this office as the first procuration next after the legionary tribunate. Freedmen ab actis, *CIL*, vi, 8674 and an adjutor ab actis, *ibid.*, 8695, were probably his subordinates. J. Schmidt, *Addit. ad CIL viii*, in *Ephem. epigr.*, v, p. 522, n. 1175, with Mommsen's note.  
 219, 34. walls. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 80; *Aug.*, c. 70; *Tiber.*, c. 52; *Nero*, c. 45; Tertullian, *Ad nation.*, i, 17: festivos libellos quos statuæ sciunt et illa obliqua nonnumquam dicta . . . quæ circi sonant; Schol. Juv., i, 109 (Valla).  
 219, 35. stage. Vol. ii, p. 94.  
 219, 36. licence. Vol. ii, p. 3.  
 220, 6. Burrus. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 6.  
 220, 10. Embassy. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 19.  
 220, 13. omen. *Id. ib.*, ii, 91.  
 220, 15. publicity. *Id. ib.*, iii, 54.  
 220, 25. news. Martial, ix, 35.  
 220, 30. East. Juv., 6, 402 sqq. Cf. Appendix lviii; also vol. i, p. 14.  
 220, 38. dock. Martial, x, 48.  
 220, 40. word. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 1.  
 221, 3. speaker. Seneca, *Beneff.*, iii, 26: Sub Tiberio Cesare . . . excipiebatur ebriorum sermo, simplicitas jocantium.  
 221, 5. noted. Tac., *A.*, vi, 24.  
 221, 9. silenced. *Id.*, *Agric.*, 2.  
 221, 18. model. Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterth.*, iv<sup>4</sup>, 542 (the king's ears).  
 221, 21. cautious. Dio, lii, 37.  
 221, 22. Livia. *Id.*, lv, 18.  
 221, 31. suicide. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 18.  
 221, 35. ghosts. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxx, 15.  
 222, 1. follow. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 13, 5.  
 222, 2. spies. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 493. To the passages mentioned by Marquardt, *loc. cit.*, add Dio, lxxvii, 17.  
 222, 3. house. See vol. i, p. 79 of this work.  
 222, 5. eulogy. Aristid., *Or.*, ix, was written in the year 155 after peace was concluded in Syria in February between Vologeses, king of the Parthians, and Antoninus Pius. Waddington, *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 1867, p. 255, cf. 259, 3.  
 222, 9. restored. Aristid., *Or.*, ix, p. 62, Jebb, ed. Dindorf, i, p. 105.  
 222, 14. ate. Philostrat., *Vit. Apollon. Tyan.*, iv, 185, ed. Kayser, p. 84, 7.

- 222, 17. free. *Id. ib.*, viii, 348, ed. K., p. 162, 12.  
 222, 20. ears. Lucian., *Adv. ind.*, 22.  
 222, 24. senators. Dio, lxxvii, 17.  
 222, 26. depraved. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 23.  
 222, 34. ramified. Cf. especially Liban., ed. R., i, p. 567 sq. (here too the spies are called *οι βασιλέως ὀφθαλμοί*, p. 568, 14); Ammian., xiv, 1, 6; Aurel. Victor, *Diocletian*, c. 39, and the other passages mentioned by Gothofredus on *C. Theod.*, vi, 29, 1.  
 222, 40. hushed. Tac., *A.*, xi, 27: in civitate omnium gnara et nil reticente.  
 223, 5. safety. Seneca, *De tranquill. an.*, 12.  
 223, 8. clients. Martial, vii, 62, 4.  
 223, 16. cockcrow. Juv., 9, 102-129. Cf. Martial, ii, 82.  
 223, 18. deaf. Mart., xi, 38.  
 223, 21. Cicero. Cic., *Pro. Coel.*, 16, 38: At fuit fama. Quotus-quisque istam effugere potest in tam maledica civitate?  
 223, 23. later. Jerome, *Epp.*, 127, 3: difficile est in maledica civitate et in urbe in qua orbis quondam populus fuit, palmaque vitiorum (vitiosorum?), si honestis detraherent puraque ac munda macularent, non aliquam sinistri rumoris fabulam contrahere.  
 223, 25. pieces. *Id. ib.*, 43, 2.  
 223, 26. fee. Prop., ii (iii), 32, 26.  
 223, 28. gossip. *Id.*, ii, 20, 21 sq.; iii, 20, 28; 25, 1; Ovid, *Amm.*, iii, 1, 17; Horace, *Epod.*, ii, 8.  
 223, 30. embrace. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 2, 27-31.  
 222, 31. happy. Juv., 6, 403 sqq.  
 223, 34. Titus. Martial, vii, 10.  
 223, 36. talk. Seneca, *Epp.*, 122, 4.  
 223, 36. death. Juv., i, 145 sq.  
 223, 37. theatres. *Id.*, ii, 1-5.  
 224, 3. talking. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 18.  
 224, 4. tragedy. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 2.  
 224, 5. dance. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 6, 70.  
 224, 11. culture. Tac., *Dial. de orator.*, c. 29.  
 224, 12. method. Seneca, *Epp.*, 23, 1; 67, 1; cf. Juv., 4, 88 sq.  
 224, 13. cultivated. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 6, 44; *Epp.*, i, 18, 19.  
 224, 15. persons. Epictet., *Man.*, 33, 2; *Diss.*, iii, 16, 4.  
 224, 27. fellow. Martial, iii, 63.  
 224, 31. intercourse. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, ii, 1, 1, 2.  
 224, 39. escarpment. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 25, 15.  
 225, 2. would. Plutarch, *loc. cit.*, 3, 8.  
 225, 5. inculcate. Cf. also Martial, ix, 77; Quod optimum sit, disputat, convivium Facundi Prisci pagina etc.  
 225, 6. tables. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, v, 5, 2, 9.  
 225, 7. alone. Martial, xi, 35.  
 225, 9. Muses. Gell., xiii, 11.  
 225, 10. sociability. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, i, 1, 5, 4.  
 225, 14. common. Cic., *Ad famil.*, ix, 24, 3.  
 225, 15. pleasure. Martial, xii, *prooem.*: bibliothecas, theatra, convictus, in quibus studere se voluptates non sentiunt.  
 225, 19. translate. Fronto, *Ad L. Ver. Aug.*, 6, 11.



- 225, 21. cold-hearted. M. Antonin., *Comment.*, i, 12. As emperor he calls Fronto φιλόστοργε ἄνθρωπε. Fronto, *De fer. Als.*, in f., ed. Naber, p. 231.
- 225, 25. salt. Juv., 9, 10.
- 225, 26. urbanity. Quintil., vi, 3, 17.
- 225, 30. elements. Cic., *Ad fam.*, ix, 15, 2 (written 708).
- 225, 31. born. Martial, vi, 44; vii, 76; ix, 97, 10.
- 225, 34. lecture-room. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, i, 4, 3, 1; Horace, C., iii, 11, 6.
- 225, 35. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 17, 3.
- 225, 38. aesthetic. Jahn on Pers., i, 30-40, p. 85 sq.
- 225, 39. women. Juv., 6, 433 sq.
- 226, 3. dessert. Plutarch, *De sanit. praec.*, 20, p. 133 E.
- 226, 6. riddles. *Id.*, *Qu. conv.*, v, *prooem.*, 5.
- 226, 8. circles. *Id. ib.*, i, *prooem.*, 4.
- 226, 13. dishes. *Id. ib.*, i, 2 and 3; iv, 4.
- 226, 14. questions. Cf. vol. iii, p. 252 f.
- 226, 15. hen. Plutarch, *ib.*, ii, 3; ix, 2.
- 226, 18. how. *Id. ib.*, i, 8; vi, 6; viii, 9.
- 226, 20. Venus. *Id. ib.*, v, 8 and 10; vi, 9; ix, 4.
- 226, 23. music. *Id. ib.*, v, 1; vii, 5.
- 226, 28. eye. *Id. ib.*, iv, 5, 6, 7 (cf. on the planetary names of the days of the week De Rossi, *Inscr. christ.*, p. lxxi; Mommsen, *Röm. chronol.*<sup>2</sup>, 313 f.); v, 2; viii, 1 and 8.
- 226, 33. excuses. Lucil., *Epigr.*, 28 sqq., in Jacobs, *Anthol.*, iii, p. 35.
- 226, 36. relieved. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, i, 1, 5, 4.
- 226, 38. Varro. *Gell.*, xiii, 11, 4. Cf. Plutarch, *De sanit. praec.*, 20.
- 226, 40. table. *De profect. in philos.*, c. 8.
- 277, 1. neighbours. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 26, 9.
- 227, 3. syllogism. *Id. ib.*, ii, 19, 8.
- 227, 8. exchanges. Goethe, *Unterhalt. m. d. Kanzler Müller*, p. 19.
- 227, 9. were. Lehrs, *De Aristarchi stud. Hom.*, ed. 3, p. 208 sq.

## V. THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

- 228, 8. birdie. Cf. Schol. Pers., 3, 16; Salvian., *Epp.*, iv, and Appendix xvi.
- 228, 10. language. Lucret., v, 226.
- 228, 10. suck. Schol. ad Pers., 3, 17.
- 228, 12. child. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 19, 4.
- 228, 13. teeth. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxviii, 78. Serenus Sammonicus, 1038-1043. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*<sup>2</sup>, 369. Dioscorid., π. εὐποριστῶν, i, 74. Among the aids for easy teething μὲν οἱ κατοικίδιοι ἐσθιόμενοι. Julian, *Orat.*, 7, p. 206 D.: ὥσπερ αἱ τίτθαι περὶ τὰς ὀδοντοφυΐας κνησιῶσιν αὐτοῖς (τοῖς παιδίοις) σκύτινα ἄττα προσαρτᾶν [εἰλώθασι] ταῖν χεροῖν, ἵνα αὐτῶν παραμυθῇσονται τὸ πάθος.
- 228, 14. amulets. On the whole subject cf. Jahn, *Ueber den Aberglauben des bösen Blickes bei den Alten*, in *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1855, p. 82 ff., and Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 84.
- 228, 16. garlic. Serenus Sammonicus, 1044-1048.
- 228, 17. windows. Preller, *RM*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 238.

- 228, 19. vow. Juv., 10, 289.  
 228, 24. observed. Galen, vii, 28.  
 228, 28. figures. Terence, *Eunuch.*, ii, 3, 22 sqq. From the allusion in Auson., *Praef. Idyll.*, 4 it seems that this description still held good for his time.  
 228, 29. peas. For 'like as peas' read 'thin as reeds'.  
 229, 1. nurses. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 29; *Germ.*, c. 20.  
 229, 1. barbarians. Favorin., ap. Gell., xii, 1, 17; cf. Orelli, 2677.  
 229, 5. infancy. Plutarch, *Cons. ad ux.*, c. 2.  
 229, 6. Soran. Ephes., *De mul. affect.*, c. 31; Galen, vi, 45.  
 229, 11. bow-leggedness. Soran., *ib.*, c. 38.  
 229, 13. amber. Ovid, *Metam.*, x, 262; Jerome, *Epp.*, 128, 1; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, 701b.  
 229, 14. played. Cf. the relief *AdI*, 1857, *Tav. d'Agg.* B, C, and my explanation, p. 144 ss., and Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli, *Sopra una statua marmorea rappresentante un fanciullo che giuoca alle noci*, in *Bull. d. commiss. arch. d. Roma*, 1882, pp. 55-62, *Tav.* xi (sarcophagus from Ostia, on which children of both sexes are playing the game *delle castella*: Gerhard, *Ant. Bildw.*, lxv. See also *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, iii, 57 (Glaucus, *epigr.*, i).  
 229, 15. dolls. Jahn ad Pers., *Sat.*, 2, 70; Lactant., *Instit.*, ii, 4, 13 sq.; Jerome, *loc. cit.*  
 229, 16. tombs. Becq de Fouquières, *Jeux des anciens* (1869), p. 28s.  
 229, 19. toys. Plutarch, *loc. cit.*  
 229, 37. well. Cf. Appendix xvii.  
 229, 39. occupation. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 541f. *Pictor acu*; *Bull. comun. d. Roma*, iii (1875), p. 158. Cf. Seneca, *Herc. Oet.*, 665.  
 229, 41. able. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 542 note.  
 230, 4. sisters. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 64.  
 230, 7. spinner. Praise of Turia (Mommsen, *Abhandl. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1863, p. 461), ii, 30.  
 230, 9. Propertius. Prop., i, 3, 41; iv, 6, 15.  
 230, 15. hair. Tibull., i, 3, 85.  
 230, 18. decay. Columella, xii, *praef.* 9. The account of the *pensa* of 11 female slaves, on the wall of the *textrinum* in a house at Pompeii, Garrucci, *Graffiti*, pl. 20, no. 11. Ritschl, *Mon. Pr. Lat.*, tab., xvi, 1, *Enarr.*, p. 20.  
 230, 18. Musonius. Muson. Ruf. (Stob., *Floril.*, ed. Meineke, iv, 222).  
 230, 19. Tertullian. Tertullian, *Exhort. ad castit.*, c. 12.  
 230, 20. spinners. Orelli, 4639, 4860. *Anthol. lat.*, ed. Meyer, 1376 = *CIL*, ii, 1699.  
 230, 20. loom. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 58, 2.  
 230, 22. evidence. P. E. Mueller, *Gen. aev. Theodos.*, i, 79.  
 230, 23. pass. Auson., *Parental.*, 2, 3; 16, 4.  
 230, 25. example. Symmach., *Epp.*, vi, 67 and 79. Cf. also *Digg.*, xxiv, 1, 29 § 1, 30 and Cujac., *Obs.*, ix, 30.  
 230, 29. master. Martial, ix, 68.  
 230, 33. crowd. *Id.*, viii, 3, 15.  
 230, 35. girl. Nissen, *Hermes*, i, 147; Anson., *Id.*, 4, 33 says in

his description of the school for his grandchild: *Haac olim genitorque tuus genetrixque secuti etc.* Cf. also Philostrate, *Imagg.*, i, 12. Rohde (*D. gr. Roman*, 146, 2) finds this passage almost unintelligible, considering the Greek custom, and he asks if slaves are meant; cf. 424, 1. However, in the case of a foundation of 34,000 *drachmae* for education in Teos (G. Hirschfeld, *Hermes*, ix, 1875, p. 502) co-education seems also to be intended, for it is arranged that three *γραμματοδιδάσκαλοι* (with yearly salaries of 600, 550 and 500 *drachmae*) διδάξουσιν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παρθένους. Scipio the Younger mentions in his oration *contra legem judicariam* Ti. Gracchi the 'ludus saltatorius': plus . . . in eo ludo vidi pueris virginibusque quinquaginta, in his unum . . . puerum bullatum . . . non minorem annis duodecim (the others were therefore younger). Macrob., *Sat.* (ii, 10), iii, 14, 7 Eyssenhardt. Also in the empire of the Khalifs boys and girls were taught in the same public schools, and had their love-affairs there (Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 133).

230, 37. age. Paul. Aegin., i, 14.

230, 41. love-stories. Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 369.

231, 1. schools. Martial, viii, 3, 13.

231, 3. Sappho. Claudian, *De nupt. Honor. et Mariae*, 232 sqq.

231, 6. Terence. Cl. Marii Victor., *Ep. ad Salmonem* (Werned., *Poett. min.*, iii, p. 108), v, 72 sqq.; Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 16. Instruction of a girl in reading: Jahn, *Columbarium der Villa Pamfili*, plate v, 15; cf. *Antich. di Ercolan.*, vii, 53 and 58.

231, 9. intrigue. Sueton., iii, gr. 18.

231, 11. danger. Quintil., i, 2, 4.

231, 15. honest. Sallust, *Catiline*, 25.

231, 18. pupils. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 10, 98.

231, 21. dancer. Ovid, *Amores*, ii, 4, 25 sqq.; *id. ib.*, ii, 11, 31: — legisse libellos, Threiciam digitis increpuisse lyram. A girl of eight years is praised in her epitaph thus (*CIL*, vi, 3, 18,324): lascivia surgere . . . Coeperat et dulces fingere nequitias. Quodsi longa tuae mansissent tempora vitae, Doctior in terris nulla puella foret.

231, 22. skilled. Propert., ii, 3, 17–20.

231, 27. virtue. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 5, 63.

231, 28. typifies. Jahn, *Darstellg. d. Handwerks*, in *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1868, 291, 107. Cf. the epitaphs Or., 4851, *CIL*, vi, 3, 17,050, and that of one Petronia Musa, Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 551.

231, 31. either. Jerome, *Epp.*, 107, 8.

231, 35. charm. Ovid, *A. a.*, iii, 299.

231, 37. gait. Or., 4848.

231, 39. exciting. Quintilian, i, 10, 31.

231, 39. dances. Horace, *Carm.*, iii, 6, 22.

232, 2. procession. Marquardt, *Handb. d. R. A.* (1. Aufl.), iv, 56, n. 338; Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 23.

232, 3. singing. Horace, *Carm.*, 6, 41–44.

232, 5. dirge. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 100.

232, 7. themes. Herodian., iv, 2, 5. Rufus (under Trajan) in

Oribas., iii, p. 85, Daremberg, says in a paragraph on the education of girls: *ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν χορῶν ἐξευρῆσθαι οὐ μόνον εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θείου, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ὑγίειαν. διπλοῦς δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὁ πόνος, καὶ τῇ ὀρχήσει καὶ τῇ ᾠδῇ.*

- 232, 10. wife. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 19.  
 232, 11. pedagogues. Cf. also Cic., *Ad Att.*, xii, 33.  
 232, 15. 108. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 46; Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 16.  
 232, 26. high. Dressel, *BdI*, 1881, p. 14: D.M. | MINICIAE | MARCELLAE | FVNDANI F. | V.A.XII M XI D VII |. The urn found in the same vault with the inscription D.M | STATORIAE | M.FIL. | MARCELLAE is apparently that of the mother who died before her daughter, because Pliny does not mention her. So also Lanciani, *Bull. comun. d. Roma*, 1881, pp. 23-25.  
 232, 29. year. Rossbach, *Die röm. Ehe*, p. 417 ff.  
 232, 31. marriage. Mommsen, *IRN*, 1609 = *CIL*, ix, 1817.  
 232, 33. twelfth. Pomponius, *Digg.*, xxiii, 2, 4.  
 232, 34. accused. Ulpian, i, ii, *de adulteriis*, *Digg.*, xlvi, 5, 13 § 8.  
 232, 36. Cf. Appendix xviii.  
 232, 38. Oribas., iii, p. 83, Daremberg.  
 232, 40. provisions. Rossbach, *op. cit.*, p. 418. The age restrictions were first inserted in the *Lex Papia Poppaea*, a supplementary law more severe than the *Lex Julia*; Joers, *Ueber das Verhältniss der lex Julia de marit. ordinib. zur lex Papia Poppaea* (Bonn, 1882), pp. 6 and 10.  
 233, 6. bridegroom. Ulpian, *Digg.*, xxiii, 1, 12.  
 233, 27. provide. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 14.  
 233, 29. procurable. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 6, 36 sq.  
 233, 31. bride. Juv., 3, 161.  
 233, 33. support. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 6.  
 233, 35. age. Ulpian, xvi, 1, 2; Gai., ii, 111, 286; Tertullian, *Adv. gent.*, 4.  
 233, 36. *Quadratus*. Cf. Appendix xi, p. 70. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 24.  
 233, 37. Agricola. 'At the end of 62 or the beginning of 63' (he was born in 40), Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 80, 4. Cf. Urlichs, *De vita et honoribus Agricolae*, p. 11.  
 233, 38. Tacitus. Nipperdey, *Einkl. zu Tac. A.*, p. 5; cf., however, Urlichs, *op. cit.*, p. 25.  
 233, 39. Lucan. Genthe, *De Lucani vita et scriptis*, p. 23.  
 233, 40. Ovid. Ovid, *Trist.*, iv, 69.  
 234, 1. husband. Apulei., *Met.*, 4, 26.  
 234, 4. exceptions. Marriage (of a gladiator) at the age of 15, *CIL*, v, 2, 5933 = Orelli, 2572; at 17 years, *CIL*, iii, 1, 2868; *CIL*, vi, 3, 23,115; 18-19 years, *CIL*, v, 2, 7946; vi, 3, 21,474; 20-21 years, *CIL*, iii, 1, 2272; v, 1, 1074; vi, 3860; vi, 3, 19,172, 20,116, 21,714. *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, p. 50; Paullin. Petrocord., *Eucharist.*, 176-181. 22-23 years, *CIL*, v, 2, 7404; vi, 2160; 26 years, *CIL*, vi, 2256.  
 234, 6. boys. Nissen, *Ital. Landesk.*, i, 412.  
 234, 10. son-in-law. Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 5; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 35.  
 234, 12. child. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 23, 8.  
 234, 13. betrothed. Cf. Appendix xviii.



- 234, 14. intermediaries. Ulpian, *D.*, xxiii, 1, 18.
- 234, 16. business. *Id.*, *D.*, i, 14, 3; cf. *Cod.*, v, 1, *de sponsalibus et arrhis sponsalitiis et proxeneticis*, and Cujac., *Observ.*, xi, 18.
- 234, 19. celebrated. Cic., *Ad Quint. fr.*, ii, 6; Fest., ed. M., p. 343. Seneca, *Beneff.*, iv, 39, 3; Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 9; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 53 (in turba sponsaliorum die vexatus). Tertull., *De idolol.*, 16. *Sponsalia* forbidden in Pisa on the anniversary of C. Caesar's death, *Or.*, 643 (i, 164, 5).
- 234, 23. eager. Pliny, *H. N.*, ix, 117.
- 234, 31. loan. Artemidor., i, 15; iii, 41; Martial, vii, 10, 14; poscit jam dotem filia grandis.
- 234, 32. however. Gai., l. i, *ad l. Jul. et Pap.* (*D.*, xxiii, 1, 17).
- 234, 33. know. Seneca, *De matrimo.*, in Jerome, *Ad Jovinian.*, i, p. 190 sqq.
- 234, 40. Greece. Lehrs, *Populäre Aufsätze*<sup>2</sup>, p. 112 f.
- 234, 41. bride-gifts. *Digg.*, xvi, 3, 5; cf. *Cod. Just.*, v, 1-3; *Cod. Theod.*, iii, 5.
- 235, 1. worn. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 514, 3; 517, 3.
- 235, 23. return. On the engagement ring cf. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxviii, 12; Juv., 6, 25; *Digg.*, xxiv, 1, 36, 1. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 41 f. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 6, and Clem. Al., *Paed.*, iii, 11 § 57, p. 287 P., mention a golden ring. Cf. Reifferscheid, *De Hercule et Junone diis Italorum conjugalibus*, *AdI*, 1868, p. 356 and *tav. d'agg. H.* In Venice too in the sixteenth century the man gave his betrothed a golden ring as a pledge of faithfulness, Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, p. 278.
- 235, 11. larger. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 32.
- 235, 12. jewelry. *Id. ib.*, v, 16, 7.
- 235, 13. bridegroom. *Maximin. Jun.*, c. 1.
- 235, 15. life. Persius, 2, 70, c. adn. Jahn, p. 138, and Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 43, 12.
- 235, 16. decked. Claud., *De vi cos. Honor.*, 523 sqq.
- 235, 18. exposed. Roszbach, *Die röm. Ehe*, p. 278; Juv., 2, 129: segmenta et longos habitus et flammæ sumit. In the following description I have only mentioned those details of the wedding ceremony for which there is express evidence for the period in question.
- 235, 20. clients. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 2, 229 sqq.; Juv., 2, 132. Cf. on these *officia* Roszbach, *op. cit.*, note 920.
- 235, 20. witnesses. Even in later times ten witnesses were usual, Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 48, 3.
- 235, 22. opened. Seneca, *Controv.*, vii, 21.
- 235, 23. twigs. Stat., *ib.*, 231; Juv., 6, 239; Lucan, *Phars.*, ii, 354; Claudian, *Nupt. Honor. et Mariae*, 206 sqq. Cf. generally Apulei, *Metam.*, iv, 81 and Tac., *A.*, xi, 27.
- 235, 25. sacrificed. Marquardt, p. 49 and 52. Cf. Karlowa, *Formen der röm. Ehe und manus*, p. 10; Sidon. Apoll., *Epp.*, ii, 10: novam nuptam nihil minus quam pulchrior pronuba decet; *Id. ib.*, i, 5 s.: cyclade . . . pronuba honoratur.
- 235, 28. stands. Juv., 6, 79; cf. Heinrich's note and Tac., *A.*, xiv, 13.

- 235, 30. torches. Martial, xii, 42, 3.  
 235, 31. bonfires. Statius, *loc. cit.*, 231. Cf. *Epithal. Laurentii*, in *Anthol. lat.*, ed. Riese, 742, l. 59.  
 235, 32. songs. Rossbach, p. 340 ff.; Marquardt, p. 54.  
 235, 32. threshold. Marquardt, p. 55, 11.  
 235, 34. home. *Ibid.*, p. 52 f.  
 235, 35. bride. Dio, xlviii, 44; Juv., 2, 120; Tac., *A.*, xi, 29.  
 235, 39. regarded. Gell., ii, 24; Rossbach, p. 326.  
 236, 5. Africa. Apulei., *Apol.*, 539.  
 236, 13. daughters. Ovid, *Trist.*, 11, 501; cf. also Choric., *Apologie des mimes*, ed. Ch. Graux, in *Rev. de philol.*, N.S., i (1877), p. 222 s.  
 236, 16. ears. Varro, ap. Non., 247, 18 (*Sat. Menipp. vell.*, ed. Bücheler, ii, not in contradiction to Martial, x, 98, 3 and Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 32).  
 236, 24. dower. Rossbach, p. 55.  
 236, 30. senators. Marquardt, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, ii<sup>1</sup>, n. 885.  
 236, 33. Alcestis. Martial, iv, 75; ix, 30.  
 236, 39. leave. Apulei., *Apol.*, 523.  
 237, 1. freedmen. Martial, xii, 49; *CIL*, viii, 8993: *libertus et procurator patronae piissimae*.  
 237, 4. Justus. *BdI*, 1856, p. 141, 4.  
 237, 11. prince. Orelli, 639 = *CIL*, vi, 9449; cf. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v, 296–298, and his annotation to Nipperdey's Tac., *A.*, vi, 40. *Videtur autem titulus, qui Lepidam non obscure reprehendit, post damnationem ejus positus esse, i.e. non statim post obitum Pudentis.* Mommsen, *CIL*, v, 2, p. 57\*, no. 592\*. Cf. also *CIL*, x, 3399 (*procurator ejus*).  
 237, 17. cunning. Cic., *Pro Caecin.*, 5, 14.  
 237, 24. managing. Martial, v, 61; on Aufidius Chius cf. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 328, 1.  
 237, 38. crime. Seneca, *Controv.*, vii, 5 (20).  
 237, 40. lover. Seneca, *De matrim.* (ed. Haase, iii, 429).  
 238, 1. ladies. Firmicus Maternus, *De mathesi*, iii, 7, 9; 8, 7; iv, 6, 1 etc.  
 238, 2. procurators. Jerome, *Epp.*, 54, 13; 79, 9; Lebas-Waddington, ii, 243<sup>a</sup>; will of a woman sealed by her *φροντιστῆς καὶ κύριος*.  
 238, 4. lineage. Martial, v, 37, 22 (*conjugem*) *superbam, nobilem, locupletem*. Cf. v, 17.  
 238, 6. mastery. Horace, *Carm.*, iii, 24, 19.  
 238, 7. wife's. Martial, xiii, 12.  
 238, 9. million. *Id.*, xii, 75, 6.  
 238, 10. intolerable. Juv., 6, 460; cf. 136 ss.  
 238, 12. rule. Jahn ad Persium, 5, 169, p. 207.  
 238, 16. book. Seneca, ed. Haase, iii, p. 434.  
 238, 17. law-abiding. Martial, v, 75.  
 238, 19. rivals. Tertullian, *Patient.*, c. 16.  
 238, 21. demur. Jerome, *Epp.*, 16.  
 238, 24. Callistus. Hippolyt., *Refut. haeres.*, ix, 12; Tertullian, *Ad uxor.*, ii, 8; cf. De Rossi, *Bull. di archeol. cristiana*, 1866, p. 26<sup>a</sup>.

- 238, 27. mistresses. Fabretti, *Inscr. dom.*, 290; Orelli, 3024-3031; *CIL*, x, 5920; *Bull. com.*, 1886, p. 229, 1267.
- 238, 28. legalized. Ulpian, l. xxxiv, *ad Sabin.*, *Digg.*, xxiii, 2, 13; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 77, 1; *CIL*, v, 2, 7768 (Genoa): patrono conjugue suo.
- 238, 34. repute. *CIL*, vi, 2, 15, 106.
- 238, 38. man. Orelli, 4649 = *CIL*, v, 1, 1071.
- 238, 40. Justinian. Ulpian, l. xlvii, *ad edict. D.*, xxxviii, 11, 1, un. § 1. Joers, *Verhältniss der lex Julia*, etc., p. 19 f.
- 238, 9. front. Cornel. Nep., *praef.*, 8.
- 239, 15. gradated. Cf. Naudet, *De la noblesse*, p. 100 s. On the title *femina clarissima* see vol. i, p. 133, and Appendix xii.
- 239, 18. consulars. *Elagabal.*, c. 4.
- 239, 20. acted. Ulpian, l. ii, *de censibus* (*Digg.*, i, 9, 12). Marcianus later obtained senatorial rank, as in 213 he was *Arvalis*. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 468, 4.
- 239, 24. rank. Dio, lxxix, 15.
- 239, 27. uncertain. Ulpian, l. ii, *de censibus* (*Digg.*, i, 9, 1) *CIL*, ii, 1174 (Hispani): FABIAE Q.F. H(adrianil ?) LAE CONSV-  
ALARIS [f. senatoris uxori] SENATORIS SORORI SENATO-  
RIS MATRI. Hübner's restoration 'senatoris uxori' is wrong according to Ulpian. *CIL*, viii, 8993 (cf. *ib.*, 1435; Azaffun in Mauret. Caesar.). Fabatiae Luci filiae Pollae Fabiae Domitia Gelliolae consulari feminae lampadiferae N N libertus et procurator patronae piissimae. *CIL*, ix, 6414b (Asculi) Mariae Aurel. Violentillae Perpetui cons. viri (apparently L. Marius L. f. Maximus Perpetuus cos. ii a. 222) fil. consul. femin. cojugi Egnati Procul. cos. dec. et pleb. Ascul. ob sing. erga se amor. More often *ὑπατική* is found in the Greek part of the empire (*CIG*, 3104, 3908, 4380 b2, 4774). Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 468, 3.
- 239, 30. held. *Elagabal.*, c. 4.
- 239, 30. ancient. Livy, v, 25; xxvii, 37; cf. Becker, *Topogr.*, n. 1247.
- 239, 35. beaten. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 5.
- 239, 38. nobody. Seneca, *De matrimonio*, ed. Haase, iii, p. 428, 49.
- 240, 1. priestess. Orelli, 3740, already compared by Henzen, *BdI*, 1846, p. 73, and Franz, *CIG*, iii, p. 748, with the inscription from Naples, *CIG*, 5838.
- 240, 35. ladies. Orelli, 805; cf. Henzen, iii, p. 82. Cf. Mommsen, *Epigraph.*, *Anal.*, 14 (*Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1850, p. 298) and *CIL*, i, 1343 (fragment from Cosa, where *matronae* and *magistrae* are mentioned).
- 240, 13. shoes. *Elagabal.*, *loc. cit.* (where after Symiamira there is a lacuna). On the *pilenta* and *carpenta* of the matrons cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 735.
- 240, 17. referable. *Aurelian*, c. 49. Jerome, *Epp.*, 43 (*ad Marcellam*): matronarum quotidie visitetur senatus.
- 240, 23. honorarily. Huebner, *Comment. in hon. Mommseni*, p. 104 sqq., where the inscriptions of *stolatae feminae* are collected; cf. also Lebas-Waddington, *Asie mineure*, Additions,

- 1606 (Aphrodisias) : ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Αἰλίαν Ἰουλίαν Ἀπφίαν ματρῶναν στολάταν. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 575 ff.
- 240, 28. *donna*. The oldest example of the form *domna* is in a *graffito* at Pompeii : ROGO DOMNA. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 3 serie, ii (1877), p. 107.
- 240, 32. life. Juv., 6, 212 sqq.
- 241, 2. way. Seneca, *De matrimonio*, ed. Haase, iii, 429.
- 241, 11. modesty. Pliny, *H. N.*, xvii, 245.
- 241, 16. wives. Vellei., ii, 67.
- 241, 19. morals. Dio, liv, 16.
- 241, 23. overflowed. Horace, *C.*, iii, 6, 17 sqq.; cf. iii, 24, 20.
- 241, 28. Penelopes. Propert., iii, 32, 49 sqq.; 13, 15-24; cf. iii, 6, 25; iv, 12, 17.
- 241, 30. angry. Ovid, *Am.*, i, 8, 43; iii, 4, 37; iii, 19.
- 241, 38. relatives. Tac., *A.*, ii, 85; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 35; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 79, 2.
- 241, 40. credulity. Seneca, *Controv.*, ii, 15, p. 172.
- 242, 1. faith. *Id.*, *Consol. ad Helv.*, 16, 3. Cf. also *Ad Marc.*, 24, 3.
- 242, 4. fee. Cf. Marquardt, p. 78, 8.
- 242, 4. girls. Seneca, *De benef.*, i, 9, 3.
- 242, 9. old-fashioned. In the passage of Seneca, *De benef.*, iii, 16, 3, there is a lacuna apparently not yet noticed : quam invenies tam miseram, tam sordidam, ut illi satis sit unum adulterorum par . . . nisi singulis divisit horas (et non sufficit dies omnibus) nisi apud alium gestata est (?) apud alium mansit.
- 242, 14. slaves. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 13.
- 242, 17. no. Martial, iv, 71.
- 242, 19. spirit. Tac., *German.*, c. 19.
- 242, 22. youths. *M. Anton.*, c. 23.
- 242, 24. senators. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 125, 1.
- 242, 29. publicly. Dio, lxxvi, 16.
- 242, 31. cuckold. Salmas. ad Tertull., *De pall.*, p. 301 sq.; Huschke, *Anall. crit.*, p. 168 sq.
- 242, 36. marriages. In France in the first three years after the law of September 20, 1792, there were 27,000 divorces on the ground of incompatibility; Sybel, *Gesch. d. Revolutionsz.*, iv, 12; cf. Taine, *Origines de la France contemp., révolut.*, iii, 108, 1.
- 242, 38. adultery. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 43.
- 242, 40. divorcing. *Id.*, *Tiber.*, c. 35.
- 243, 3. speculation. Martial, x, 41.
- 243, 3. counted. Seneca, *Benef.*, iii, 16, 2.
- 243, 7. years. Juv., 6, 223.
- 243, 8. divorce. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 6; cf. Martial, vi, 7.
- 243, 19. refused. Mommsen, *Abhandl. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1863, p. 461 (i, 27 f.), 462 f. (ii, 31-50); *CIL*, vi, 1527.
- 243, 22. reputation. Petron., c. 74.
- 243, 23. three. Cf. Ovid, *Trist.*, iv, 69 sqq., and on Pliny, Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 35.
- 243, 24. five. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 72; *CIL*, vi, 3, 18,659: tres uxores h[abui]: eas] quidem dolui, set non sunt. Qua[m velim] modo quartaria sort[e] ductam su[perstitem habeam]; cf. the note.



- 243, 26. seventh. To this refers (according to Henzen, *BdI*, 1865, p. 252 ; Klotz, *Neue Jahrb.*, 1866, p. 366 = *CIL*, xiv, 2553) the following distich in the epitaph of one Secunda, wife of one Orbius Natalis (the urn is speaking) : Hic ego securis (mortuis) jaceo super omnibus una, Natalis quia nos septimus ussit amor. Otherwise interpreted by Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 575.
- 243, 28. profitable. Martial, x, 43. A man who poisoned four wives, iv, 69.
- 243, 29. Tullia. Marquardt, *op. cit.*
- 243, 31. Poppaea. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 45.
- 243, 31. Messalina. Schol. Juv., 6, 434.
- 243, 32. attempts. Martial, vii, 58.
- 243, 33. eight. *Id.*, ix, 78.
- 243, 33. suspected. *Id.*, ix, 15.
- 243, 36. Roman. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 66 f.
- 243, 37. lax. A rescript of Antoninus (Caracalla ?) acknowledges in the *Cod. Gregorian.*, xiv, 2 (in Augustine, *De conj. adult.*, ii, 7) : periniquum autem mihi videtur esse, ut pudicitiam vir ab uxore exigat, quam ipse non exhibet.
- 244, 2. debauches. Plutarch, *Praec. conjug.*, 16.
- 244, 6. liked. Juv., 6, 281 sqq.
- 244, 10. boat. Martial, xii, 58.
- 244, 15. steward. *Id.*, vi, 39 ; cf. i, 81 ; xii, 49, 4 ; Juv., 6, 331, 336 sqq. Petron., c. 45 and 126 ; *Digg.*, xlvi, 5, 24 and 33 ; *Philogel.*, 251. Similarly in Neapolitan society of the sixteenth century the women ' chiefly gratified their sensuality with slaves (specially Moors, but sometimes also Christian Bulgars or Circassians). They had accustomed themselves to regard these men as mere instruments of lust, with no wills of their own ' ; Gothein, *Culturentwicklung Süditaliens*, pp. 411-413.
- 244, 22. prick. Juv., 6, 475-495 ; Ovid., *A.a.*, iii, 239-242. Cf. *Am.*, i, 14, 16-19 ; Martial, ii, 66.
- 244, 24. island. *Digg.*, i, 6, 2.
- 244, 25. murder. *Hadrian*, c. 18.
- 244, 25. crucify. Juv., 6, 219-223.
- 244, 38. verses. Cholevius, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Poesie*, i, 391.
- 245, 2. severe. Martial, x, 64.
- 245, 4. girls. Prop., ii, 6, 27-34.
- 245, 5. pictures. Seneca, *Controv.*, x, 5, 34, 14 ed. K. ; R. Rochette, *Peinture antique*, p. 263 ss. ; Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 71, 1.
- 245, 12. licentious. Rousseau, *Nouv. Héloïse*, p. v, l. 2.
- 245, 14. Tacitus. Tac., *Germ.*, c. 19. Ugly old women as train of a lady per convivia, porticus, theatra, Mart., viii, 79.
- 245, 20. Paris. Juv., 6, 87.
- 245, 22. circus. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 5, 15.
- 245, 24. Ovid. Tertullian, *Spect.*, c. 25 ; *Id.*, *De cultu fem.*, c. 11 ; Clem. Alex., *Paedag.*, iii, 11 § 76, p. 298 Pott. : ἀναμῖξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν συνιόντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων θέαν.
- 245, 26. bees. Ovid, *A.a.*, i, 93-100.
- 245, 30. Pliny. Tac., *A.*, xii, 56 ; Dio, lx, 33 ; Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 3, 63.
- 245, 37. clients. Juv., 7, 143. Cf. vol. i, p. 164.

- 245, 41. maid. Juv., 6, 350; Dittricus, *De cathedris feminarum Romanarum*, p. 14 sq.
- 246, 2. visit. Apulei., *Metam.*, vi, 16; Plutarch, *Consol. ad uxorem*, c. 4, p. 619: *εἰ μηδέποτε καλλωπισαμένη περὶ θέατρον ἢ πομπήν κ.τ.λ.*
- 246, 5. spectacles. Prop., ii, 19, 9.
- 246, 6. resorts. Ovid., *loc. cit.*
- 246, 11. girl. Juv., 11, 201 sq.
- 246, 13. cushions. Ovid., *A. a.*, i, 135 sqq.
- 246, 15. hot. *Id.*, *Am.*, iii, 5.
- 246, 20. seen. Tertullian, *De spectac.*, c. 25.
- 246, 22. profligacy. Clem. Alex., *loc. cit.*
- 246, 32. sullied. Cyprian, *Ad Donat.*, p. 5, ed. Oxon.; Clem. Alex., *Paedag.*, iii, 11 § 77; P. E. Mueller, *Gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, 64.
- 246, 36. gladiators. Tertullian, *De spect.*, c. 22, names quadrigarii, scenici, xystici, arenarii.
- 247, 1. games. Juv., 6, 78-113.
- 247, 5. disguise. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 45.
- 247, 6. citharist. *Pertin.*, c. 13.
- 247, 7. dear. Juv., 6, 73-77 (solvitur his magno comoedi fibula etc.); Martial, xiv, 215.
- 247, 12. husband. Juv., 6, 379-397.
- 247, 18. partner. Seneca, *Qu. nat.*, vii, 32, 3.
- 247, 23. passed. Dio, lvii, 21: *ὅτι τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἥσυχναν καὶ στάσεις ἤγειρον*. Tacitus (*A.*, iv, 4) mentions an expulsion of *histriones* in the following year (23). His words 'foedo per domos temptari' may allude to similar immorality. If he refers to the same expulsion, he must have quoted inexactly from the speech of Tiberius, as it would seem from the mention of the 'Oscum ludicrum' as if only or primarily actors of *fabulae Atellanae* were involved.
- 247, 26. Messalina. Dio, lx, 22, 28, 31; Tac., *A.*, xi, 4, 36.
- 247, 30. Domitian. Sueton., *Domitian.*, c. 3, 10; Dio, lxvii, 3; Aurel. Vict., *Caes.*, 11, 7; *Epit.*, 11, 1.
- 247, 33. pantomimes. *M. Anton.*, c. 23.
- 247, 37. betrayed. Galen, *De prognosi ad Epig.*, p. 457, K., xiv, 631 (cf. 626).
- 248, 5. modesty. Quintilian, *Inst. or.*, i, 2, 8: *omne convivium obscenis canticis strepit, pudenda dictu spectantur*. He was thinking perhaps of the *vasa adulteriiis caelata*, Pliny, *H. N.*, xiv, 140, or of pastry in obscene shapes (e.g. Martial, xiv, 69). The latter was also common in the Middle Ages (Baudrillart, *Hist. d. luxe*, iii, 462). I have not been able to see Rochholz, *Gebildbrot*.
- 248, 8. almés. Juv., 11, 162 sqq.; cf. Jahn, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1851, p. 168. Jerome, *Adv. Helvid.*, 20 (ed. Vallarsi, ii, 228) says of Christian banquets: *ingrediuntur expositae libidinum victimae et tenuitate vestium nudae impudicis oculis ingeruntur*.
- 248, 10. present. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, vii, 8, 4, 4.
- 248, 12. Circus. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 229 sqq.
- 248, 15. assenting. Pliny, *H. N.*, xiv, 141 (for 'marito' read 'mariti', which, however, is probably only a gloss).

- 248, 18. parties. Cf. Appendix xix.
- 248, 26. seem. *Epp.*, 16, 241 sqq., 225 sqq.; 17, 75-90.
- 248, 28. men. Marquardt, *Prl.*, 12, 301; cf. e.g. ibis ut accumbas, Ovid, *Am.*, i, 4, 16.
- 248, 28. indecent. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 46, 4.
- 248, 33. customs. Valer. Max., ii, 1, 2.
- 248, 35. sexes. It is at least doubtful whether Tac., *A.*, xvi, 34, refers to such an assembly. It is said there of Thræsea who was awaiting his sentence: illustrium virorum feminarumque coetus frequentes egerat. I know of no other mention.
- 248, 37. gardens. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 67 sqq., 491 sqq.; iii, 387 sqq.; *R. A.*, 627; Prop., ii, 23, 5; iii, 32, 11.
- 248, 37. page. Martial, xi, 73, 6.
- 248, 38. mistress. Ovid, *Am.*, ii, 2, where the name Bagoas signifies a eunuch.
- 248, 38. hold. Ovid, *A. a.*, ii, 209; cf. *Am.*, iii, 11, 17.
- 248, 39. walked. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 2, 98: custodes, lectica, cini-fiones, parasitæ; Juv., 6, 359.
- 249, 3. absolute. Dio, lvii, 15: σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγῳ αἱ τῆν βουλευτῶν γυναῖκες χρῶνται. There are instances at various periods of women who were not of senatorial rank using litters, see Lipsius, *Elect.*, i, 19.
- 249, 5. days. Reifferscheid, *Sueton. vell.*, 357; Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 43.
- 249, 6. Domitian. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 8.
- 249, 9. fixedly. Plutarch, *De curios.*, c. 13, p. 522 A.
- 249, 12. tyrannous. Seneca, *Beneff.*, i, 9, 3; *De remed.*, 16, 7.
- 249, 14. position. Clem. Alex., *Paedag.*, iii, 4 § 27, p. 269 P.
- 249, 14. carriages. Cf. vol. i, p. 20 and Appendix vi.
- 249, 15. drove. Ovid, *Am.*, ii, 16, 49; Prop., v, 8, 23.
- 249, 20. Coan. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, p. 493. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 2, 101.
- 249, 23. centuries. Alw. Schultz, *Höf. Leben. z. Z. d. Minnesinger*, i, 190 (second half of the thirteenth century); Baudrillart, *Hist. d. luxe* (Court of Isabeau de Bavière); Falke, *Deutsche Trachten- und Modenwelt* (1858), i, 67, 213 f., 278, 284 f., cf. 297 f.; ii, 200 (in the Thirty Years' War), 253 f. (in the second half of the seventeenth century), 311 (*à la grecque* and *à la sauvage*); cf. 322 ff.
- 249, 25. Mme. Tallien. Louandre, *Revue des Deux mondes*, 15 Mai, 1876, p. 313; Lacroix, *Directoire, Consulat, Empire*, p. 33; cf. p. 83 (*à la sauvage*).
- 249, 26. Lulli. E. v. d. Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 320.
- 249, 29. imponderability. Lacroix, *ibid.*, p. 498.
- 249, 30. historians. Prop., iv, 13, 1-14.
- 249, 34. modern. Cf. vol. ii, p. 173 ff.
- 249, 38. drilled. Juv., 6, 246-267; cf. 421; Martial, vii, 67.
- 249, 39. carousals. Juv., 6, 429 sqq.; Seneca, *Epp.*, 95, 20.
- 249, 40. pleaded. Juv., 6, 242-245. I do not see the slightest reason to believe that this is an exaggeration, as Geib does (*Criminalprocess*, p. 519), on the ground that women did not possess the right of bringing actions at law, for all that was needed was a man of straw.

- 249, 41. Juvenal. Juv., 2, 53 (in the speech he places in the mouth of Laronia): luctantur paucae, comedunt colyphia paucae.
- 250, 4. world's. Juv., 6, 398-412.
- 250, 12. Caligula. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 23.
- 250, 14. say. *Id.*, *Aug.*, c. 84.
- 250, 18. benefits. Julian, *Or.*, 2, p. 155 CD.
- 250, 22. Domna. Philostrate., *Vitt. sophist.*, ii, 30.
- 250, 28. justified. Juvenal, 4, 208.
- 250, 32. quaestorship. Seneca, *Ad Helv.*, 19, 2.
- 250, 33. Poppaea. Josephus, *A. J.*, xx, 11, 1.
- 250, 38. librarianship. *CIL*, vi, 2131 and 2132; cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 267n.
- 250, 40. Rome. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 7, 13.
- 250, 41. sons. Seneca, *ib.*, 14, 2.
- 251, 2. signed. Zangemeister, *Ephem. epigr.*, i, p. 51, 154.
- 251, 7. Piso. Tac., *A.*, ii, 55.
- 251, 9. 39 A.D. Dio, lix, 18.
- 251, 17. armies. Tac., *A.*, iii, 33.
- 251, 19. havoc. Juv., 8, 128; cf. vol. i, p. 122; Martial, ii, 56.
- 251, 23. father. Quintilian, i, 1, 6.
- 251, 24. chaste. Martial, xii, 97.
- 251, 27. specious. Ovid, *A. a.*, ii, 281; *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, iv, p. 275 (*Adesp.*, 721c. epitaph of one Messia: [ἡλικίῃ μορφῇ φρεσὶ Μούσαις σωφροσύνη τὲ Ἐν πᾶσιν πρέψασα.
- 251, 32. Octavia. Plutarch, *Poplic.*, c. 17 extr.
- 251, 34. fainted. Verg., ed. Ribbeck (ed. min.), p. xxviii, 1.
- 251, 41. Germanicus. Cichorius, *Rom und Mytilene*, p. 56 ff.
- 252, 3. learned. Servius ad Verg., *Bucol.*, 3, 20; if this statement, coming as it does from a confused traditional source (Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 225, 2), is trustworthy.
- 252, 4. poet. Ovid, *Trist.*, iii, 7; see note on l. 41, below.
- 252, 5. Statius. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 7, 83.
- 252, 7. Pliny. Tac., *A.*, iv, 53; Pliny, *H. N.*, vii, Ind., vii, 46.
- 252, 10. oratory. Schol. Juv., 6, 434.
- 252, 13. equal. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 401, 7. One 'Firmia Philologis quae et Julia', *CIL*, vi, 2, 15,053, perhaps acquired this *cognomen* from her literary erudition.
- 252, 22. love. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 19.
- 252, 25. deadened. Ovid, *A. a.*, iii, 479.
- 252, 30. influence. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 16, 6.
- 252, 32. marriage. Cf. vol. i, p. 231.
- 252, 35. language. Lucret., iv, 1160 sqq.
- 252, 36. intolerable. Juv., 6, 185 sqq.; Martial, x, 68.
- 252, 38. Sapphos. Lucian, *De mercede cond.*, 36.
- 252, 41. critic. Ovid, *Trist.*, iii, 7. Lines 12 and 45 show that Perilla stood in a filial relation to Ovid, and it is not impossible that she was his twice married daughter mentioned in *Tr.*, iv, 10, 75; but more probably she was a daughter of his third wife by a former marriage (cf. *Tr.*, iii, 7, 3).
- 253, 3. Horace. Haupt, *Hermes*, v, pp. 32-34. Cf. Teuffel, *Studien*, 365 ff.
- 253, 4. compared. Propert., ii, 3, 19.



- 253, 5. magpies. Pers., *Prolog.*, 13.  
 253, 7. gifted. Martial, vii, 69.  
 253, 11. unprudish. *Id.*, x, 35 and 38.  
 253, 13. inscribed. *CIG*, 4725, 29, 30; cf. 31, 4739-41.  
 253, 13. pride. Letronne, *Rec. des inscr.*, ii, pp. 350-367.  
 253, 18. wisdom. *CIG*, 5904; cf. Appendix xii.  
 253, 35. nothing. Juv., 6, 434-456, according to the scholiast referring to Statilia Messalina, cf. p. 252 of vol. i.  
 253, 36. life-wish. Martial, ii, 90, 9; xi, 19: Quaeris cur nolim te ducere, Galla? Diserta es. Saepe solocismum mentula nostra facit. Under Nero lived Pamphila of Epidaurus (Suidas) or Egypt (Phot.), daughter of the learned Soteridas, and wife of the learned Sokratidas, authoress of *σύμμικτα ιστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα* in 33 books, now lost, much used by Diogenes Laertius. Suid., s., *παμφίλη*. Phot., *Bibl. cod.*, clxxv. Gell., xv, 17 and 23.  
 253, 41. regrets. Seneca, *Caes. ad Helv.*, 17, 4.  
 254, 2. logic. Muson. Ruf., in the *Exc. e ms. Flor. Joan. Damasc.* ap. Stob., *Florileg.*, ed. Meineke, iv, 222, 38 sqq.  
 254, 4. similarly. Lactant., *Inst.*, iii, 25; Wendland, *Quaest. Musonianae* (Berol. 1886), p. 23, 3.  
 254, 6. have. Stob., ed. M., iv, p. 322.  
 254, 8. indispensable. *Id. ib.*, p. 216.  
 254, 13. exorcisms. Plutarch, *Conjug. praec.*, c. 18, p. 145.  
 254, 20. ill-consequence. *Id.*, *Pomp.*, c. 55; cf. Drumann, *RG*, ii, 50.  
 254, 22. publication. Drumann, *RG*, vi, 324, 51. Cf. Cic., *Ad Att.*, xiii, 21, 5.  
 254, 25. Areus. Seneca, *Ad Marc.*, 4 and 5.  
 254, 26. dedicate. Plutarch, *Poplic.*, c. 17 extr.; cf. vol. i, p. 251.  
 254, 30. science. Dio, lxxv, 15. If the address to a female admirer of Plato in Diog. Laert., iii, 47 is borrowed with other matter from a collection of lives of the philosophers composed in the first century under Nero or one of the Flavian emperors (Usener, *Epicurea*, p. xxxiii), the unknown lady addressed must also have lived in this period.  
 254, 30. rhetoricians. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 30.  
 254, 32. Tyana. *Id.*, *Apoll. Tyan.*, ed. K., p. 3, 2.  
 254, 33. equally. Martial, vii, 69, 4. See vol. i, p. 253.  
 254, 36. Plato. *De theriac. ad Pison.*, p. 458 K.; xiv, p. 218; cf. *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 1762, 44.  
 254, 37. dedicates. Diog. Laert., iii, 47; cf. Menag., here and on the title of the work.  
 254, 40. books. Horace, *Epod.*, 8, 5.  
 155, 1. Utopia. Epictet., *Fragments*, 53 ed. Duebner.  
 255, 4. apprehension. Lucian, *Fugitivi*, 18.  
 255, 15. mantle. *Id.*, *De merc. cond.*, 32 and 36.  
 255, 26. Icaria. Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*, c. 9 and 12: *τινα πόλιν κατὰ Καμπανίαν γεγενῆσθαι λεγομένην ἄλλως δὲ κατηριπωμένην ἡξίου ἀνεγείρειν καὶ τὴν πέριξ χώραν χαρλοῦσθαι οἰκισθείσῃ τῇ πόλει*. Id. Richardus Schoene perquam probabiliter refert ad Pompeios, *CIL*, x, p. 1006.  
 255, 30. initiated. *Id.*, *Ad Marcellam*, c. 1-9.

- 256, 8. woman. Orelli, 4859 ; cf. the praise of Turia, vol. i, p. 264 of this work.
- 256, 12. offensive. Plutarch, *Conjug. praeec.*, 19.
- 256, 20. temple. Juv., 6, 511 sqq.
- 256, 28. assuage. *Id.*, 6, 532 sqq. ; Tibull., i, 3, 23 sq. ; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 77 ff. ; Boissier, *Relig. rom.*, i, 402-406.
- 256, 33. condemned. Marquardt, *op. cit.*
- 257, 1. goddess. Joseph., *A. J.*, xviii, 3, 4.
- 257, 3. Juvenal. Juv., 9, 22-26.
- 257, 9. Tertullian. Cf. Ebert, *Tertullians Verhältniss zu Minucius Felix*, and Hartel in *Ztschr. f. öst. Gymn.*, xx, 348-368.
- 257, 8. brothels. Minuc. Fel., *Octav.*, p. 67, Muralt. ; Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 15.
- 257, 12. sweeping. *Id.*, *De pudic.*, c. 5.
- 257, 15. Cynthia's. Prop., ii, 19 (iii, 11), 10.
- 257, 16. Jewish. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 75 sqq.
- 257, 20. religion. Joseph., *A. J.*, xx, 8, 11 ; 11, 1 ; *Vit.*, 3.
- 257, 22. Julii. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 6.
- 257, 27. practices. See vol. i, p. 203.
- 257, 31. appropriated. Joseph., *A. J.*, xviii, 3, 5 ; cf. Tac., *A.*, ii, 85.
- 257, 33. Sabbath. Martial, iv, 4.
- 257, 38. women. Athenagor., *Suppl.*, 11.
- 257, 38. slaves. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 44.
- 257, 39. East. *Acts App.*, xvii, 4 (in Thessalonica), 12 (at Beroea), 34 (Damaris).
- 258, 8. attachments. Vol. i, p. 262. Cf. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 10 ; cf. my *programm*, *De Pomponia Graecina superstitionis externae*, in *Acad. alb. Regim.*, 1868, iv. When I wrote this I was ignorant of the discovery of the inscription of Pomponius Graecinus. That 'superstitio externa' does not necessarily mean Christianity is proved by the expression 'alienigena sacra' (Seneca, *Ep.*, 109, 22) which are the same rites of which Tacitus speaks in *Ann.*, ii, 85, and which are also called 'superstitio' by both authors. Similarly the words 'externa sacra' in Pliny, *H. N.*, ii, 21 refer to Egyptian and Jewish religion. V. Schultze (*Die Katakomben*, p. 315) inclines to the view that Pomponia Graecina was a Jewish proselyte.
- 258, 12. converts. De Rossi, *Roma sotteranea*, ii, 345s. ; cf. tav. xlix, no. 27. On De Rossi's repeatedly expressed supposition (*R. s.*, i, 314, ss.) that Pomponia was identical with the eldest Lucina of the legend, I express no opinion, any more than upon his attempt to maintain the credibility of the tradition concerning a certain Plautilla, alleged sister of the consul Clemens, in the acts of SS. Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus (cf. my *programm* mentioned above, p. 6 f.).
- 258, 14. Christian. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 15.
- 258, 17. practices. Dio, lxxvii, 14. Euseb., *Chron.*, l. ii, ad Ol. 218 ; *Hist. eccl.*, iii, 18. See Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 3 and Jerome, *Epp.*, 86 (27) ad Eustoch. virg.
- 258, 25. Christian. Cf. vol. i, p. 64.
- 258, 26. converted. Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, v, 21.

- 258, 28. protection. Tertullian, *Ad Scapul.*, c. 4.
- 258, 29. lectures. Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.* (ed. 1712), iii, 1, 290, 452; Gibbon, *Hist.*, ch. xvi, 115.
- 258, 32. clothing. Tertullian, *De cultu fem.*, ii, 4; cf. Commodian., *Instr.* (238 A.D.), ii, 17s.
- 258, 36. preference. Hippolyt., *De refutat. omn. haeres.*, ix, 12: ἐπέτρεψεν . . . ἕνα ἔχειν . . . σύγκοιτον εἴτε οἰκέτην εἴτε ἐλεύθερον, where De Rossi, *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1866, p. 23s. proposes (probably rightly) ἀπελεύθερον instead of ἐλεύθερον. In the Christian epitaph: D. m. Flaviae Sperandae conjugi sanctissimae . . . Onesiforus c. f. cojux benemerenti fecit, he believes he recognizes a [unique] example of such a marriage, explaining 'c. f.' as 'clarissimae feminae' (*Bull. crist.*, 1880, pp. 67-69). But these letters in the position where they stand cannot mean this; perhaps they mean (as Hirschfeld suggests) 'cum filiis'. The latter interpretation is supported by another Christian inscription, *CIL*, xi, 1, 4025: castissime femine Numisie Paule—Agrippa maritus cum filis benemerenti fecerunt. Hirschfeld, however, recognizes an example of the marriage of a Christian woman of rank with a Christian of humble birth (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Narbonens. Provinz, in Westd. Ztschr.*, 1889, pp. 21, 57) in the inscription *CIL*, xii, 675 (Arelate, third century): Hydriae Tertullae c(larissimae) f(eminae) conjugi aman-tissimae et Axiae Aelianae filiae dulcissime Terentius Museus hoc sepulcrum posuit (where the husband's standing is inferred from the *cognomen* Museus, and the absence of a *praenomen* and of a title).
- 259, 1. name. De Rossi, *R. s.*, i, p. 309; ii, p. 366 s.
- 259, 3. family. *Ibid.*, i, p. 315s. A Christian inscription: Luria Januaria c. f. Caelio Felicissimo v. e. conjug. kariss. is (according to De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1880, p. 31s. and 101s.) of about the third century.
- 259, 11. incite. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 9 and 55, ed. Klotz.
- 259, 18. divorce. Justin., *Apolog.*, ii, 2 (Euseb., *H. eccl.*, iv, 17).
- 259, 23. runs. De Rossi, *Epigrafe mutila di strano senso*, in *Bull. crist.*, 1877, 118ss. Cf. *ib.*, 1879, p. 24, 1880, p. 65 (apparently from the time immediately after the religious edict of Milan): quod filia mea inter fideles fidelis fuit, inter alienos (*i.e.* paganos) pagana.
- 259, 26. pagans. Tertullian, *Apolog.*, c. 3.
- 259, 28. community. *Id.*, *Ad uxorem*, 2, 3; *De corona*, c. 13. Baur, *Das Christenth.* . . . der drei ersten Jahrh. (second ed.), p. 479.
- 259, 37. death. Porphyry, ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας, ap. Augustine, *C. D.*, xix, 23. 'Pessima in speciosis? ferro juncta mors' has not yet been adequately explained. Nauck, *Ztsch. f. Alterthumsw.*, 1855, p. 120, believes that the oracle translated by Augustine was already corrupt and meaningless at this point, perhaps δεινοτάτη ἐν εἰδεσσι σιδηρόδετος κτάνε μοῖρα instead of an original δεινοτάτη νηλὴς τε, or some words to that effect. G. Wolff, *Porphyry. de philos. ex oraculis haur. ll. vell.*, 1858, p. 158, restores the end of the oracle thus: ὅν τε δικασπολίσαιον ὕπ'

ἄρθρονόοισιν ἄλόντα Δεινὸν ἐν ἐμφανέεσσι σιδηρόδετος μόρος ἕκτα, where ἐν ἐμφανέεσσι means 'on a hill'. Cf. also Cyprian, *Epp.*, 24.

- 259, 38. belief. Strabo, i, 7, p. 297: ἅπαντες γὰρ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἀρχηγούς οἶονται τὰς γυναῖκας.
- 260, 4. upper. Cf. vol. i, pp. 69 and 184 ff.
- 260, 9. consulted. Juv., 6, 553-591.
- 260, 14. horoscope. Sext. Empir., 739, 29, quoted by Hippolyt. *Refutat.*, iv, 4.
- 260, 21. astrology. Augustine, *Conf.*, vii, 6, 8.
- 260, 29. wine. Cf. Horace, *Epod.*, 5; Ovid, *Am.*, i, 8; Propert., iv, 5; Martial, ix, 29; Lucian, *Dial. meretr.*, 4.
- 260, 32. mentions. Plutarch, *Conjug. praec.*, 5 and 48. Cf. also O. Hirschfeld, *De incantamentis et devinctionibus amatoriiis apud Graecos Romanosque* (Regimonti, 1863), p. 17.
- 260, 36. Julian. Zeller, *Philos. d. Gr.*, iii, 2, 611, 5; Suidas, s. Ἰουλιανός.
- 260, 38. enchantment. Apulei., *Apol.*, c. 27.
- 261, 2. East. In Lucian's *Philopseudes* appear a Libyan (performing sympathetic cures, 7), a Babylonian τῶν Χαλδαίων (as medical conjurer and snake charmer, 13), a Hyperborean (magician, 13), a Syrian ἐκ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, who cures demoniacs (Joseph., *A. J.*, viii, 2, 5: μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ θεραπεία πλείστον ἰσχύει), an Arab (magician, 17).
- 261, 12. catacombs. Lucian, *Philopseud.*, 3, 4.
- 261, 4. linen. *Id. ib.*, 16; cf. Apulei., *Metam.*, ii, 39; Philostrat., *Apollon. Tyan.*, i, 8.
- 261, 19. position. Lucian, *Alexandr.*, 3, 11, 39, 42.
- 261, 26. incredible. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 5.
- 261, 33. guilt. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 6.
- 261, 34. light. *CIG*, iii, 6184.
- 262, 2. plunged. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 24.
- 262, 7. tears. Tac., *A.*, vi, 10.
- 262, 9. faithless. Vellei., ii, 67. See vol. i, p. 241 of this work.
- 262, 12. husbands. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 3; *A.*, xv, 71.
- 262, 26. last. Tac., *A.*, xv, 10 sq.
- 262, 31. manner. *Id. ib.*, xvi, 30 sqq.
- 262, 36. death. *Id. ib.*, xv, 64.
- 263, 1. survived. *CIG*, iii, 5757. Franz's supposition that Cassius Philippus belonged to the followers of Egyptian and Jewish superstition, who were banished by Tiberius in the year 19 to Sardinia, is without foundation. Vincent. Crespi, *De Atiliae Pomptillae monumento Calaritano*, in *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 1881, pp. 484-494, with Tab. i and ii; concludes (p. 488) from the writing that it dates from the second century, which view is supported by the line in the inscription 7, 4: 'tempore tu, dixit, vive, Philippe, meo,' apparently a reminiscence of Mart., i, 36, 6: vive tuo, frater, tempore vive meo.
- 263, 3. substitution. Cf. also Aristid., *Or.*, 27, p. 351s., and vol. iii, p. 160. It might also be the sacrifice of an animal; thus a woman at Ngeaus in Numidia who dreamed that her sick husband could be kept alive by the sacrifice of a proxy: 'anima



pro anima, vita pro vi[ta], sanguine pro sanguine', offered a lamb; *CIL*, viii, 4468.

- 263, 6. children. *Anthol. Gr.*, iv, p. 256, *epigr. adesp.*, 658.  
 263, 10. records. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 16.  
 263, 38. Greek. *CIL*, x, 5920: L. Cominio L. f. L. n. Pa(l). Firmo pr. q. aer. et al[im.] Oppiae Sex et O. I. Eunoeae. I. 3: Accipite hanc animam numeroque augete sacrato Arria Romano et tu Graio Laodamia.  
 263, 41. deprive. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 34.  
 263, 14. returned. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*  
 264, 23. men. Orelli, 4636 (Rome).  
 264, 25. shews. *Ib.*, 4860 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,230. Cf. Rudorff, *Ueber die Laudation der Mordia*, in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1868, pp. 226-235.  
 264, 34. industrious. Lanificio.  
 264, 39. honourable. Mommsen, *Abhandl. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1863, p. 461. Praise of Turia, i, 30-34.  
 265, 3. incomparable. *CIL*, vi, 1398: veteris sanctitatis matronae et lectissimae pudentissimaeque conjugii; 1404: matronae et uxori supra omnia exempla; *CIL*, viii, 78: exemplum sanctimoniae conjugalis; *CIL*, ix, 1913: que antiqua vita vixit fidei ac diligentiae gravis(simae); *CIL*, vi, 3, 22,657: a virginitate sine ulla macula; 23,282: sine ullo crimine.  
 265, 11. spun. Orelli, 4848 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 15,346, according to Mommsen, *RG*, i<sup>5</sup>, 58.  
 265, 12. rare. Or., 2742 (= Fabr., 31, lix, wife of a centurion); 4530 (wife of one Marcus Aurelius Augg. lib.); Grut., 748, 4; 1141, 1; Reines., 742; *BdI*, 1862, p. 220 (Puteoli) . . . univirae . . . virginali suae pro castitate; (Virginii, *CIL*, iii, 1, 2217; cui virgo nupsit, *CIL*, xiv, 1641); *CIL*, ii, 738: vix. ann. xxxii uno contenta marito; *BdI*, 1871, 71 (univira); *CIL*, v, 2, 7763; Wilmanns, 224 = *CIL*, xiv, 963; *Inscr. de l'Algérie*, 1987: d. m. Geminia Ingenua univira conservatrix dulcissima mater omnium hominum parens omnibus subveniens innocens castissima praestans rarissima v. annis lxxxi o. v. (?) b. p.; *Ephem. epigr.*, v, 531, 1205: univira unicuba; *CIL*, vi, 2, 14,404: In cineres versa est tumuloque inclusa: cicadae Diceris coniunx una fuisse viri (i.e. a cicada per aestatem canente, Mommsen); Mart. x, 63, 7, 8; *Anthol. Gr.*, iv, 252, *adesp.* 641, 5: μοννόγαμος θνήσκω; *ib.* 649, 5: μούνη ἐπιζώνην ἀνέρι λυσάμενη; *CIG*, ii, 2471 (Thera): Κάρπος τὰν ἰδιαν γυναῖκα Σωσίδα ἀφηρώϊξεν τὰν μόνανδρον; Garrucci, *Cimit. degli antichi Ebrei*, p. 68. Cf. Letronne, *Recherches*, p. 374. Cf. Minuc. Fel., c. 26, 5; Tertullian, *Exh. ad cast.*, 13; *De monogam. extr. Ad ux.*, i, 7; *H. Aug.*, *Trig. tyr.*, c. 32; Jerome, *Adv. Jovin.*, i, 6. Cf. also Marquardt, *Pril.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 42, 6.  
 265, 15. suck. *CIL*, vi, 3, 16,592.  
 265, 16. nurse. Orelli, 2677 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 19,128.  
 265, 19. beloved. *CIL*, i, 1103 = Marini, *Inscr. Alb.*, p. 100 (Romae): OSSA HEIC SVNT | VRBILIAE PRIMI MIHI ME PLVRIS | DECESSIT AN. XXIII CARISSVMA | SVIS.  
 265, 22. remarry. Orelli, 4623 (Pisa).

- 265, 24. husband. *CIL*, viii, 8123 (Rusicade).  
 265, 26. done. Henzen, 7388 (Beneventum); *BdI*, 1862, p. 62 : ego tu mi quod facere dibuisti, mi qui faciat nescio.  
 265, 28. lie. *CIL*, ii, 3596 (Ondara, Tarraconensis).  
 265, 29. another. Or., 4746 (wrongly suspected) = *CIL*, v, 1, 3496 (Verona).  
 265, 31. awaiting. Orelli, 4662 (Narbo); *CIL*, vi, 2, 11,252 : Domine Oppi marite, ne doleas mei (*sic*) quod praecessi, sustineo in aeterno toro adventum tuum.  
 265, 32. endured. Orelli, 4626 sq. (Rome, Pola).  
 265, 33. ill word. Orelli, 4530 (Rome).  
 265, 36. unwearied. *CIL*, v, 2, 7066 (Turin) : quae cum eo vixit sine litibus et jurgis; *CIL*, x, 8192 (Puteoli) : stomachum mihi null(um) umquam fecit nisi quod mo(rtua est); *CIL*, vi, 3, 15,696 : sine verbo scabro; 18,393 : sine ullo stomacho; 22,423 : sene stomacho; 18,434 : sine ulla bile; 18,918 : sine bile.  
 265, 37. desire. *CIL*, vi, 3, 15,317 : cujus nulla(m) cupiditate(m) est expert(us).  
 265, 39. gold. Henzen, 7386 (Sassina); similarly *CIL*, vi, 3, 19,175.  
 266, 1. followed. J. Schmidt, *Add. ad CIL viii*, in *Ephem. ep.*, v, p. 303, 365.  
 266, 2. similar. *CIL*, vi, 3, 17,690.  
 266, 13. heavy. Orelli, 7382 (Rome).  
 266, 21. length. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 20. Cf. vol. i, p. 260.  
 266, 24. still. Orelli, 4803.  
 266, 26. night-time. Orelli, 4575 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 18,817.  
 266, 35. noble. *CIL*, iii, 2, p. 922 ad 754 (Desjardins, *AdI*, 1868, p. 50).  
 266, 38. pious. Orelli, 4639 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 11,602 (Rome). Cf. Buecheler, *Carm. Saturn.*, Bonn, 1876, 4, p. 15. (According to Gudius the letters are of the time of Trajan or Hadrian.) *CIL*, v, 2, 7116 : casta pudica decens sapiens generosa probat(a) Some Christian epitaphs : De Rossi, *Inscr. christ.*, 62 (341 A.D.) : amatrix pauperorum et operaria; *Ib.*, 98 (348) : miri (*sic*) bonitatis atq. sanctitatis; *Ib.*, 99 (348) : mire industriae adque bonitatis.

## VI. MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

- 268, 5. now. Heinrich Stephan, *Das Verkehrsleben im Alterthum*, in *Raumers hist. Taschenbuch*, 4. Folge, 9. Jahrg., 1868, p. 120.  
 268, 11. century. Näher, *Die röm. Militärstrassen und Handelswege in Südwestdeutschland, Elsass-Lothringen und der Schweiz*, 1887, p. 33, says that the Middle Ages always maintained a high standard in road-making in these countries (and in Germany generally), and that the roads (many of which fell into decay in the Thirty Years' War) were constructed, ballasted and paved in the same fashion as those of the Romans (p. 42 f.). This no more contradicts the passage in the text than does the fact that the Roman roads were surpassed by those of the nine-

- teenth century (F. Berger, *Ueber die Heerstrassen d. röm. Reichs*, i, 1882, p. 20).
- 268, 15. traffic. Heinrich Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
- 268, 26. things. Newton and Pullan, *Discoveries at Halicarnassus*, i, p. 695.
- 269, 2. concentrated. Philo, *Leg. ad. Gai.*, p. 566 sq. The verbal correspondence in the praises of the beneficence of Augustus found in Philo and Suetonius, *Aug.*, c. 98 (per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui) is plausibly attributed by Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 159s., to hymns, which were sung to him in Alexandria.
- 269, 6. united. Plut., *De fort. Roman.*, c. 2; cf. Ranke, *Weltgesch.*, iii, 1, 53.
- 269, 9. prosperity. Appian, *praef.*, 6.
- 269, 11. countries. Philo, *loc. cit.*, p. 552 sq.
- 269, 12. pirates. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 13, 9.
- 269, 13. majesty. Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, xiv, 2.
- 269, 14. anchorage. Plut., *De fort. Roman.*, c. 2.
- 269, 16. eternity. Pliny, *op. cit.*, xxvii, 2 sq.
- 269, 25. locked. Aristid., *Εἰς βασιλέα*, p. 66 Jebb.
- 270, 2. bloom. Aristid., *Encom. Romae*, p. 224, 18 J. etc.
- 270, 14. remedy. Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 30. (For 'saxa panguntur' I suggest 's. franguntur'.)
- 270, 21. Rome. Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
- 270, 25. culture. *Id. ib.*, p. 118 f.
- 270, 35. at breast. Read 'abreast'.
- 270, 39. polish. Procop., *B. Goth.*, i, 14. Cf. the description in Statius, *S.*, iv, 3, 40 sqq. of the very solidly built and carefully paved *via Domitiana*.
- 271, 1. cost. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 92 (in the year 123-124: *CIL*, ix, 6072, 6075). 'One German geographical mile of high road costs in Westphalia, where stone is cheap, an average of 30-50,000 thalers (£4,500-7,500) without the cost of the ground' (H. Delbrück, *Preuss. Jahrb.*, March 1885, p. 358). Five Roman miles = 0.998 German geographical mile, therefore with similar conditions the cost is almost the same.
- 271, 4. feet. Before the Latin graves only 3.87 m. The width of the raised side-walks varies very much, according to the proximity of the monuments to the kerbstone, and ranges from 2.15 to 3.50 m. Before the Latin graves it is 3.20 m. For all these measurements I am indebted to the courtesy of Herr F. O. Schulze.
- 271, 4. smaller. Cf. Nissen, *Pompejan. Studien*, p. 539. The road before the Herculaneum gate of Pompeii is at its narrowest about 9 metres broad (including the footways), the Via Valeria 7.25, the Salaria 6.1; *ibid.*, p. 526 f. In the Alpine passes a pavement of only 2-2½ metres is found. Near Avenches and Delémont the paved carriage-way of the Roman road was 2½ metres wide; the same at Ettlingen; the roads from Windisch to Regensburg (Switz.), and Breisach to Ehl 3, Strassburg to Zabern 4 metres. Therefore 'the Roman military roads were not broader than 4 metres, the trading roads 3 metres, with 3

- and 2 metres pavement respectively.' J. Näher, *Die röm. Militärstrassen u. Handelswege in Südwestdeutschland, Elsass-Lothringen und der Schweiz* (1887), pp. 37-42.
- 271, 5. track. The wheel tracks 1·4 m. wide in the Roman roads over the Alps were probably made by wagons (see Näher, p. 38).
- 271, 9. Gregory. Hübner, *Sixtus V*, I, 84.
- 271, 11. to-day. Cf. Näher, pp. 37 f. and 42, also F. Berger, *Ueber die Heerstrassen des röm. Reichs*, I (1882), p. 19 f.
- 271, 14. gravelled. Plutarch, *Gracch.*, c. 7; Cic., *Ad Quint. fr.*, iii, 1, 2, 4; Strabo, iv, 1, 42 (he calls the main road between Spain and Italy *θέρους μὲν εὐβατον . . . χειμῶνος δὲ καὶ ἔαρος πηλώδη καὶ ποταμόκλυστον*) in Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Näher says (p. 42) that the stone pavement of the Roman roads was 0·7 to 0·8 metres thick. A breach in the road from Breisach to Ehl 'shows that the ballasting is about 0·4 m. deep, and that the uppermost layer consists of coarse pieces of wacke'. Cf. also the description of the covering of the road from Augst to Mayence, p. 39.
- 271, 16. started. Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 101 ff. I repeat in the text the essential part of his lucid description, verbally or summarily.
- 271, 19. Messana. *Itinerar.*, p. 490, 1 Wess.
- 271, 25. Puteoli. *Id.*, p. 493, 13: so stadia  $\overline{\text{VCCCL}}$  cannot be right;  $\overline{\text{IICCL}}$  would suit. The numbers in the Itineraries still await critical examination.
- 271, 28. hours. *Itinerar.*, p. 495, 5.
- 271, 35. Berenice. The Itineraries mention only the latter.
- 272, 5. hour. *Itin.*, 330, 10.
- 272, 38. miles. *It. Burdigal.*, pp. 563-571.
- 273, 10. imperial. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 67.
- 273, 20. Cenis. Nissen, *Ital. Landesk.*, 158, 3.
- 273, 21. Simplon. See Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alten Geographie*, §§ 328, 343; *CIL*, v, 6649; H. Meyer, *Die röm. Alpenstrassen in der Schweiz*, in *Mitth. d. antiq. Ges. in Zürich*, xiii (1861), p. 127.
- 273, 41. Quarnero. Nissen, 157-166; Strabo, iv, p. 208; vii, p. 314.
- 274, 3. rutted. A. B. Meyer, *Die alten Strassenzüge des Obergailthaales (Carinthia)*, 1886 (*Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiii [1887], pp. 217-219).
- 274, 10. Empire. Nissen, p. 166.
- 274, 15. unable. Planta, *Das alte Rätien*, p. 91. On the column on the Julier cf. *Mitth. d. antiq. Ges. in Zürich*, xv, p. 64.
- 274, 19. force. Julian, *Orat.*, 2, p. 72 A.
- 274, 21. twenty-two. Nissen, p. 154.
- 274, 31. used. Ammian., xv, 10, 4 and 5.
- 274, 34. giddy. Strabo, iv, p. 204.
- 275, 21. out. Bergier's estimate (repeated by Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 118) of 51,000 Roman miles is too high; for he evidently added the principal amounts in the Itineraries, without the deductions which are necessary on account of the repeated mention of the same portions of the road on the longer routes.
- 275, 24. For '680 geographical' read '3,800 English.'
- 275, 26. For '1,000' read '5,750'.



- 275, 32. miles. Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 118. For '1824' read '10,500'.
- 275, 35. century. The first turn-pike road in Germany was built in 1753 between Oettingen and Nördlingen. The Prussian state had in 1816 about 2,300 English miles of made roads (Treitschke, *Deutsche Gesch.*, iii, 464).
- 276, 8. oases. *CIL*, viii, p. 275 sq.
- 276, 10. inscription. *Ib.*, 10, 230.
- 276, 14. bridge. Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im Nordwesten von Afrika* (1868), iii, 96.
- 276, 15. Emperors. *CIL*, viii, p. 859.
- 276, 20. mule-paths. Hesse-Wartegg, *Tunesien*, p. 160 f.
- 276, 24. Constantinople. I do not know Dr. Constantin Jirecek's book, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinople und die Balkanpässe* (Prague, 1877).
- 276, 35. traced. Jirecek, *Archäol. Fragmente in Bulgarien*, iii, *Römische Strassen*, in *Archäol. epigr. Mittheil.*, x (1886), pp. 85-104.
- 276, 38. water-supply. Strabo, v, p. 235.
- 277, 1. wonderful. Stephan, p. 80. Cf. vol. ii, p. 257 f. Hadrian also caused a branch-road to be made to Hypata from the great road from Thessalonica to Athens. U. Köhler, *Mitth. d. archäol. Inst. in Athen*, i, 350 f.
- 277, 3. road-building. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 269.
- 277, 10. vanished. Schnars, *Erlebnisse auf einer Reise durch die Provinz Basilicata*, in *Ausland*, 1847, No. 261 ff.; cf. 1843, No. 317 ff.
- 277, 11. kilometer. *Im Neuen Reich*, 1875, No. 30 (*Die sicilische Frage*).
- 277, 13. *fiumari*. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 398.
- 277, 17. guide. *Id.*, *Pompej. Studien*, 538.
- 277, 19. coast. *Id. Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 365, 5.
- 277, 26. Braga. Stephan, p. 113.
- 277, 37. fields. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Spaniens*, vol. i, p. 87.
- 278, 3. Rome. The inscriptions are in *CIL*, xi, 1, 3285-3292. Cf. Henzen, *Alterthümer von Vicarello*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, N. F., x, 1853, p. 20 ff. The Vicarello lists of stations are older than the *Itinerarium Antonini*, which is of Diocletian's time (p. 31); the *Itin.* No. 3 is nearest in point of time to the *Itin. Antonini*, No. 1 is the oldest, and No. 2 is intermediate (p. 34). The fourth, which was discovered later than the others, was edited with them by Garrucci, *Dissertaz. archeolog.* (1864), p. 160 sqq. The route is here divided into sections: Ab Hispali Cordybae, Ab Cordu a Tarracone, A Tarracone Narbone, A Narbone Taurinos.
- 278, 5. offerings. Preller, *R. M.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 144, 3; Lersch, *Gesch. d. Balneologie* (1863), p. 45 ff.; *Bonner Jahrb.*, 1864, p. 135 f. Roman coins found near (not in) the spring of Pyrmont, *ibid.*, 1865, p. 53 f. Cf. Genthe, *Alterthümer aus d. Fürstenthümern Waldeck und Pyrmont* (1877), p. 16 ff. Roman coins in the fountain of Nimes, Stark, *Städteleben in Frankreich*, p. 98 f.; in the sulphur spring of Fumades, *CIL*, xii, p. 360; in the spring of Baden near Zurich, Keller, *Mitth. d. antiq. Ges. zu Zürich*,

- xii, 298. Hübner, *Der Fund von Procolitia* (votive offerings for the spring of Conventina by Hadrian's Wall in Britain), *Hermes*, xii (1877), 257 ff. *Id.*, *Die Heilquelle von Umeri* (near Santander), *Archäol. Ztg.*, xxxi (1874), p. 115, pl. ii.
- 278, 25. barrenness. *Itinerar.*, ed. Pinder et Parthey, p. 549, 564, 572, 577, 585, 604, 606, Wess.
- 278, 29. heroes. *Ib.*, p. 524 sqq.
- 278, 30. post. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 558 ff.
- 278, 32. couriers. Aristid., *Or.*, xxiv, p. 304 Jebb: οὗτε γὰρ οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας κομίζοντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἡμᾶς γε παρήλθον.
- 278, 35. apart. So throughout the *Itinerar. Hierosolymitanum*. Sulpic. Sever., *Dial.*, i, 4: Betleem . . . ab Alexandria . . . xvi mansionibus abest. S. *Silviae Aquit. peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, ed. Gamurrini (*Bibl. storico-giuridica*, iv [1887]), c. 47: et hic locus (Edessa) de Jerusolima vicesima et quinta mansione est (and so often).
- 278, 39. Gaul. *CIL*, v, 2108. Libanius, ed. R., i, 530, 15, who says that Julian (at Nicomedia) was σταθοῖς πλείοσιν ἢ τριακοσίοις distant from Gallus at the latter's death (near Pola), hardly intended to make anything like a precise statement.
- 279, 11. Severus. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 98 ff.
- 279, 17. ready. Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 560, 8.
- 279, 20. vague. Henzen, *BdI*, 1875, p. 5; but cf. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 1030, 3, also Appendix ix.
- 279, 28. *jumentarii*. Marini, *Atti degli frat. Arv.*, p. 775, and *Inscriz. alb.*, p. 106, confuses them with the imperial *jumentarii*, a *jumentis* (*superjumentarius*, Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 2). Were the *junctores jumentarii* of some Italian high roads, who set up inscriptions to Caracalla in 214 and 226 together with the *manicipes* of the roads (Lanciani, *Bull. mun. d. R.*, 1884, p. 8, 709 and 710) different from the *jumentarii*?
- 279, 29. guilds. Cattaneo, *Equeiade*, p. 83ss.; Marini, *loc. cit.*
- 279, 32. *cisiarii*. Fabretti, *Inscr. ant.*, p. 9, n. 179.
- 279, 32. Republican. *CIL*, 1129.
- 279, 36. accidents. Eunap., *Aedes.*, 61: διὰ δὲ εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπὶ τετρακύκλου ὁχήματος ἐφέρετο· συμβαίνει δὲ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ὁχήμασι πάθη.
- 279, 40. Trypho. Vergil, *Catal.*, 8.
- 280, 2. suits. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 39.
- 280, 3. Mediolanium. Marini, *loc. cit.*
- 280, 3. Ariminum. Tonini, *Rimini*, p. 369s.
- 280, 4. Sempronii. Henzen, 4093.
- 280, 4. Tuder. Orelli, 2413.
- 280, 45. Praeneste. *CIL*, i, 1129 = xiv, 2874.
- 280, 5. Cales. Henzen, 6983.
- 280, 5. Pompeii. *Ib.*, 5163. It is doubtful whether the *juven(es) cisiani* of Ostia (*CIL*, xiv, 409, 15/16) were *cisiarii*.
- 280, 9. gates. See note on Appendix vi.
- 280, 19. Hercules. Seneca, *Apocol.*, c. 6, 1.
- 280, 26. six days. The distance from Antioch to Constantinople in the *Itin. Antonini*, p. 139, 1 Wess.; cf. the note by Parthey

and Pinder, p. 65. Liban., *Or.*, 21, i, 685 R. Cf. H. F. Stobbe, *Z. Chronol. der Briefe des Plinius*, in *Philol.*, 1870, p. 381 ff.

280, 30. eight days. Plutarch, *Caes.*, c. 17.

280, 31. miles. *Itin. Anton.*, Wess., p. 289, 3, Via Aurelia.

280, 32. journey. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 57.

280, 37. required. Cic., *Pro Rosc. Am.*, c. 7, 19.

280, 39. Clunia. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 7.

281, 1. counts. Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, xix, 4. Spanish ships came also to Pyrgi, the harbour of Caere (Martial, xii, 2, 1).

281, 5. under. From Tarraco to Caesaraugusta 163 miles (*Itin. Anton.*, p. 451W.) thence to Clunia 169 (p. 441).

271, 7. made. Cervantes, *La fuerza de la sangre* (*Novelas ejemplares*).

281, 10. four days. *Hist. Aug., Maximin.*, ii, c. 25.

281, 11. ridden. From Rome to Ariminum (*Itin. Anton.*, p. 126) 216; thence to Bononia (p. 126) 78; thence to Aquileia (p. 281) 217, a total of 511 mi. If one went from Ariminum to Ravenna (33 mi.), thence by water to Altinum, and thence by land again to Aquileia (62 mi., p. 126), the journey by land alone amounted to 311 miles. Casaubon, *op. cit.*, erroneously reckons 200 miles in 24 hours for this journey, and adds: magna sana diligentia, sed non incredibilis; constat hodiernos veredarios Roma Lutetiam saepe diebus sex septem commeare, quae longe major contentio est. *De mortib. persecutor.*, c 47, (Maximinus) una nocte atque una die . . . Nicomediam alia nocte pervenit, cum locus proelii abesset milia CLX. Gibbon, ch. xiv, assumes that Maximin's flight from Heraclea to Nicomedia took only 24 hours; but according to the text, which is imperfect, it must have been more.

281, 14. Galba. Tac., *H.*, i, 56.

281, 16. minutes. Zangemeister, *Westd. Zeitschr.*, 1887, p. 240, 17.

281, 16. Belgica. Tac., *H.*, i, 12, 18, 55; cf. iv, 59.

281, 18. Rome. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 267 and 274, 2.

281, 20. hours. All in Chambalu, *De magistratibus Flaviorum* (Bonn, 1882), p. 8. Statius, *Silvae*, iv, 112 sqq. says that by the new *via Domitiana* one could reach Baiae in one day from Rome (Qui primo Tiberim relinquit ortu, Primo vespere naviget Lucrinum); he must refer to the journey of a courier, for the distance of 141 *millia* (Rome to Sinuessa 108, thence to Puteoli 33) could not otherwise be covered in about 14 hours.

281, 22. Chatti. So *Valer. Maxim.*, v, 5, 3. Pliny's statement (*Nat. hist.*, vii, 84) that this part of the journey was made in carriages is very unlikely. The distance from Mainz-Castell measured along the oldest roads by Hofheim, Bilbel, Friedberg, Butzbach, Frankenberg, Stadtberge (Marsberg), Haaren, Neuhaus (Elsen), through the Dörenschlucht to the Weser, amounts to 202 Roman miles, to Varenholz 203, to Rehme 207', Zangemeister, *op. cit.*, p. 238, 13.

281, 31. nine. Cic., *Ad Brut.*, ii, 4, 1, where Sigonius has rightly emended 'a. d. VI Id.' to 'a. d. III Id.' O. E. Schmidt, *De epp. a Cassio et ad Cassium datis* (1877), p. 11.

281, 32. ten. Ovid, *Epp. ex Pont.*, iv, 5, 3:

Quum gelidam Thracen et opertum nubibus Haemon  
et maris Ionii transieritis aquas,  
luce minus decima dominam venietis in urbem,  
ut festinatum non faciatis iter.

The *Itin.* counts from Rome to Capua 136 miles (p. 612, otherwise p. 108, where the result is 124 mi.), thence to Beneventum 33 (p. 111), thence to Tarentum 157 (p. 120), thence to Brundisium 44 (*ib.*), a total of 370 mi. Strabo, vi, 3, p. 50, gives τξ' (360); so also Pliny, *H. n.*, ii. 244.

281, 32. five. Martial, x, 104 :—

Illinc (Tarracone) te rota tollet et citatus  
altam Bilbilin et tuum Salonem  
quinto forsitan essedo videbis.

Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii, 734, 5 supposes change of carriages at the chief stations. There were eight *mansiones* from Tarraco to Bilbilis. *Itin.*, pp. 391 and 437W.

281, 34. 317. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, xi, 6, 1; Bardt, *loc. cit.*, p. 14.

281, 39. Megara. Procop., *Bell. Vand.*, i, 18.

281, 40. foot. *Id.*, *B. Goth.*, i, 15; ii, 78.

281, 41. 136. *Id.*, *B. Goth.*, i, 14.

282, 2. three days. Philostrate, *Apollon.*, vii, 41.

282, 5. on foot. Bardt, *l. c.*, p. 8 sq.

282, 6. undertaken. *Digg.*, ii, 11, 1 (Gaius, l. i, ad edictum provinciale): Vicena milia passuum in singulos dies dinumerari praetor jubet, etc. *Ib.*, xxii, 1, 13, § 2: τῷ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει οὐντι, ἐν ᾗ κεχειροτόνηται, ἡ ἐντὸς ἑκατὸν μιλίων, πεντήκοντα ἡμερῶν ἔδωκεν ὁ νομοθέτης προθεσμίαν· τῷ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑκατὸν μίλια διατρίβοντι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν δεῖν ἀριθμεῖσθαι εἴκοσι μίλια ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἔξωθεν κ.τ.λ. If an ἀνὴρ εὖζωνος could walk from Antioch to the sea (120 *stadia*) and back, starting at sunrise and returning in the afternoon (ἅμα ἡλίῳ κινήθεις ἐνθέρδε, κομῶν τι τῶν ἐκείθεν ἐπιμεσημβρίας ἐστῶσης, Liban., ed. R., i, 286, 22–24), it was an extraordinary feat.

282, 10. century. Hübner, Sixtus v, p. 84. In the middle of the sixteenth century the journey from Paris to Venice took 9 to 15 days; but in 1509 a despatch from Blois reached the Doge's palace in 7 days (Yriarte, *Vie d'un patricien de Venise au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 104), and according to Casaubon (see n. on 281/10–11) couriers even reached Paris from Rome in 6 to 7 days. Light carriages usually took 20 days from Rome to Milan (Montaigne, *Journ. d'un voy. en Italie*, iii, 179); in the eighteenth century they covered only 30 Italian miles a day (Volkmann, *Nachrichten von Italien*, i, 81 f.).

282, 12. Ravenna. Strabo, v, 217. Theoderic's food allowance for 5 days, for the ambassadors of the Heruli travelling by ship from Ticinum to Ravenna (Cassiodor., *Var.*, iv, 45) was therefore a very generous one, and one cannot with Nissen, *Ital. Landesk.*, i, 213, estimate the duration of the voyage from it.

282, 14. home. Philo., *Leg. ad Gai.*, 548M.

282, 15. abroad. *Acts of Apostles*, xxviii, 11.

282, 15. march. Veget., v, 9.



- 282, 19. consecration. *CIL*, i, p. 387b.; Preller, *RM*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 381 f.
- 282, 20. trolleyed out. Horace, *Carm.*, i, 4, 2.
- 282, 24. pirates. Pliny, *N. h.*, ii, 125.
- 282, 27. Ovid. Ovid, *Trist.*, i, 11, 3 and 7.
- 282, 29. passage. Philo, *In Flacc.*, 535 M.
- 282, 33. shipwrecked. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, xvi, 9.
- 282, 37. Cyclades. Petron., c. 114: *procurrere piscatores parvulis expediti navigiis ad praedam rapiendam*. Cf. Herzberg, *Gesch. Griechenl.*, ii, 494, 19. Julian, *Or.*, vii, p. 210 A.: *διαφέρουσι γὰρ οἱ τοὶ τί . . . τῶν ἐπ' ἐρημίας ληστευόντων καὶ κατειληφόντων τὰς ἀκτὰς ἐπὶ τῷ λυμαίνεσθαι τοῖς καταπλέουσι*.
- 282, 39. branded. Scribon. Largus, 90, 231.
- 282, 40. Manilius. Manil., *Astr.*, v, 402, 435.
- 282, 41. lure. Ulpian, *lib. I Opinionum* (Digg., xlvii, 9, 10).
- 283, 1. coasts. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, 7, 105 M.; cf. p. 109 M.
- 283, 4. alms. Tertullian, *Apolog.*, c. 30. Cf. also vol. i, p. 19 of this work.
- 283, 5. scarcely. Strabo, iii, 2, p. 145 (*ἡ νῦν εἰρήνη τῶν ληστηρίων καταλυθέντων*). Cf. Pliny, *N. h.*, ii, 117. But Cass. Dio, xxxvi, 3, says: *οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ἂν παύσαιτό ποτε, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾗ*.
- 283, 9. Egypt. Josephus, *B. J.*, iii, 9, 2.
- 283, 10. Ocean. Pliny, *N. h.*, vi, 26, 101.
- 283, 11. Black. Strabo, xi, 2, 12.
- 283, 12. nights. Zenob., *Proverb.*, v, 32: *οὐ νυκτιπλοεῖς· ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ ἀκριβῶς τι ποιούντων κ.τ.λ.*
- 283, 13. stars. Petron., c. 102.
- 283, 14. worship. *Id.*, c. 99.
- 283, 14. voyages. Gell, ii, 21; Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, vii, 10, p. 133, ed. K.
- 283, 16. evening. Philostrat., *Apollon.*, vii, 16, p. 137, ed. K. Departure from Puteoli in the morning, *ib.*, viii, 14, p. 164, ed. K.
- 283, 16. Puteoli. *Id.*, vii, 17 p. 138.
- 283, 18. Cicero's. Cic., *Pro Manil.*, c. 12.
- 283, 19. days. Galen, *Meth. med.*, v, 92 (K. x, 393).
- 283, 20. a day. Aemilius Paullus says in Appian, *Rom. hist.*, ix, 17: *ἐς μὲν Κερκύραν ἐκ Βρεντεσίου διαπλεύσαι μιᾶς ἡμέρας κ.τ.λ.* Cic., *Ad Att.*, iv, 1, 4: *Pridie nonas Sext. Dyrrhachio sum profectus . . . Brundisium veni nonis Sext.* A rough passage is described in Gell., xix, 1.
- 283, 21. Aulona. *Itin. Anton.*, p. 497, Wess.
- 283, 23. Hydrus. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, xvi, 9, 1.
- 283, 24. South. *Acts Apost.*, xxviii, 13.
- 283, 26. Messina. Philostrat., viii, *Apoll. T.*, 14, p. 167, ed. K.
- 283, 27. Elis. Pausan., vi, 26, 3: *κεῖται δὲ τετραμμένη τε πρὸς Σικελίαν καὶ ὄρμον παρεχομένη ναυσὶν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐπίνειον δὲ οὐσα Ἡλείων, ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Ἀρκάδος τὸ ὄνομα εἴληφε*.
- 283, 29. Syracuse. Philostrat., *loc. cit.* (*ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ ἐκβολὰς*).
- 283, 29. Puteoli. *Id. ib.*, viii, p. 133, ed. K.
- 283, 33. Cenchreae. Ships were dragged over the Isthmus Leuca-diensium (Kiepert, *Hdb. d. Geogr.*, 264, 2): Julius Hyginus in

- Cinnae propemptico*, quoted in Charis., *Inst. Gr.*, i, ed. Keil, p. 134, 12.
- 283, 35. completed. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 270; cf. *Bull. de corresp. Hellén.*, 1884, Avril et Mai.
- 283, 36. venture. Philostrate., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 6, ed. K., p. 237.
- 283, 37. Propertius. Propert., iii (iv), 21, 19.
- 283, 38. Tomi. Ovid, *Trist.*, i, 10 and 11.
- 283, 40. Andros. Philo., *In Flacc.*, p. 539 M.
- 283, 41. Asia. For 'of Little Asia' read 'to Asia Minor'.
- 284, 4. Megara. Galen, v, 48.
- 284, 13. all. Arist., *Or.*, 24, p. 305 sq.; J. Masson, *Coll. Hist.*, ed. Dindorf, iii, p. lxi, wrongly believes that the journey from Corinth to Miletus took a fortnight. On the time of the journey cf. Waddington, *Vie du rhéteur Aelius Aristide*, in *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 1867, pp. 203-268.
- 284, 14. Zeuxis. *CIG*, 3920: Φλάουιος Ζεῦξις ἐργαστῆς (negotiator) πλεύσας ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πλόας ἐβδομήκοντα δύο.
- 284, 21. winds. Pliny, *Epp. ad Tr.*, 26.
- 284, 36. Troas. Galen, xii, 171 sq.
- 285, 1. imperial. Chambalu, *De magistr. Flav.* (Bonn, 1882, p. 8), supposes, perhaps rightly, that the couriers travelled an average of 160 miles in 24 hours.
- 285, 7. sold. Aristid., *Or.*, 24, p. 305 J.; cf. Masson, *Coll. Hist.*, ed. Dindorf, iii, p. liii.
- 285, 10. Ostia. Ruinart, *Acta mart.*
- 285, 11. false. It is regarded as fictitious by Dierauer, *Gesch. Trajans*, in Büdinger, *Unters. z. Röm. Kaisergesch.*, i, 171, and also by Asbach, *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxii (1882), p. 40. Keim, *Rom und das Christenthum*, p. 529 ff., refers the so-called epistles of Ignatius, which are the basis of the older (shorter) *Acta*, to the age of Commodus (p. 535, cf. 539).
- 285, 15. sailed. Ovid, *Trist.*, i, 10.
- 285, 17. took. *Id.*, *Epp. ex P.*, iv, 11, 15.
- 285, 19. Pisa. Orelli, 643 (Cenotaph. Pisan.).
- 285, 23. sail. Diodor., iii, 34.
- 285, 26. nine. Pliny, *N. H.*, xix, 1.
- 285, 32. suggestion. Philo., *In Flacc.*, p. 521 M. The author of the Homilies of Clement embarks at Portus for Judaea, but is driven by the weather to Alexandria (*Homil.*, i, 8). Thence εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀπέπλευσα καὶ δεκάπεντε ἡμερῶν εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀπήντησα τὴν Στράτωνος. Unless the numeral is corrupt, the author has perhaps transferred to the last stage a statement referring to the whole journey from Portus by Alexandria to Judaea.
- 285, 34. Syria. Philo., 583 M. Jerome's journey from Rome by Portus, Regium, Malea, the Cyclades, Cyprus, Antioch to Jerusalem lasted from August till the winter; thence he travelled to Egypt, the convents of the Nitria and Bethlehem. Jerome, *C. Rufin.*, iii, 22, ed. Vallars; ii, 551.
- 285, 35. required. *Digg.*, xlv, 1, 122 § 1: Callimachus mutuum pecuniam nauticam accepit a Sticho servo Seji in provincia Syria civitate Beryto, usque Brentesium, idque creditum esse in omnes navigii dies ducentos sub pignoribus et hypothecis,

mercibus a Beryto comparatis et Brentesium perferendis et quas Brentesio emturus esset et per navem Beryto [read -um] invecturus etc.

- 285, 37. letter. Bardt, *Quaest. Tull.*, p. 30; Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, xii, 10, 12.
- 285, 40. Syria. Cic., *Ad Att.*, xiv, 9.
- 285, 1. 107. Mommsen, *Epigraphische Analecten, Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1850, 2, 61.
- 286, 3. considered. Bardt, *Quaest. Tull.*, p. 30; Cic., *Ad Fam.*, xvi, 21, 1; xiv, 5, 1.
- 286, 4. Brundisium. Bardt, *loc. cit.*; Cic., *Ad Fam.*, xvi, 9, 2.
- 286, 6. twenty-nine. Bardt, *loc. cit.*, p. 33; Cic., *Ad Qu. fr.*, iii, 1, 13, 17, 25; *Ad Att.*, iv, 17, 3.
- 286, 6. Africa. Bardt, *loc. cit.*, p. 22; Cic., *Ad Fam.*, xii, 25, 1.
- 286, 7. Senate. Pliny, *N. H.*, xv, 74.
- 286, 13. mild. *Id. ib.*, xix, 1.
- 286, 14. Marseilles. Sulp. Sever., *Dial.*, i, 1.
- 286, 16. fast. *Id. ib.*, i, 3 (quinto die portum Africae intravimus . . . libuit animo adire Carthaginem); i, 6. The voyage from Alexandria to the British Isles in 20 days, in Leontius, *Vita S. Joannis eleemosynarii*, 13, 15 (*Acta Sanctorum*, published at Brussels, 1863, iii, p. 115, 23 Jan.), is there described as supernaturally fast.
- 286, 18. describes. Vitruv., x, 9, 7.
- 286, 22. lowest. Marcian, *Peripl. mar. exter.*, ii, 5, *Geographi minor.*, ed. Mueller, i, 543.
- 286, 23. stadia. Marcian, *Epitome peripl. Menipp.*, *ib.*, p. 568.
- 286, 24. average. Scylax., *Peripl.*, 69, *ib.*, p. 58.
- 286, 30. stadia. Herodot., iv, 86; cf. ii, 149.
- 286, 31. testify. Aristid., *Or.*, xlviii, p. 360.
- 286, 40. day. Diodor., v, 16 and 17.
- 287, 3. Strabo. Strabo, x, 4, 5. Cf. Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 50 n.
- 287, 4. Britain. Strabo, iv, 1, 14.
- 287, 10. equator. O. Peschel, *Gesch. d. Erdkunde*, p. 18, n. 1. (after James Smith, *St. Paul's Voyage and Shipwreck*, 1880, p. 181 ff., Diss. iii, *On the Ships of the Ancients*).
- 287, 17. mantle. Also if one wished to travel fast one obviously preferred the horse to the carriage; Apulei., *Florid.*, iv, 12. Cf. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 6, 105, and the relief of Aesernia, *Bull. Nap.*, iv, pl. i, no. 4.
- 287, 19. slave. Lucian, *Luc.*, 1: ἀπῆειν ποτὲ εἰς Θερραλίαν . . . ἵππος δὲ με κατήγε καὶ τὰ σκεύη καὶ θεραπόντων ἡκολούθει εἰς. Dio Chrysost. (*Orat.*, 40, p. 486 M.) wandered, it is true, οὐ μόνον δοικος καὶ ἀνέστιος, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀκόλουθον ἕνα ἐπαγόμενος.
- 287, 20. carriage. Seneca, *Ep.*, 87.
- 287, 37. baggage. Vol. i, p. 117. In the nineteenth century arrangements for travel reminding one of those of the ancients are of course exceptional. The wife of Marshal Ney ('elle avait pris l'habitude d'un extrême luxe') travelled to a spa, 'avec une maison entière, afin d'être servie à son gré: un lit, des meubles à elle, une argenterie de voyage faite tout exprès, une suite de fourgons, nombre de courriers, disant que la femme

- d'un maréchal de France ne pouvait voyager autrement'. *Mém. de Mme. de Rémusat*, ii, 383.
- 287, 38. Republic. Plutarch, *Cato minor*, c. 20, 1 : εἴτα πολλοῖς τισιν ὑποζυγίοις καὶ σκεύεσι καὶ ἀκολούθοις ἀπαντήσας καὶ πυθόμενος Νέπωτα Μέτελλον εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανερχέσθαι κ.τ.λ.
- 287, 40. female. Cic., *Pro Mil.*, c. 10.
- 287, 41. Mosaic. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 46.
- 288, 1. circus. Plutarch, *Anton.*, c. 9, 4 ; Cic., *Philipp.*, 2, 24 ; Plutarch, *Crass.*, c. 21 (journey of the Parthian Surenas) ; *Elagabal.*, c. 31.
- 288, 6. gorgeously. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 30 ; cf. *Elagabal.*, c. 31.
- 288, 8. milk. Pliny, *N. H.*, xi, 238 ; xxviii, 183 ; xxxiii, 140.
- 288, 10. inwrought. Julian, *Or.*, 3, p. 110 D.
- 288, 11. Seneca. Seneca, *Epp.*, 123, 6.
- 288, 14. gladiators. *Id. ib.*, 87, 9.
- 288, 16. runners. *Id. ib.*, 123, 6 ; Martial, x, 6, 7 ; 13, 1 ; xii, 24 ; Galen, *Quom. morb. simul.*, ed. K., xix, 4 : δοῦλος δ' ἦν οὗτος τῶν παρατρεχόντων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τῷ δεσπότῃ. A 'collegium cursorum et Numidarum' formed part of the imperial suite at Carthage (J. Schmidt, *Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 312, n. 428 ; an 'exercitator cursorum', *ib.*, n. 366), who were probably employed not only 'ad tabularii negotia ordinanda' (Mommsen, *ib.*, p. 113), but also as forerunners and outriders on the emperor's journeys in the provinces.
- 288, 17. horses. Seneca, *Epp.*, 87, 10.
- 288, 21. worth. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 163 ; Martial, iii, 72. Cf. the golden carriage of Count Besborodko (under Catherine II) : Brückner, *Potemkins Glück und Ende*, in *Balt. Monatschrift*, N. F., i, 517.
- 288, 22. rarities. Propert., iv (v), 8.
- 288, 25. faces. Seneca, *Epp.*, 87, 10.
- 288, 29. harness. Philostrate, *Vitt. soph.*, ed. K., p. 228.
- 288, 35. Cicero. Martial, i, 2 ; xiv, 188. Julian was given by Eusebia a library to take with him to Gaul ; Julian, *Or.*, 3, p. 123 sq.
- 288, 39. sleeves. Becker, Göll, i, 63 f., 87 ; Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 5.
- 288, 41. mules. *Digg.*, xxxiv, 2, 13 [14] ; Scaevola [libro xv Digestorum]. δορυμῶριον in *Dioclet. Edict. de pret.*, c. xv, Mommsen. Cf. Becker-Göll, iii, 20.
- 289, 1. dice. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 33 (solitus etiam in gestatione ludere).
- 289, 4. used. *Pertin.*, c. 8. For the odometer see vol. i, p. 286, and Beckmann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Erfindungen*, i, 16.
- 289, 8. friends. Cic., *Ad. Att.*, x, 10, 5. Cf. Becker-Göll, iii, 11.
- 289, 14. Herod. Nicol. Damasc., *De vita sua* (Mueller, *Hist. Graec. fr.*, iii, p. 350).
- 289, 21. Southern. Plutarch, *Cato minor*, c. 38, 2 : τοδὲ ἀχρι Κερκύρας φυλάξας ἐν ἀγορᾷ κατεσκήνωσε, τῶν δὲ ναυτῶν διὰ τὸ βίον πολλὰ καίωντων τῆς νυκτὸς ἤφθησαν αἱ σκηναί. *Id.*, *Anton.*, 9, 4 (cf. Apoll. Sidon., *Epp.*, iv, 8). The conditions are or were similar in the interior of Russia (Haxthausen, *Studien über die innern Zustände Russlands* [1847], i, 96 f.) ; and in the



- interior of Sicily (Parthey, *Wanderungen durch Sicilien und die Levante* [1834], i, 338).
- 289, 28. houses. Epictet., *Diss.*, ii, 23, 36.
- 289, 30. says. Strabo, xvii, 1, 17, p. 801.
- 289, 35. wells. *Id.*, xii, 17, p. 578. Cf. also the obviously corrupt passage, Pliny, *N. H.*, xxix, 23.
- 290, 7. burdens. Kuhn, *Verf. d. röm. Reichs*, i, 61, 104.
- 290, 10, escape. Pliny, *N. H.*, ix, 26.
- 290, 18. often. Plutarch, *Cato minor*, c. 12.
- 290, 22. Tarracina. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, vii, 23. Cf. Drumann, *RG*, vi, 394.
- 290, 26. fares. Ulpian, *lib. xxxi ad Edictum*, *Digg.*, xvii, 2, 52, § 15.
- 290, 39. Pergamus. Aristid., *Or.*, xxvii, pp. 347–350 Jebb.
- 290, 39. uncivilized. *Id.*, *l.c.*, p. 304.
- 291, 3. inns. Seneca, *De benef.*, vi, 15, 7.
- 291, 6. ground. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 72. Cf. also Hippolyt., *Refut. haeres.*, v, 23 : *εἰ τις ὁδὸν μακρὰν βαδίζων παρατυχῶν καταλύματι ἀναπαύεσθαι δοκεῖ*.
- 291, 7. inn. S. Luke, x. 34 sq.
- 291, 8. Bethlehem. *Id.*, ii, 7. Wetzstein, *Inscripfen aus dem Hauran und den Trachonen*, in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1863, nos. 111 and 112 (two δημόσια πανδοχεῖα in the year 397 A.D.) ; 133 (στάβλον καὶ τρικλίνιον—stabulum et triclinium). Cf. Lebas-Waddington, 2480, 2462, 2463. If a place built a ξενῶν the inhabitants were free from quartering : *ib.*, 2524, Julian, *Epp.*, 49 (ἀρχιερεὶ Γαλατίας) 430 B. : ξενοδοκεῖα καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν κατὰστησον πυκνά κ.τ.λ. Two πανδοχεῖα for pilgrims to the dwelling of S. Simon Stylites (died A.D. 460), Telmissus (479 A.D.) : 2691, 2692.
- 291, 11. erected. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 8, 6.
- 291, 13. found. Read 'founded'.
- 291, 14. slaves. Muratori, 470, 7 (Zagaroli). Hospitium Hygini Firmi : Mau, *Scavi di Pompei*, *BdI*, 1882, p. 116.
- 291, 17. hotel. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 762 = *CIL*, viii, 5341.
- 291, 19. select. Plutarch, *De vitioso pudore*, c. 8, p. 532.
- 291, 23. profitable. Cf. Becker-Göll, iii, 34.
- 291, 25. officials. *CIL*, iii, 6123.
- 291, 27. provided. *Rev. Archéol.*, xxi (1870), p. 314.
- 291, 29. Marshes. *Acts apost.*, xxviii, 15.
- 291, 32. Strabo. For 'To the Gay' read 'The Party-coloured (Inns)'. Strabo, v, 3, 9, p. 237 C. Cf. the index of the *Itinera-ria*, ed. Pinder et Parthey, s.v. *Tabernae*, *Ad medias*, *Ad novas*, *Veteribus*. *Tabernae* need not always mean inns. (Hefner, *Die röm. Töpfercolonie Tabernae, das heutige Rheinzabern*, in *Münch. gel. Anzeigen*, 1860, No. 21).
- 291, 38. camel. Artemidorus, *Onirom.*, i, 4, p. 12 (ed. Reiff, p. 17).
- 291, 40. Sittius. Jordan, *Ueber röm. Aushängeschilder*, in *Archäol. Ztg.*, iv (1871), p. 75.
- 291, 40. cock. Orelli, 4330 = *CIL*, xii, 4377.
- 292, 3. Olives. Jordan, *op. cit.*, Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 474 f.
- 292, 3. tabards. Read 'inn-signs.'

- 292, 5. fashion. Marini, *Atti*, ii, p. 532 (near Bologna and on the via Nomentana, 8 Italian miles from Rome) = Wilmanns, *EI*, 2719.
- 292, 6. Apollo. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, *CIL*, xi, 1, 721.
- 292, 9. stay. Orelli, 4329. The *hospitium ad lucum Decidiorum* in an inscription from Capua is unconnected; cf. Mommsen, *CIL*, x, 4104.
- 292, 11. tariff. *CIL*, xii, 5732.
- 292, 23. guest. Virgil, *Copa*.
- 292, 27. frequented. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 7.
- 292, 29. jeers. Plutarch, *De sanitate praec.*, c. 16, p. 130.
- 292, 34. guests. Apoll. Sidon., *Epp.*, viii, 11.
- 292, 36. bugs. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 58 (coma arundinis) pro pluma strata cauponarum implet. He calls the fleas (ix, 154) cauponarum aestiva animalia. In the *Vita Hadriani*, c. 16, 'culices' certainly should be read 'cimices'; cf. Becker-Göll, iii, 36.
- 292, 36. spiders. Dioscorid., *De venenis*, ii, *praef.*, ed. Sprengel, ii, p. 5.
- 293, 1. bread. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 472.
- 293, 5. treatment. S. Luke, x, 34.
- 293, 6. brought. Plutarch, *Apophth. Lacon. var.*, 44. Cf. Bursian in the *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1869, no. 17.
- 293, 11. pandars. Ulpian, *Dig.*, iii, 2, 4, § 2; xxiii, 2, 43, 1; *ib.*, § 9.
- 293, 13. bought. *Cod.*, iv, 56, 3.
- 293, 16. herself. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 471, 5.
- 293, 19. gamblers. Tertullian, *De fuga in persecut.*, c. 13.
- 293, 20. wine. Cf. Becker-Göll, iii, 41 f.; Martial, i, 57.
- 293, 21. Aquarius. Petron., c. 39.
- 293, 21. oats. Martial, xiii, 11.
- 293, 24. toll-keepers. Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*, i, 23. Cf. iv, 42 (*ἀχρωμος ἢ ἐργασία*).
- 293, 25. force. *Id. ib.*, iv, 57.
- 293, 30. convicted. Galen, vi, 663; xii, 254.
- 293, 35. restoring. Augustine, *C.D.*, xviii, 18.
- 293, 36. suffered. *Institt.*, iv, 5, 3; *Digg.*, iv, 9 (Ulpianus libro xiv ad Edictum). Cf. *Digg.*, xlvii, 2, 14, § 17, and xlvii, 5, § 6.
- 293, 38. smuggling. Quintilian, *Declam.*, 349 (mille artibus circumscribuntur l. circumscribimur).
- 294, 1. duty. Quintilian, *De curiositate*, c. 7, p. 518; *Id.*, *Declam.*, 359. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 269 ff.
- 294, 8. pearls. Quintilian, *Declam.*, 349 and 359.
- 294, 8. soldiers'. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 50 sq.
- 294, 11. descendants. Philostrat., *Vitt. sophist.*, p. 228, ed. Kayser.
- 294, 14. police. Mommsen, *Hermes*, xxii, 1887, p. 556 f.; *StR*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 2, 1074 f.
- 294, 17. posts. Tertullian, *Apolog.*, c. 2.
- 294, 21. directed. *Cod.*, i, 55, 6.
- 294, 22. brigandage. Cass. Dio, xxxvi, 3. See vol. i, p. 283 of this work.
- 294, 26. fortified. *CIL*, iii, 1, 3385.

- 294, 29. revenged. *Ib.*, iii, 1, 1559, 1579, 1585.  
 294, 31. Moesia. *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, p. 81.  
 294, 31. Darmstadt. *Bonner Jahrb.*, 1873, p. 151.  
 294, 31. Trèves. Brambach, *C. I. Rhen.*, 780.  
 294, 32. castles. *CIL*, viii, 2494, 2495 (188 A.D.): burgum [Commodianum] speculatorium inter duas vias ad salutem commean-  
 tium nova tutela constitui iussit (Ti. Claudius) (G)ordianus v.  
 c. leg. Aug. pr. pr.  
 294, 35. avoid. Cyprian, *Epp.*, 68, 3.  
 294, 37. stripped. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 785.  
 294, 39. robbers. Lucian, *Alexander*, 44.  
 295, 3. Cassius. Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Const. d. Gr.* (2. Aufl.), p.  
 120; Dio, lxxi, 4. Rohde, *Der griech. Roman*, 393, 1, 451, 1.  
 295, 4. Khalifs. Lombroso, *L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci e dei Romani*,  
 p. 52, 2. (Cf. on robbers in Egypt, p. 52, 3.)  
 295, 5. mountainous. Mommsen, *Die röm. Schweiz*, p. 20 f. Mar-  
 quardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 538. J. J. Müller, *Das rom. Nyon*, in *Mitth.*  
*d. antiq. Ges. in Zürich*, xviii, p. 194. Hirschfeld, *Gallische*  
*Studien*, p. 43 f. (*Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.*, 1883, p. 311).  
 295, 8. man. *CIL*, iii, 1, 2399, 2544.  
 295, 8. Spanish. *Ib.*, ii, 2968 (Tarracensis), 3479 (Carthago nova).  
 295, 10. Gospels. S. Luke, x, 30; Hausrath, *Neutestamentl.*  
*Zeitgesch.*, i, 344.  
 295, 13. Trachones. Lebas-Waddington, p. 534; *StRE* (Trachoni-  
 titis).  
 295, 15. smallness. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 323 f.  
 295, 19. clean. Strabo, xii, 7, p. 570; 8, 8, p. 574.  
 295, 21. legs. Galen, ii, 188.  
 295, 23. Byzantines. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 120 ff. S. *Silviae*  
*peregrinatio* (referred to in note on p. 278, 35), c. 54.  
 295, 26. Germanicus. *CIG*, 3612.  
 295, 28. forays. Lucian, *Alexand.*, i.  
 295, 31. Lucian. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 494.  
 295, 34. cultivated. Varro, *R. r.*, i, 16, 2.  
 295, 35. war. Dio, iv, 28.  
 295, 37. fight. Tac., *A.*, ii, 85.  
 295, 39. savage. Strabo, v, 5, p. 224 sq.  
 295, 41. proconsuls. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 1, 91.  
 296, 2. accompany. Lucian, *Alexand.*, 55.  
 296, 9. executed. Herodian, i, 10; Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, 478,  
 iv: a latronibu(s) (in)terfecto.  
 296, 10. Italy. Appian, *B. C.*, v, 132.  
 296, 12. perilous. Propert., iii (iv), 16.  
 296, 12. Augustus. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 32.  
 296, 14. Tiberius. *Id.*, *Tiber.* c. 47. Such military posts appear  
 again in Italy in the third century: Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2,  
 1075, 1. Cf. also Juvenal, 3, 305 sqq.; and vol. i, p. 294 of this  
 work.  
 296, 18. Papal. Grillparzer, *Reiseerinnerungen an Rom und Neapel*,  
*Werke*, x, 243.  
 296, 19. crucified. *Digg.*, xlviii, 19, 28, § 15. Petron., c. 111:  
 cum interim imperator provinciae latrones jussit crucibus adfigi.

- 296, 20. physician. Galen, ii, p. 385, says that one can see the inside of the body ἐπὶ ληστῶν ἐν ὄρει κειμένων ἀτάφων.
- 296, 24. instructive. *Id.*, ii, p. 221.
- 296, 26. hedges. Casaub. ad Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 31; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv, 177; *Metam.*, i, 493.
- 296, 28. shadows. Juv., 10, 30 sqq.
- 296, 30. dog. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 144.
- 296, 36. possibly. *Id.*, *Epp.*, vi, 25.
- 296, 39. landowners. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 168, 180.
- 296, 40. herds. Varro, *R. r.*, ii, 10, 3, says that one ought to choose shepherds, qui non solum pecus sequi possint, sed etiam a bestiis ac praedonibus defendere. Digg., xix, 5, 20, § 1: mulae a grassatoribus . . . ablatae.
- 297, 2. cudgelled. Fronto, *Epp. ad M. Caes.*, ii, 13.
- 297, 4. Forest. It still extends along the whole coast from Cuma to Castel Volturno, and abounds in waterfowl; Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 378.
- 297, 6. robber-bands. Strabo, v, 4, 4, p. 243 C.
- 297, 7. Rome. Juv., 3, 305 sqq.
- 297, 11. highwaymen. Dio, lxxiv, 2.
- 297, 35. Dio. *Id.*, lxxvi, 10. Inscription found near the arch of Severus, Gruter, 109, 3 = *CIL*, vi, 234: genio exercitus | qui exstinguendis saevissimis latronibus | fide et devotione Rom. exspectat. et votis omnium satisfecit.
- 297, 38. armed. *H. A.*, *Procul.*, c. 12.
- 297, 41. robber. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, 357, 1.
- 298, 2. Tilloboras. Lucian, *Alexand.*, 2.
- 298, 5. collections. Insecurity in the Middle Ages; Stephan, *Verkehrsleben*; Raumer, *Hist. Taschenbuch*, iv, 10, p. 359. In France in the eighteenth century: Taine, *Orig. de la Fr. contemp.*, i, 498 ss.
- 298, 7. Dover. Stockmar, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 14.
- 298, 13. Greece. E. Burnouf, *Le Brigandage en Grèce*, in *Revue des deux mondes*, 1870, lxxvii.
- 298, 20. alike. Franz Löher, *Karpathenreise*, in *Augsb. Allgem. Zeitg.*, March 1, 1872, Beilage.
- 298, 25. Verlikka. Noe, *Dalmatien und seine Inselwelt*.
- 298, 26. history. On its causes cf. Hehn, *Italien* (1st ed.), i, 129 ff. Under Clement XIII (1758-1769) 11,000 murders (4,000 of them in Rome) were officially registered in the States of the Church: Cantù, *Storia degl' Italiani*, T. vi, l. xv, c. 157 (not accessible to me). Reuchlin, *Gesch. Italiens*, i, p. 14 f. *Id. ib.*, i, p. 134 ff., and 362 ff.
- 298, 26. Mafia. The following facts are taken from Franchetti, *La Sicilia nel 1876*, i (1877). Cf. Reimer, *Zur Gesch. d. sicil. Räuberbanden*, in *Im N. Reich*, 1879, no. 25. Gaudy, *Sicilien im Herbst 1838*, *Werke* v, 113. *Augsb. Allg. Ztg.*, December 18, 1876.
- 298, 30. Sardinia. Gregorovius, *Corsica* (2nd edition), p. 157.
- 298, 40. immune. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Spaniens*, iii, p. 88 f. In the year 1826 the mail coach running between Montpellier and



- Madrid was regularly held up and robbed. Caroline Herschel's *Memoirs* (2nd ed., 1879, p. 202).
- 299, 2. killed. Bernhardt, *Reiseerinnerungen aus Spanien*, p. 245.
- 299, 5. check. Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, p. 237 n.
- 299, 29. duty. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 24, 36; cf. iv, 1, 91.
- 299, 31. voyages. Vol. i, pp. 118 ff., and 138 ff.
- 299, 33. journey. Martial, viii, 31.
- 299, 35. Cnossus. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 9, 6.
- 299, 39. Rome. Mommsen, *StR.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 968.
- 300, 2. waiting. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 572 M. Cf. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 5.
- 300, 10. greetings. Pliny, *Epist. ad Traj.*, ed. K., 43 sqq.; cf. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 157.
- 300, 11. Vespasian. *Digg.*, 1, 7, 4, § 6. Epitaph of a physician, one Patro, who had been ambassador of the Lycians to Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, p. 219. Embassies at the accession of Decius Trajanus, Lebas-Waddington, 1624.
- 300, 15. Lesbos. Cichorius, *Rom und Mytilene*, p. 41.
- 300, 15. others. See Appendix iv.
- 300, 18. Empire. Dio, lxviii, 24. Sojourn of an envoy from Arelate in Rome for several years, *CIL*, xii, 594.
- 300, 27. died. Sueton., *Vespasian*, c. 1.
- 300, 30. Myrlea. Lehrs, *Herodian*, p. 434.
- 300, 31. Gaul. Lucian, *Apol.*, 15; cf. *CIL*, ii, 1738: Troilus rhetor Graecus (Tarraco). Noguier, *Inscr. de la Colonie Romaine de Beziers*<sup>2</sup> (1883); *CIL*, xii, p. 511<sup>b</sup>: Φίλων Σωτάδου Μοψεστῆς (from Mopsuestia) ῥήτωρ Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ῥήτορι (about second century).
- 300, 32. Phrygian. Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 1, 49.
- 300, 35. Clermont. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 45.
- 300, 36. Gauls. Josephus, *A. J.*, xvii, 8, 3.
- 300, 39. Palestine. Cf. vol. iii, p. 171 ff.
- 300, 40. times. Philo, *De monarchia*, ii, 3.
- 300, 41. Jerusalem. Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, 639.
- 301, 3. Phrygia. Euseb., *H. E.*, v, 1.
- 301, 4. foreigners. Cf. e.g. the epitaphs of Tarraco which mention the place of origin, *CIL*, ii, 4319-4327, and of Rhodes, *CIG*, 2536-2542.
- 301, 6. natives. Seneca, *Cons. ad. Helv.*, c. 6.
- 301, 12. Egypt. Mommsen, *Die Conscriptionsordnung der röm. Kaiserzeit*, in *Hermes*, xix (1884), p. 21.
- 301, 13. recruits. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 301, 16. supply. Harster, *Die Nationen des Römerreichs in den Heeren der Kaiser* (Speier, 1873), p. 25. Julius Jung, *Die Militärverhältnisse der sog. 'provinciae inermes' d. röm. Reichs*, in *Zeitschr. f. d. Osterr. Gymnas.*, xxv, (1874), p. 668 ff. *Id.*, *Römer und Romanen*, p. 48 f.
- 301, 18. Dalmatia. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 13. Cf. also the epitaphs of soldiers who came originally from Vienna; Allmer et Terre-basse, *Inscr. antiques de Vienne*, i, pp. 345-423.
- 301, 21. camps. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 22 f.
- 301, 26. troops. Harster, pp. 26-28.
- 311, 28. Armenia. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 2, 132 sqq.

- 301, 29. provinces. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 65.  
 301, 32. Hadrian. *Ibid.*, pp. 50 f., 44, and 56.  
 301, 33. fleets. *Ibid.*, p. 46.  
 301, 36. West. *Id.*, *Schweizer Nachstudien*, in *Hermes*, xvi (1881), p. 464 f.  
 302, 1. garrisoned. *Id.*, *Conscriptionsordnung*, p. 211 f.  
 302, 7. Alpine. *Ibid.*, p. 215 f.  
 302, 8. Rhaetia. Harster, p. 50.  
 302, 11. Britons. Jung, *Die Militärverhältnisse, etc.*, p. 685.  
 302, 15. Italy. J. Becker, *Röm. Inschr. des Museums von Mainz*, 135-226. Many epitaphs at Carnuntum of veterans from S. Gaul and Italy, of the 15th legion, which under Nero was replenished with Galatians and Cappadocians; *Oesterr. Mitth.*, x (1886), 15.  
 302, 21. married. Mommsen, *CIL*, iii, 2, p. 916.  
 302, 25. Syria. *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 119.  
 302, 27. without. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 118 ff.  
 302, 31. Palestine. Zumpt, *Comment. epigr.*, i, 446. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 229, 315.  
 302, 34. settled. Zumpt, *l. c.*, 454.  
 302, 39. Italian. Dio, lviii, 2; Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 955, 4.  
 303, 1. repopled. Eutrop., viii, 3.  
 303, 11. camp-followers. Hirschfeld, *Epigraph. Nachlese zum CIL iii*, (1874), pp. 4-10; Jung, *Römer und Romanen*, p. 88 ff.  
 303, 20. unseen. Cf. vol. i, p. 172.  
 303, 24. Mauretania. Cf. vol. i, p. 177. Letter carriers and posts in Palestine: Hertzfeld, *Handelsgesch. d. Juden d. Alterth.* (1879), pp. 158 and 333.  
 303, 26. Africa. Vol. iii, p. 37.  
 303, 28. Santander. Hübner, *Die Heilquelle von Umeri* (a silver bowl from Castro Urdiales near Santander, on which is a representation of the despatch of water from the spring), *Archäol. Ztg.*, xxxi (1874), p. 115, pl. 11 = Schreiber, *Kulturhist. Bilderatlas*, T. lxxii, 5 and 6.  
 303, 30. Alps. Pliny, *N. H.*, x, 52.  
 303, 32. cherry. Vol. ii, p. 171.  
 303, 36. Spanish. Symmachus, *Epp.*, iv, 62.  
 303, 38. trafficked. Cf. my discussion on the games in Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 523, 4.  
 304, 4. field. Rodbertus in Hildebrand's *Jahrb. f. Nationalökonomie*, v, 263.  
 304, 14. coinage. The foregoing is entirely and in part verbally taken from Mommsen, *Gesch. des röm. Münzwesens*, pp. 729-731.  
 304, 21. had. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 84; cf. Appendix iv.  
 304, 23. wonder. Mommsen, *Gesch. des röm. Münzwesens*, p. 775.  
 304, 29. Nero's. *Id. ib.*, p. 771 f.; Tac., *Germ.*, 5; Hultsch, *Metrologie*<sup>2</sup>, 311 f.  
 304, 32. service. Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 5, 65, 166; cf. also Sallust, *Jug.*, c. 26.  
 305, 4. Japan. *Deutsche Kolonisation*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. xxxi, April 1882, p. 50 (from Hübbe-Schleiden).  
 305, 10. poor. Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 92.

- 305, 17. travel. H. Stephan, *Das Verkehrsleben im Alterthum*, p. 28.  
 305, 20. iron. Horace, *Epist.*, i, 6, 32. Cf. Blümner, *Die gewerbl. Thätigkeit der Völker des class. Alterthums*, pp. 29 and 41 ff.  
 305, 23. camel's. Pers., 5, 132 sqq.  
 305, 27. winter. Horace, *A. P.*, 117; *Carm.*, iii, 24, 35; *Sat.*, i, 4, 29; i, 6; *Ep.*, i, 16, 71; cf. *Carm.*, i, 1, 15.  
 305, 31. gold. Manil., *Astronom.*, iv, 162 sqq. Cf. vol. i, p. 189.  
 305, 33. opened. Pliny, *N. H.*, ii, 118.  
 305, 36. sailings. *CIG*, iii, 3920 (*εργαστής negotiator*).  
 305, 38. Spain. Hertzfeld, *op. cit.* (p. 55, 2), p. 154; Jewish merchant-ships which sailed from Gaul to Spain, p. 268, note.  
 305, 41. Italy. Horace, *Carm.*, i, 31, 13-15.  
 306, 2. West. Borghesi, *Bull. Nap.*, viii, 1860, no. 184; cf. also the mutilated inscription from Sigus in Numidia, *CIL*, viii, 5749.  
 306, 8. sun. Juv., 14, 287 sqq.  
 306, 11. private. Aristid., *Or.*, xlviii, p. 355.  
 306, 14. country. Strabo, iv, p. 200.  
 306, 15. commerce. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 24.  
 306, 20. India. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 101, 104. Peschel, *Handels-geschichte d. Rothen Meers*, in *Abhandlungen z. Erd- u. Völkerkunde*, ii, 86 f.  
 306, 26. days. According to Diodorus, iii, 34, many even reached Ethiopia on the tenth day.  
 306, 31. resting. On the whole journey see Varges, *De statu Aegypti*, pp. 78-81.  
 306, 33. Berenice. Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL iii*, in *Eph. epigr.*, v, pp. 5-11; *RG*, v, 615; Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33.  
 306, 34. Arabia. Strabo, ii, 4, 11, p. 118.  
 306, 36. barbs. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 101, 173.  
 307, 7. February. Varges, *ib.*, p. 81.  
 307, 9. Egyptian. According to Mommsen, *RG*, v, 616, 1, Arabian and Indian ships were excluded from the Egyptian ports, or subjected to prohibitive duties, and the chief depôt (611, 2) of the Arabian and Indian trade, Adane (Aden) was destroyed (perhaps under Augustus) to secure the supremacy to Roman-Egyptian trade.  
 307, 11. Indies. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 1, 45.  
 307, 14. fact. Seneca, *Qu. nat.*, i, *prol.*, 13; Lucian, *Hermotim.*, 4: ἀπὸ 'Ηρακλείων στηλῶν εἰς 'Ινδοὺς ἀπελθεῖν—apparently proverbial.  
 307, 16. incorporated. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, iii, 5.  
 307, 21. Malabar. Peschel, *Gesch. d. Erdkunde*, pp. 16-18.  
 307, 22. Vespasian. Dillmann, *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Periplus maris Erythraei*, in *Monatsber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1879, p. 419 ff.  
 307, 26. wealth. Dionys., *Perieges.*, 709 sqq.  
 307, 35. places. Lassen, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 and 6.  
 307, 39. visitors. Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, i, 17.  
 308, 5. distinguished. Mommsen, *Gesch. d. röm. Münzwesens*, p. 725 ff.  
 308, 7. found. Lassen, iii, 82. The report in Pausanias, iii, 12, 3, of barter with the Indians is, according to Lassen (ii, 48), impossible for that time.

- 308, 8. rarely. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 618 f. According to *The Academy*, 1886, no. 730, p. 416, 13 Roman coins dating from the time of Tiberius to that of Aurelian were found not far from Si-ngan-fu.
- 308, 11. China. Cf. Hirth, *Zur Geschichte des antiken Orienthandels* (*Verhandl. d. Berliner Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde*, xvi, 1889, pp. 46–64). According to Pliny, *N. h.*, vi, 101; xii, 84, the Roman Empire only paid 45 million sesterces annually for Arabian and Seric (Chinese) wares together. We may conclude from the smallness of this sum and from the value of the wares that a large part of these imports were paid for with Roman products. Among these, Hirth, on the authority of Chinese records, includes Syrian carpets with sewn and woven patterns, glass ware (presumably including beads), all the metals used in antiquity, orpiment and realgar, jewels, gems and other objects used for ornament, such as amber and coral, and finally drugs. The so-called embassy of the year 166 was, he thinks, an attempt of Syrian merchants to establish direct relations with China by the sea-route, and to dispense with the Parthian carrying trade, which may have been interrupted by the great pestilence, which perhaps extended over the whole of Central Asia. Hirth places Cattigara in Anam. The goals of voyagers were here or in some port of the Bay of Bengal in the first period of the direct maritime intercourse of the West with China. But as early as the third century A.D. Canton must have been open to foreign trade, for according to a Chinese work on the plants introduced from overseas, composed 300 A.D., jasmine and *Lawsonia inermis* (the latter from Ta-Tsin) had been imported and planted there by foreign merchants, which clearly shows that the latter had been settled at Canton for a considerable time.
- 308, 11. Tokharistan. Peschel, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
- 308, 17. away. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 88.
- 308, 21. Issedon. "Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, on the ground of a journey made by Ney Elias, the results of which are still kept secret by the British government, places the silk-route more to the south than I have done, viz. along the Gund, by the Yashyl-Kul and Rang-Kul (two lakes in the Pamirs) to Kashgar, a road taken as late as 1759 by a Chinese army (*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1887, 89 f.; see also 1884, 503). The course of the silk-route will probably never be determined with certainty, especially as there certainly were several great roads across the Pamir highlands from W. to E. That which I have assumed from Hissar to Kashgar is the most direct and simple. Daraut-Kurgan, I may add, does not mean 'stone fortress', but 'fortress of the Karagu'. Daraut seems to be a proper name." Lullies, as below.
- 308, 30. Si-ngan-fu. Lullies, *Die Kenntniss der Griechen und Römer vom Pamir-Hochlande*, etc. (*Progr. des Wilhelmsgymnasiums zu Königsberg*, 1887), pp. 20–22; Ptolemy, i, 11.
- 308, 39. Syria. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient* (1885), p. 40 sqq.
- 308, 41. An-ti. *Id. ib.*, pp. 169 and 170s.



- 309, 3. Huan-ti. Cordier, *Sur l'origine des noms que les Chinois ont donné à l'empire Romain* (*Mélanges Graux*, pp. 719-721), believes that the Chinese already knew of Rome through Mark Antony, who when residing at Tarsus sent Lycotas several times to Bactriana. Ta-Tsi was, he considers, originally the Chinese designation for Tarsus and was afterwards transferred to the Roman Empire, just as the designation for the triumvir was transferred to M. Antoninus.
- 309, 9. tortoise-shells. Reinaud, *Journ. asiatique*, series 6, vol. i. (1883), p. 374 ss. and Gutschmid, *Gesch. Irans*, p. 150 f., believe them to have been ambassadors; Letronne, *Mém. de l'acad. des inscr.*, *Nouv. série*, vol. x, p. 227, and Hirth, p. 167 sq., think they were merchants.
- 309, 12. merchants. Hirth, pp. 272-275.
- 309, 15. Gulf. *Id.*, p. 147.
- 309, 19. died. *Id.*, p. 306 sq.
- 309, 20. architecture. *Id.*, p. 238 sqq.
- 309, 21. post. *Id.*, p. 221, sqq.
- 309, 22. Mesopotamia. *Id.*, p. 219 sq.
- 309, 22. Pygmies. *Id.*, pp. 200 and 202 sqq.
- 309, 26. ball. *Id.*, pp. 207-214.
- 309, 29. explored. Ingwald Undset, *Das erste Auftreten des Eisens in Nordeuropa*, German trl. by J. Mestorf (1882), p. 337.
- 309, 35. Carnuntum. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvii, 45.
- 310, 6. Adriatic. Ingwald Undset, *op. cit.*, p. 178 f.
- 310, 13. assigned. I am indebted for the above to Dr. Otto Tischler of Königsberg. Cf. Appendix xx.
- 310, 25. hostile. Tac., *A.*, ii, 62.
- 310, 29. Strabo's. Strabo, xvii, 1, 13.
- 310, 32. India. Xenophon, *Ephesiaca*, iv, 1 (dated about 200 A.D. by Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, 392).
- 310, 34. coast. Diodor., iii, 18.
- 311, 3. cassia. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 173 sq.
- 311, 6. Arabia. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 606 f.
- 311, 8. report. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 140.
- 311, 9. extant. Lebas-Waddington, 2589 (142 A.D.), 2590 (155), 2596 (193), 2599 (247), 2603 (257/58). Cf. 2606.
- 311, 11. Romans. Strabo, xvi, 4, 15, p. 779. Alleged representations of Petra at Pompeii: Hittorf, *Pompéi et Pétra*, in *Rev. archéol.*, 1862, 7, pp. 1-18.
- 311, 16. commerce. *Peripl. mar. Erythr.*, 30.
- 311, 20. fee. Caes., *B. G.*, iii, 1.
- 311, 21. Belgae. *Id. ib.*, i, 1.
- 311, 23. slave. Diodor., v, 26.
- 311, 25. Nevers. Caes., *B. G.*, vii, 3, 42, 55.
- 311, 28. Delos. Erection of a statue of Lucullus as proquaestor by Italici—*quei* [in] *insula negotiantur*: Homolle, *Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, 1884, p. 75 sqq.
- 311, 28. Alexandria. Cf. the Delian inscriptions, *Eph. epigr.*, v, pp. 609-612 (?); Mommsen, *RG*, v, 577, 2.
- 311, 28. Numidia. Sallust, *B. Jugurth.*, c. 21, 26.
- 311, 30. barbarians. Dio, liii, 26.

- 311, 32. forts. Procop., *B. Goth.*, iv, 2, p. 466.  
 311, 35. river. Arrian, *Peripl. Pont. Eux.*, 12.  
 311, 39. interpreters. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 15.  
 311, 40. garrison. Arrian, *Peripl. Pont. Eux.*, 14.  
 312, 2. Russia. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 293 f.  
 312, 6. camps. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vii (1872), 298 ff.  
 312, 6. commerce. *CIL*, iii, 1351 (Dacia) : I. O. M. Terrae Dac. et Genio P. R. et Commerci.  
 312, 9. opened. Ammian., xv, 11.  
 312, 14. books. Cic., *Pro Fonteii.*, ii (i, 1).  
 312, 17. revolt. Vellei., ii, 110.  
 312, 16. 26 A.D. Tac., *A.*, iii, 42.  
 312, 20. slain. Mommsen, *RG*, ii<sup>5</sup>, 289.  
 312, 23. investing. Cic., *Pro leg. Manil.*, 7, 18.  
 312, 24. dealers. Plutarch, *Cato*, c. 59 and 61 ; Drumann, *RG*, iii, 575.  
 312, 26. companies. Caes., *B. Afr.*, c. 97.  
 312, 29. class. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 31-33.  
 312, 30. merchants. Beside the lists in Lebas-Waddington, ii, 124<sup>a</sup>, and Mommsen, *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, p. 43, cf. Waddington, i, 143 (Ephesus), 1034<sup>a</sup> (οἱ ἐν Ἀσσω πραγματευόμενοι Ῥ[ωμαῖοι]) ; 1743<sup>n</sup> (Abydos) : οἱ σκηναῖται (boutiquiers) καὶ ἐργασταὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν Ἰλῳ. Also Mommsen, *Eph. epigr.*, v, 51 (cives *Romani qui ibi negotiabantur*, an inscription at Prymnessus of the early empire). Cf. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 332.  
 312, 37. provinces. *CIL*, iii, 5212.  
 312, 38. Bourges. Mommsen, *CIL*, iii, p. 711.  
 312, 40. traded. *CIL*, iii, 2086 : negotiator Daciscus (*sic*). A 'negotiator Gallicanus et Asiaticus' at Mevania, Wilmanns, 2497. Viae Appiae . . . negotias (*sic*), *CIL*, vi, 9663.  
 312, 41. Cyzicus. Lebas-Waddington, ii, 248 E.  
 313, 1. Gaul. *Oesterr. Mitth.*, viii (1884), p. 248.  
 313, 2. African. *CIL*, iii, 5230.  
 313, 4. Italy. Mommsen, *CIL*, v, p. 83. Julian, *Or.*, 2, p. 71<sup>D</sup>. : Ἰταλῶν ἐμπόριον . . . μάλα εὐδαιμον καὶ πλούτῳ βρῦον. φέρουσι γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν φορτία Μυσοὶ καὶ Παῖονες καὶ . . . Ἑνετοί.  
 313, 4. East. Jerome, *C. Rufin.*, iii, 10, ed. Vall., ii, 540 : ut negotiator orientalium mercium, qui et hinc deportata vendere necesse habebat et ibi emere quae huc rursus adveheret, biduum tantum Aquileiae fuerit ?  
 313, 4. Africa. *Digg.*, xix, 3, 61 (64) : freighting of a ship from Cyrene to Aquileia with oil and wine.  
 313, 5. population. Herodian, viii, 2.  
 313, 8. Puteoli. *CIL*, x, 1634, 1576 ; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 467, 2.  
 313, 8. Tyre. *Tot. orb. descr.*, c. 24.  
 313, 11. pay. Mommsen, *Epigr. Anal.*, in *Ber. der Sächs. Ges. Phil. hist. Cl.*, 1850, p. 57 ff.  
 313, 12. Alexandrians. *CIG*, 2024, 6.  
 313, 15. Verus. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 284, 1.  
 313, 18. Lycia. *Acts of Apost.*, xxvii, 6.  
 313, 20. settlement. Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch. d. Juden d. Alterthums*, p. 202 ff. ; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 471.

- 313, 21. everywhere. In Delos before the Mithridatic war : Mommsen, *RG*, v, 467, 2.
- 313, 22. Portus. *CIG*, 5892 (erection of a statue of Hadrian by the city of Gaza).
- 313, 22. Naples. Procop., *B.G.*, i, 8.
- 313, 22. Ravenna. Apoll. Sidon., i, 8.
- 313, 22. Puteoli. Cf. the inscriptions there referring to Oriental cults in Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 120 f.
- 313, 23. Malaga. *CIL*, ii, p. 251.
- 313, 25. Sirmium. Henzen, 7257 = *CIL*, iii, 2066.
- 313, 27. Lugdunum. Wilmanns, 2498.
- 313, 29. Jupiter. Mommsen, *Ephem. epigr.*, ii, pp. 308, 401.
- 313, 32. Apameans. *CIL*, iii, p. 1060 ; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 468n. ; *Id.*, *Miscell. epigr.* in *Mithr. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1888, p. 312 : tomb of one Aurelius Marcianus κώμης Φισώπου ὄρω(ν) Ἀντιοχέων ἑτοῦς ΒΙΙΓ (482 = 418 A.D.).
- 313, 33. Syrian. *CIG*, 9181-83 ; Mommsen, *loc. cit.*
- 313, 38. camps. Jerome, *In Ezech.*, 27, v, p. 513 Vallarsi ; Mommsen, *loc. cit.* ; Ambrose, *De offic.*, ii, 14 : Haec plena laudis et digna primario viro, non communem cum Tyriis negotiatoribus et Galatis mercatoribus habere lucri cupidinem. On the dangers of mercantile journeys, *ibid.*, i, 49.
- 314, 1. cities. Salvian., *De gubern. Dei*, iv, 14 (p. 82 Baluze) : negotiatorum et Siricorum (*sic*) hominum turbas. According to Forcellini, Heyd (*Gesch. d. Levantehandels*, i, 24, 6) takes *Sirici* to mean not Syrians but *sericarii*. He is certainly mistaken. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 498 f.
- 314, 3. psalms. Apoll. Sidon., *loc. cit.*
- 314, 10. Hebrew. Gregor. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, viii, 1 ; cf. vii, 31 ; x, 26.
- 314, 24. assembled. Vol. i, p. 12 f.
- 314, 25. work. Aristid., *Or.*, iii, p. 22, Jebb, *in f.*
- 314, 26. had. *Id.*, *Or.*, xlviii, p. 335 sq., Jebb.
- 314, 27. Libanius. Liban., ed. R., i, 362.
- 314, 30. sea. Rescript of Honorius (Haubold, *Mon. leg.*, p. 296). *CIL*, xii, p. 83<sup>b</sup>.
- 314, 35. paper. *Tot. orb. descr.*, § 36.
- 314, 38. harbours. Gregor. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, v, 5 ; vi, 6.
- 314, 40. demand. *Tot. orb. descr.*, § 35. Blümner, *Gewerbliche Thätigkeit d. Völker des class. Alterth.*, 16, 1.
- 315, 1. Cornwall. O. Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, 225.
- 315, 4. barter. Leontius, *Vita S. Joannis eleemosynarii*, c. 3, 15 ; *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Bruxell. (1863), iii, p. 115 (23rd January).
- 315, 5. anew. *Peripl. mar. Erythr.*, 7, 40, 56.
- 315, 8. throat. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvii, 44.
- 315, 9. scattered. Diodor., v, 13 ; Blümner, *op. cit.*, p. 117, 9.
- 315, 13. frontiers. Undset, *Das erste Auftreten des Eisens in Nordeuropa*, pp. 289 and 346 ; cf. pp. 453 and 503, where the Roman Iron Age in North Germany is dated in the middle of the first century, in Denmark somewhat later, in Scandinavia about 100 or rather later.
- 315, 18. Savoy. Undset, *Iscrizioni latine ritrovate nella Scandina-*

- via, *BdI*, 1883, pp. 234-236 (P. CIPI POLIBI(BY) and NIGEL-LI. OF.). Omit 'the'.
- 315, 22. direction. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxv, 161; Blümner, *op. cit.*, 34, 4; cf. 51, 3; 86, 1.
- 315, 25. Hungary. Kiepert, *Hdb. d. a. Geogr.*, 445, 3. Jung, *Römer und Romanen*, p. 186.
- 315, 26. clay. Athen., xi, 784c.; Blümner, *op. cit.*, 15, 8.
- 315, 29. exported. *Tot. orb. descr.*, § 31.
- 315, 30. Tyre. Procop., *Hist. arc.*, 25; Blümner, *op. cit.*, 21, 10.
- 315, 35. Tournay. Mommsen, in *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1851.
- 315, 38. imitated. Blümner, *op. cit.*, 28, 3.
- 315, 40. similar. Galen, xiv, p. 77. But Falernian vines were also planted in Baetica; *CIL*, ii, 2029 = Wilmanns, 1279.
- 316, 2. Byzantium. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 440 f.
- 316, 3. Rome. Galen, vi, 603; Hehn, *Culturpflanzen*, p. 200.
- 316, 4. transmarine. Orelli, 4253; Columella, *R. r.*, vii, 8, 6; hoc genus casei potest etiam trans maria permitti.
- 316, 19. wander. Cf. e.g. on the travels of Posidonius, Zeller, *Gesch. d. gr. Phil.*, iii, 1, 510; of Apion, Lehrs, *Qu. epp.*, p. 5 sq.; of Apuleius, Bosscha, *Vita Apuleji*, of Galen, Galen, ed. K., i, 58.
- 316, 21. returned. Cic., *Tusc.*, v, 37, 107.
- 316, 29. visited. Plutarch, *De def. orac.*, c. 2, p. 410.
- 316, 31. Quintus. Galen, *De anatom. adm.*, iv, 40, ed. K., ii, 470.
- 316, 35. learn. Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*, i, *prooem.*, p. 3.
- 316, 36. leave. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, i, xviii, ed. K.
- 316, 40. perorations. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 21, 8; 23, 32.
- 317, 1. far. Kriegk's book, *De peregrinationibus Romanorum academicis* (1704), is unknown to me.
- 317, 3. raise. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 21, 3.
- 317, 3. Cremona. *Vita Vergili* in Reifferscheid, *Suetoni vell.*, p. 399 sqq.
- 317, 4. Gaul. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 13.
- 317, 5. Aedui. Tac., *A.*, iii, 43.
- 317, 5. Africa. Apulei., *Flavid.*, iv, 20; Augustine, *Conf.*, ii, 2, 4, 3, 6. Epitaph of a 20-year-old studens Karthagini, *Add. ad CIL viii*, 1191; *Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 527.
- 317, 6. Epirus. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 8, 89, 94 sq.
- 317, 6. Marseilles. Tac., *A.* iv, 49; *Agric.*, c. 4.
- 317, 7. Romans. Strabo, iv, 1, 5, p. 181; cf. *CIL*, xii, p. 56<sup>a</sup>.
- 317, 8. zealous. Suet., *Tiber.*, c. 11.
- 317, 10. students. Strabo, iv, 4, 13, p. 673.
- 317, 12. educated. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, p. 4, 8, ed. K.
- 317, 14. studies. Cic., *Pro. Arch.*, 3, 4; cf. O. Mueller, *Antiq. Antioch.*, i, 68; ii, 106 sq.
- 317, 15. All. See the list of Asiatic towns which had schools of rhetoric in Gräfenhan, *Gesch. d. class. Philol.*, iii, 34, and Bernhardt, *Gr. Litt. Gesch.*, 413 ff., 451 ff.
- 317, 18. Continent. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ed. K., 217, 5 (Nice-tes); 219, 23 and 220, 27 (Scopelianus); 227, 12 (cf. 207, 24 Polemo); 267, 11 (Heraclides); Aristides, *Or.*, xv, p. 232, 16 Jebb.



- 317, 19. Athens. Strabo, *loc. cit.*, Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, viii, 359, p. 167 K.; Quintilian, *Declam.*, 333; Lucian, *Alexand.*, 44.
- 317, 25. corrupted. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 1, p. 238, 14 K.
- 317, 27. foreign. Neubauer, *Comment. epigr.*, p. 418. Foreign students in Athens at the time of Eunapius, Wachsmuth, *Athen*, i, 710.
- 317, 38. fixed. Lucian, *Somn.*, 1, 7.
- 318, 1. Gaul. *Id.*, *Bis accus.*, 27.
- 318, 1. wandered. Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, p. 205; Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, 306 f.
- 318, 5. Egypt. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 9, 1.
- 318, 5. courses. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxiii, p. 395 M.
- 318, 7. statues. Koehler, *Ueber die Ehre der Statue (Verm. Schr.*, vi, 259 ff.) on the statues of Dio, Libanius, Themistius, Aristides; on the latter cf. also Letronne, *Rec. des inscr.*, p. 132.
- 318, 8. towns. *Florid.*, iii, 16.
- 318, 11. resident. *Digg.*, xxvii, 1, 6 § 1.
- 318, 14. skill. *Anthol. lat.*, ed. Meyer, 1430. Epitaph of a physician of Nicaea near Doliche in Thessaly (πολλὴν θάλασσαν καὶ γαλαν περιουσίῃσας τὸ πεπρωμένον ὧδ' ἀπέτεισα. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 509.
- 318, 14. quacks. Vol. i, p. 176.
- 318, 19. fame. Lucian, *Alexand.*, 24 and 36.
- 318, 26. anywhere. Goethe, *Werke*, ed. Cotta, 31, 250.
- 318, 28. cities. Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.*, i, 574; *CIG*, 6233.
- 318, 29. Syracuse. *CIG*, 5374, 6151.
- 319, 3. met. O. Lüders, *Die dionys. Künstler* (1873), esp. pp. 53 ff., 60 f., 63 ff.
- 319, 6. Nîmes. *Id.*, *Anhang*, 104 (*CIG*, 6785).
- 319, 8. Dionysus. *CIG*, 6786.
- 319, 11. realm. Lüders, *Anhang*, 94, 95.
- 319, 13. honouring. *Id.*, p. 73 f., where, however, there are some misconceptions; cf. *Anhang*, 93.
- 319, 16. Rome. *Ibid.*, 106; *CIG*, 6788.
- 319, 24. trouble. *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, iv, p. 284, *Adesp.*, 752. Cf. his epitaph, *CIG*, 6287 and *AdI*, 1861, pp. 125, 140. Cf. also *Oesterreich. Mittheilungen*, xi, 1887, p. 44. Inscription at Torni:—πατηγυριαρχήσαντα τῆς θυμελικῆς συνόδου φιλοτείμως.
- 319, 25. freedom. Examples in Kuhn, *Verfassung d. röm. Reichs*, i, 28, 122.
- 319, 28. laurel. Brunn, *op. cit.*, i, 574; *CIG*, 3425.
- 319, 33. Asia. Brunn, *loc. cit.*; *CIG*, 5913.
- 319, 34. Glycon. Antipat. Thessal., *Epigr.*, 68; *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, v, ii, p. 113.
- 319, 38. games. *CIG*, 1104; Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 475 f.
- 320, 1. Ascalon. *Expos. tot. mundi*, 32.
- 320, 2. tours. *Acta S. Demetrii*, no. 4 (*Acta SS.*, Octob., tom. iv): Μονόμαχος . . . Αναίος ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἀνανδάλων (ὑπάρχων) . . . οὐ μόνον ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλοὺς εἰς τὸν λουθεὸν ἀνήγαγεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σερμίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ. Jung, *Römer und Romanen*, 147, 3.
- 320, 6. spectators. Vol. i, p. 16.

- 320, 6. Olympian. Lucian, *Peregrin.*, i.  
 320, 8. century. Gell., *N. A.*, xii, 5.  
 320, 8. Julian. Julian, *Epist. ad Themistium*, p. 263 A.  
 320, 8. vehicles. Lucian, *Peregrin.*, 35.  
 320, 14. met. Philo, *De animal.*, § 56 : sacris certaminibus ad quae ex orbe terrarum veniunt congregati ob varias necessitatis species . . . nonnulli ob negotiationem, quoniam paratiores sunt voluntates advenientium in coetum solemnem [ad emendum ; nam] pudori ducunt sibi, si eo egressi nihil in domum adduxerint. I have inserted the words in brackets, which are required by the sense.  
 320, 16. elsewhere. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, lxxvii, p. 651 M.  
 320, 18. wine. Clem. Alex., *Paed.*, iii, 22, p. 265 Pott.  
 320, 20. earthquake. Strabo, xii, 8, 17, p. 578.  
 320, 22. traffic. See n. on vol. i, p. 319, 24.  
 320, 27. Corinth. Plutarch, *De exil.*, c. 12, p. 604.  
 320, 28. Romans. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 37 sq.  
 320, 29. crowded. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, iv, p. 72, ed. K.  
 320, 30. Samothrace. Galen, ed. K., iv, 361.  
 320, 33. island. Conze, *Reise auf den Inseln d. Thrakischen Meeres*, pp. 47 and 58.  
 320, 37. called. See the inscriptions of the pilgrims in Conze, pp. 63-72. Cf. *CIL*, iii, 1, 713-721. Conze, Niemann and Hauser, *Archäol. Unters. auf Samothrake* (1875). Very likely Hadrian was there too ; a statue was dedicated to him in the year 132/3 (p. 36 ff.). *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, pp. 53-55. *Neue archäol. Unters. auf S.* (1880), p. 91 ff. A 'Rufus praetorius [myst-] es pius' (of whose distich the ends of the lines—'[san]ctissima numina vestra—[vene]ror precibus', are still preserved) is according to Hirschfeld's very probable conjecture (p. 116) the Trebellenus Rufus of Tac., *A.*, ii, 67.  
 321, 3. shepherd's. Conze, p. 73.  
 321, 6. brethren. *Id.*, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, p. 32 ff.  
 321, 11. Corinth. Strabo, xii, p. 559.  
 321, 12. manifold. Apulei., *Apol.*, p. 494.  
 321, 15. centuries. Cf. Wolf, *De novissima oraculorum aetate*.  
 321, 17. change. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 16, 12.  
 321, 19. troubles. Cael. Aurelian., *Morb. chron. (Art. med. princ.*, ed. Haller, xi), i, 1, p. 23 (cephalaea) ; i, 5, p. 86 (mania) ; paralysis ii, 5, p. 118 ; cachexia, iii, 6, p. 246 ; hydrops, iii, 8, p. 258 ; vesicae passiones, v, 4, p. 390.  
 321, 20. blood. *Id. ib.*, i, 14, p. 200 Haller : (in phthisis) vehementer utilis navalis gestatio atque longa navigatio. Cf. *ib.*, ii, 13, p. 175 (haemorrhagia) ; also Daremberg on Oribas., ii, 857.  
 321, 22. Egypt. Cels., iii, 22 ; Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 19, 6 ; *N. H.*, xxxi, 63.  
 321, 24. relapsed. Galen, xii, 191.  
 321, 26. sea. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxiv, 28.  
 321, 27. Stabiae. For 'their' read 'its'. Galen, *Meth. med.*, v, 92, ed. K., x, 363 sqq., cf. 372. Cf. Symmachus, *Epp.*, vi, 17 ; Procop., *B. Goth.*, iv, 35 ; Mannert, *Geogr. d. Gr. u. R.*, ix, 1, 749.  
 321, 29. consumptives. Procop., *B. Goth.*, ii, 4 sq.

- 321, 32. cure. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, xi, 10.  
 321, 35. concocted. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxv, 52; Strabo, viii, 418 C.; Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 3, 166; Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 23.  
 321, 36. Isis. For the temple of Æsculapius at Epidaurus cf. Curtius, *Peloponnes.*, ii, 419 ff. For the travels of Aristides during his illness cf. Welcker, *Kl. Schriften*, 3, 89 ff. Cf. also vol. iii, p. 99 ff.  
 321, 39. discovered. For some of the chief watering-places of ancient Italy see Becker-Göll, i, 153, 8; and on the subject in general the article '*Aquae*' in *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, where, however, there is no mention of the *Aquae Bormiae* (Cassiodor., *Var.*, v, 29) which were used for gout. See also Lersch, *Balneologie*, p. 116 ff.; and for the hot springs of Greece Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 212 ff. and 435.  
 321, 40. busy. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 67.  
 322, 1. implements. E. Aus'm Werth, *Röm. Brunnenfunde*, in *Jahrb. d. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinland*, lxvii, p. 155.  
 322, 1. visited. Hübner, *Ber. über eine epigr. Reise nach England, Schottland und Irland*, in *Monatsb. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1867, p. 798.  
 322, 2. fitted. Solin., 22, 10, p. 115, ed. Mommsen. On the age of the unknown author from whom this notice is taken, see Mommsen, p. xi sqq.  
 322, 9. used. Huebner, *CIL*, vii, p. 24.  
 322, 13. Auvergne. B. Schwarz, *Die Erschliessung der Gebirge von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf Saussure*, p. 119, 1.  
 322, 15. recreation. Seneca, *Ad Polyb.*, 6, 4; *Epp.*, 28; Prop., iii, 21; Ovid., *Remed. am.*, 213 sqq.

## VII. TOURING UNDER THE EMPIRE.

- 323, 4. Pliny. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvii, 66; cf. also Seneca, *Ad Helv.*, c. 6.  
 323, 9. seas. Manil., *Astron.* iv, 513.  
 323, 12. read. Hadrian, c. 17.  
 323, 14. aside. Gomperz on Philodemus in *Hermes*, xii, 224 (Philodem., *περὶ θανάτου*, Δ).  
 323, 22. Africa. Peschel, *Gesch. der Erdkunde*, p. 29.  
 323, 27. ships. Ukert, *Geographie d. Griechen und Römer*, iii, 1, 85; Peschel, *ib.*, p. 22.  
 323, 27. Strabo. Humboldt, *Kosmos*, 2, 222.  
 323, 27. Aristides. Aristides, *Or.*, xvi, p. 242, ed. Jebb: *εἰ τις ἔξω τοῦ Ἀτλαντικοῦ πελάγους ἐστὶ γῆ*.  
 324, 4. Thule. Seneca, *Medea*, 374 sqq.  
 324, 10. coasts. Hehn, *Culturpflanzen*<sup>4</sup>, p. 397.  
 324, 17. followers. Peschel, *op. cit.*, p. 21 f.; Plutarch, *Sertorius*, c. 8.  
 324, 21. Sebosus. Peschel, p. 22.  
 324, 27. abandoned. Pausan., i, 23, 7.  
 324, 29. expedition. Meltzer, *Gesch. d. Karthager*, i, 231-238.  
 324, 31. Agadir. Strabo, i, p. 47; Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. a. Geogr.*, p. 221.  
 324, 40. festivals. Peschel, p. 21; Hanno, *Peripl.*, 14. *Geogr. min.*, ed. Müller, i, pp. 10-12.  
 325, 3. Gods. Pomponius Mela, iii, 9, 94sq.

- 325, 10. flutes. Pliny, *N. H.*, v, 1, 6-8.
- 325, 11. confusing. Müller, *Geogr. min.*, i, p. xxix; cf. p. 11.
- 325, 18. credence. Pliny, *N. H.*, v, 1, 11 sqq.
- 325, 29. attain. *Id. ib.*, v, 14, 15. The eating of dog's flesh by the Tarabilsiya: Barth, *Reisen und Entdeckungen*, i, 129.
- 325, 38. Djerma. Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alten Geogr.*, p. 223 f.; Pliny, *N. H.*, xv, 36 sq.; Barth, *ib.*, i, 165 f.
- 326, 1. Severus. *CIL*, viii, 1.
- 326, 2. Barth. Barth, p. 105.
- 326, 6. Legion. *Id.*, pp. 120-133. Post of the 3rd legion below 30° 35', *CIL*, viii, 6; 30° 25', Barth, p. 135; cf. p. 141.
- 326, 8. permanence. *Id.*, pp. 164-166.
- 326, 12. called. Pliny, *N. H.*, v, 38.
- 326, 14. Ghurian. Barth, p. 139.
- 326, 15. Herodotus. Herodotus, iv, 183 (for living in caves see Meltzer, *Gesch. d. Karthager*, i, 65, 27, cf. 440).
- 326, 16. backwards. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 178.
- 326, 17. hisses. *Id.*, v, 45. Cf. Seneca, *Qu. nat.*, iv, 2, 17.
- 326, 19. rubies. Pliny, *N. H.*, v, 34; xxxvii, 92; Strabo, xvii, 835 (Καρχηδόνιοι λίθοι).
- 326, 21. jewels. Pliny, v, 37.
- 326, 23. tells. Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, i, 8, 5; cf. i, 10, 2.
- 326, 27. reached. Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. a. Geogr.*, p. 223 f.
- 326, 31. Aethiopia. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 181.
- 327, 2. terrify. Peschel, p. 26 f.
- 327, 3. garnished. Indian sagas of the wonderland Uttara Kuru were repeated in Greek accounts, Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, 217 ff. Diodorus borrowed from Iambulos (*ibid.*, p. 225 ff.). Indiae fabulosa, Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 80. Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthums-kunde*, iii, 303, and Jerome, *Epp.*, 124, 4. According to Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 80, the Arabs burnt only fragrant wood.
- 327, 4. ivory. Lucret., ii, 537 sqq.
- 327, 6. arrow. Verg., *G.*, ii, 122.
- 327, 17. taste. Dio Chrysost., *Or.*, xxxv, p. 434 sq. Cf. the description of the country and people of the Camarini (cujus terram Moyses Eden nominando descripsit) in the furthest east, beyond the Brahmans, in the *Expos. tot. mundi*, 4 sqq.
- 327, 21. Pliny. Pliny, *N. H.*, iv, 89 sq.
- 327, 25. heard. Tac., *Germ.*, c. 45.
- 327, 26. dismissed. *Id. ib.*, c. 46.
- 327, 35. retinue. Plutarch, *De def. orac.*, c. 18, p. 419 F.; *De facie in orbe lunae*, c. 26; Humboldt, *Krit. Unters.*, i, 174 ff.; Rohde, *N. Rh. Mus.*, xxxv (1880), p. 160: 'a story', says Grimm (DM.<sup>4</sup>, 694 ff.) 'which one may well believe originated in some native British saga, without denying its much more evident connexion with the specifically Greek belief in the wafting away of heroes [to hidden resting-places]'.
- 327, 36. forms. Claudian, *In Rufin.*, i, 23; Procop., *B. Goth.*, iv, 20; cf. Euseb., *Praep. evang.*, v, 17.
- 328, 2. frontier. Strabo, ii, p. 117 C.
- 328, 5. Susa. Pausan., iv, 31, 5. On the travels of Pausanias cf. *StRE*, v, 1258\*.



- 328, 7. strangers. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xii, p. 198 M.  
 328, 10. see. Tac., *Germ.*, c. 2.  
 328, 15. people. Cic., *De prov. cons.*, c. 12.  
 328, 21. settled. *Flori Epit.*, ed. Jahn, p. xlii; cf. Hübner in *Hermes*, i, 97.  
 328, 22. resort. Cf. e.g. Cleon of Magnesia in Pausan., x, 4, 4, and Ruf. Festus Avienus, *Ora marit.*, 270.  
 328, 26. Africa. Cic., *Tuscul.*, i, 20, 45.  
 328, 27. prevented. Aristid., *Or.*, xlviii, p. 355.  
 328, 28. Melkarth. Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. a. Geogr.*, 486, 2.  
 328, 32. back. P. Ann. Flor., *op. cit.*, p. xli, 5.  
 328, 36. nearest. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 20.  
 329, 2. Nile. Ovid, *Epp. ex Ponto*, ii, 10, 21; *Trist.*, i, 2, 77.  
 329, 17. circus. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 2, 13.  
 329, 21. empty. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 4.  
 329, 22. coasts. M. Antonin., iv, 3: ἀναχωρήσεις αὐτοῖς ζητοῦσιν, ἀγροικίας καὶ αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ ὄρη.  
 329, 26. Pompeii. Drumann, *RG*, vi, 388–394.  
 329, 28. others. *Ibid.*, iv, 538.  
 329, 28. Empire. Cf. vol. i, p. 113 f.; ii, p. 193 ff.  
 329, 32. lists. Martial, x, 30, 1–10; Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3, 83 sqq.; iv, 4, 14, sqq.  
 329, 33. villas. Cf. the list in Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 25.  
 329, 35. Praeneste. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 72.  
 329, 41. springs. Martial, v, 1.  
 330, 2. private. Lanciani, *Delle antiche ville Tuscolane*, in *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1884, pp. 172–212 and plates xx and xxi.  
 330, 4. climate. Julian, *Orat.*, i, p. 13 D.: ῥᾶν διήνεγκας τὴν ἐκ Γαλατῶν ἐς Παρθυαίους ἀνοδὸν (ἦ) τῶν πλουσίων οἱ ταῖς ὥραις τὴν οἰκῆσιν συμμεταβάλλοντες, εἰ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν βιασθεῖεν.  
 330, 10. Tibur. Fronto, *Epp. ad M. Caesar. et invicem*, ii, 6, ed. Naber.  
 330, 11. April. Mommsen, *Edict des Claudius*, in *Hermes*, iv, 105.  
 330, 11. March. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 34.  
 330, 14. Algidus. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 4, 14 sqq.  
 330, 18. solstice. Gell., xvii, 10, 1 (aestu anni); Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3, 88 (bruma).  
 330, 20. summer. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 4, 23 sq.; Pers., *Satt.*, vi, 6 sqq.  
 330, 21. Salernum. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 15.  
 330, 24. Campania. *Id.*, *Carm.*, ii, 6; Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 2, 13; *Epp.*, 68, 5.  
 330, 33. breakwaters. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 31, 15. See also *CIL*, xi, p. 524<sup>a</sup>.  
 330, 35. age. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 10, 2; *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup> (Alsium).  
 330, 39. administered. Henzen, 5144; E. Luigi Tocco, *Alsium oggi Palo e sue ville romane*, *BdI*, 1867, 209–212.  
 331, 5. fare. Fronto, *De fer. Alsiens.*, 3.  
 331, 7. mentions. Varro, *R. r.*, iii, 2.  
 331, 9. happiness. Gell., xviii, 1.  
 331, 17. morality. Minuc. Fel., *Octav.*, c. 2–4.  
 331, 18. Prattica. *CIL*, xiv, p. 186.  
 331, 20. towns. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17.

- 331, 23. plague. Herodian, i, 12.  
 331, 28. Circe. Drumann, *RG*, vi, 391 f.  
 331, 29. guards. Hehn, *Italien*, p. 52.  
 331, 30. imperial. Martial, xi, 7, 4.  
 332, 1. gravel. Westphal, *Röm. Campagna*, p. 39; Gregorovius, *Figuren*<sup>3</sup>, 148 ff.; *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup> (Antium); Lanciani, *BdI*, 1870, p. 14 ss.  
 332, 11. canal. Martial, x, 51, 58. Procopius, *B. Goth.*, i, 11, also calls the canal a river; cf. Gregorovius, *G. d. StR*, i<sup>2</sup>, 345.  
 332, 14. view. Westphal, *op. cit.*, p. 63.  
 332, 16. Strabo. Strabo, v, 233.  
 332, 19. roof. Tac., *A.*, iv, 59, with Nipperdey's note.  
 332, 26. stocked. Martial, x, 30.  
 332, 27. villa. Aelian, *Tact.*, *praef.*, (*Griech. Kriegsschriftst.*, ii, 236): ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ θεοῦ πατὴρ σου Νέρωνα παρὰ Φροντίνῳ τῷ ἐπισήμῳ ὑπατικῷ ἐν Φορμύλαις ἡμέρας τινὰς διέτριψα. *Dig.*, i, 8, 4: Nemo igitur ad litus maris accedere prohibetur piscandi causa, dum tamen villis et aedificiis et monumentis abstineatur, quia non sunt iuris gentium, sicut et mare; idque et Divus Pius piscatoribus Formianis et Capetanis (*l. Cajetanis*) rescripsit.  
 332, 30. Marcia. Martial, x, 30, 9.  
 332, 30. Apicius. Athen., i, 7a.  
 332, 31. house. Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*, 7.  
 332, 38. disadvantages. Seneca, *Epp.*, 55, 6; Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 178 f.  
 333, 1. Republic. Cic., *Att.*, ii, 8, 2; 5, 17; *Pro Planc.*, 26, 65.  
 333, 1. Misenum. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 17, 52.  
 333, 2. continuous. Strabo, v, 247.  
 333, 5. abode. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 5, 81-104.  
 333, 19. Naples. Strabo, v, 246; Vergil, ed. Ribbeck, p. xxv.  
 333, 20. repose. Ovid, *M.*, xv, 711; Verg., *G.*, iv, 563; Horace, *Epp.*, v, 43.  
 333, 22. Italy. Mommsen, *Trimalchios Heimat und Grabschrift*, in *Hermes*, xiii, 108. Cf. *CIL*, x, p. 171.  
 333, 25. busts. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 7.  
 333, 29. cut. Strabo, v, 245.  
 333, 30. chose. Seneca, *Epp.*, 57, 1.  
 333, 34. Cicero's. Drumann, *RG*, vi, 393 f.  
 333, 35. Julianus. Gell., xviii, 5, 1.  
 333, 36. *Convivium*. Stephan. Byzant., 230, 19 M.; Leutz, *Herodian. vell.*, pp. vii and ix.  
 333, 39. died. Phaedr., *Fabb.*, ii, 5; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 72.  
 334, 2. vineyards. Strabo, v, 244. *Notizie dei scavi*, 1880, p. 232, tav. vii: Vesuvio con Baccho (painting from Pompeii).  
 334, 4. Vesuvius. Tac., *A.*, iv, 67.  
 334, 7. Hercules. Martial, iv, 4, 4.  
 334, 10. milk-cure. Cf. vol. i, p. 321.  
 334, 15. Massa. Beloch, *Campanien*, 269-274. The villa of Pollius Felix (perhaps the father of Statius' friend), which overlooked the Limon opposite (Stat., *S.*, ii, 3, 149; 2, 82: between Nisida and the reef La Gajola at the Punta) was called Epilimones (an unexplained form). This is known from an inscrip-

- tion of 12 Jan. 65, found during the cutting of the new Posilipo tunnel near Piedigrotta in the channel of a Roman conduit. Mommsen, *Hermes*, xviii, 758.
- 334, 16. wine. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii, 451, 16; on the other side see Strabo, v, 243.
- 334, 17. Neptune. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 2, 21-24.
- 334, 19. glorification. Vergil, *Catal.*, 6.
- 334, 21. palaces. Strabo, v, 248; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 98.
- 334, 22. erected. Tac., *A.*, iv, 67.
- 334, 28. roads. Gregorovius, *Figuren*<sup>3</sup>, 346-365.
- 334, 39. pirates. *Id. ib.*, p. 152.
- 335, 1. deserted. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iv, 48: Lucaniae dulces recessus; Eutrop., ix, 25, 10, 3.
- 335, 10. expense. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, xii, 15.
- 335, 15. Dio. Dio, lxi, 17.
- 335, 19. Quietus. *Digg.*, xvii, 1, 16.
- 335, 23. Tibur. Martial, iv, 25; Hehn, *Italien*, p. 18.
- 335, 29. coast. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, xii, 22.
- 335, 35. was. *CIL*, xiv, p. 217.
- 335, 39. Gandolfo. *CIL*, xiv, p. 216<sup>b</sup>. On the private and imperial villas (*ib.*, 2608: T. Flavius Aug. l. Epaphra proc. villarum Tusculanarum), *ib.*, p. 253 sq.
- 335, 40. lined. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 17.
- 335, 41. Subiaco. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 22; Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 109. Westphal, *Röm. Campagna*, p. 118. The lakes there are said to have disappeared after an inundation of the Anio in the year 1305. *CIL*, xiv, p. 354. Remains of Nero's villa at Subiaco, *Notizie dei scavi*, 1883, p. 19 s.; 1884, p. 425 ss.
- 336, 8. works. Vol. ii, p. 195 f. Cf. Justi, *Winckelmann*, ii, 1, 24, *CIL*, xiv, p. 366.
- 336, 18. return. Lucret., iii, 1063.
- 336, 19. men. Cic., *Pro Coel.*, 14, 34 sq.
- 336, 21. women. Ovid, *Am.*, ii, 16, 49; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 734, 7.
- 336, 24. leaping. Propert., iv, 8, 15-26; cf. ii, 32, 9.
- 336, 25. ponies. Horace, *Epod.*, 4, 14 (et Appiam mannis terit).
- 336, 26. torches. Ovid, *Fast.*, iii, 269.
- 336, 31. opportunity. *Id.*, *A. a.*, i, 259.
- 336, 32. settlement. Juv., 4, 117; Jahn ad Pers., 6, 56. Cf. Preller, *RM*<sup>3</sup>, i, 315 n.
- 337, 6. Nature. Martial, xi, 80.
- 337, 7. hills. Becker-Göll, i, 149; *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, Baiae; *CIL*, x, p. 351. Baiae, first mentioned in Livy, xli, 16, 3 (A.U.C. 578) as 'Aquae Cumanae', belonged to the territory of Cumae. In the beginning of the first century B.C. it seems to have been still little visited (deserta ad id tempus [of Sergius Orata] ora Lucrini lacus, Valer. Max., ix, 1, 1).
- 337, 7. Nereids. Martial, iv, 57, 8.
- 337, 9. catered. Dio, xlviii, 51.
- 337, 12. monarch. Josephus, *A. J.*, xviii, 7, 2.
- 337, 16. intended. H. Jordan, *Die Küste von Puteoli auf einem röm. Glasgefäss*, in *Archäol. Ztg.*, 1868, p. 91 ff.; cf. his *Topo-*

- graphie d. St. Rom*, ii, 145. Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 184 f., considers, rightly, I think, the 'Pharos' on this glass vessel to be a lighthouse at Baiae itself.
- 337, 17. shore. Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 7.
- 337, 17. sea. Horace, *Carm.*, ii, 18, 20; Verg., *Aen.*, ix, 709 sqq. Cf. *CIL*, x, p. 213, on the villas near Bauli and Misenum.
- 337, 23. spy. Regianus: *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 272.
- 337, 26. exceptional. Martial, iii, 58, 1-5.
- 337, 27. themselves. Strabo, v, 4, 7, p. 246 C.
- 337, 30. 117 A.D. *Catal. Imp.* Beloch, *op. cit.*, p. 185, supposes, I know not for what reason, that *Baiae veteres* was the imperial palace.
- 337, 32. ponds. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 26.
- 337, 33. world. For its later history cf. Florian., c. 6; Symmach., *Epp.*, i, 7, 8; v, 93; vii, 24; viii, 23; Auson., *Mosell.*, 346; Ammian., xxviii, 4, 18; Eunap., *Vitt. soph. Jamblich.*, 26 (Γάδαρα) . . . θερμὰ δὲ ἐστὶ λουτρὰ τῆς Συρίας, τῶν γε κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐν Βαίαις δεύτερα, ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερα παραβάλλεσθαι. Mueller, *Gen. aev. Theod.*, ii, p. 34.
- 337, 34. unhealthy. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, ix, 12, 1.
- 337, 37. salubrity. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, ix, 6.
- 337, 40. Baiae. Andres, *Dell' aria di Baja.*, *Bull. Nap.*, N. S., ii, p. 74 ss.
- 337, 41. summer. Lersch, *Gesch. d. Balneologie*, p. 147. Petrarch, *Epp. fam.*, v, 4.
- 338, 2. immorality. M. Landau, *Boccaccio*, p. 21 f., 37, 103.
- 338, 4. fire. Lersch, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
- 338, 10. boats. Juv., 12, 80 (*Bajana cumba*).
- 338, 10. galley. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 5.
- 338, 11. races. Auson., *Mosell.*, 201; cf. 345 ss.
- 338, 14. music. Cf. the passages cited in Becker-Göll, i, 152 f., especially Seneca, *Epp.*, 51; Cic., *Pro Coel.*, 15 and 20; *In Clod.*, 4.
- 338, 15. rowed. Propert., *Eleg.*, i, 11, 9-14; Martial, iii, 20, 20.
- 338, 16. above. Cels., ii, 17.
- 338, 17. feasts. Tac., *loc. cit.*
- 338, 21. girls. Varro, *Sat. Menipp.*, fr. 44 (Buecheler, *Petron.*, p. 165). Martial (vi, 68, 9; x, 30, 10) was probably not the first to localize the story of Salmacis in the Lucrine lake.
- 338, 23. misfortune. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, ix, 3.
- 338, 25. oysters. Juv., 11, 49.
- 338, 27. heart. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 283.
- 338, 30. love. Regianus: *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, n. 270-272 (i, 182 sq.).
- 338, 32. solved. Prop., i, 11, 27.
- 338, 33. Helena. Martial, i, 63.
- 338, 35. Puteoli. Gell., xviii, 5, 1.
- 339, 1. nearest. Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 2, 37: *jucunda suburbanitas*.
- 339, 2. Etna. Lucret., i, 727; cf. *Aetna*, 593.
- 339, 8. Ceres. Diodorus, v, 3; Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 4, 48 etc.
- 339, 9. Cicero. Cic., *Verr.*, v, 10, 26. As a matter of fact, in the



whole of Sicily there are not more than five; Nissen, *Ital. Landesk.*, i, 376.

- 339, 11. seen. Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 5, 27, 68.
- 339, 14. Palici. Now only one; Nissen, *op. cit.*, i, 275, 3.
- 339, 19. asylum. Ovid, *Epp. ex Ponto*, ii, 10, 21 sqq.; Diodorus, xi, 89.
- 339, 21. Sicily. Seneca, *Consol. ad Polybium*, 17, 36; Sueton., *Caligula*, 24.
- 339, 23. rumble. *Id. ib.*, 51.
- 339, 24. Syracuse. Seneca, *Ad Marc.*, c. 17, 2.
- 339, 25. voracious. Cf. Jerome, *C. Rufin.*, iii, 22 (ed. Vallars, ii, 551). Cf. vol. i, p. 383.
- 339, 39. read. Firmic. Matern., *Mathes.*, i *præf.*
- 340, 3. legend. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 24.
- 340, 5. sacred. *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Meyer, iii, 876 (bk. ii, p. 1), v. 3.
- 340, 11. Asia. Livy, xxxviii, 54.
- 340, 13. great. *Id.*, xlv, 27 sq.; cf. Polyb., xxx, 15.
- 340, 27. visitors. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 436 f.
- 340, 32. spring. Pausan., ix, 4, 1.
- 340, 34. shrines. Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 437, 26.
- 340, 37. jutting. Dio Chrys., *Orat.*, vii, p. 106 M.
- 340, 38. figures. G. Hirschfeld, *De titulis statuar.*, p. 9.
- 340, 39. unpeopled. Cf. the descriptions by Zinkeisen, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, after Strabo, p. 516 ff., after Pausanias, p. 553 f.
- 341, 1. meet. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, i, p. 11 M.
- 341, 3. primitive. *Id. ib.*, vii; cf. O. Jahn, *Aus der Alterthums-wissenschaft*, p. 63, 1; Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, 510, 2.
- 341, 7. Sulla. Wachsmuth, *Athen.*, i, 657-660.
- 341, 7. desolation. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 2, 81: *vacuas . . . Athenas.*
- 341, 11. spotless. Ovid, *Metam.*, ii, 795. The fine description in *A. a.*, iii, 687, of the grove and spring of Hymettus shows that the author had visited the scene; cf. Ross in Humboldt, *Kosmos*, ii, p. 108, n. 30. 'Venus prospiciens' on Salamis is mentioned in *Metam.*, xiv, 759.
- 341, 12. Roman. Cic., *Ad Att.*, v, 10, 5; 11, 4; Prop., iii (iv), 21 29 sq.
- 341, 14. eternal. Plutarch, *Pericles*, c. 13, 3.
- 341, 15. deep. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxi, p. 348, 27 M.
- 341, 23. Acropolis. Vol. ii, p. 253.
- 341, 26. antiquity. *Sever.*, c. 3.
- 341, 37. well. Aristid., *ib.*, p. 187 sq. J.
- 342, 3. dream. *Id. ib.*, p. 96 sq.
- 342, 10. dale. *Id. ib.*, p. 100 sq.
- 342, 19. described. Strabo, viii, 22, p. 397. Cf. Curtius, *Peloponnes.*, ii, 527 ff. and Götting, *Ges. Abhandlungen*, ii, 31 ff.
- 342, 22. Achaia. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, i, 505; ii, 4, 39.
- 342, 23. colonnade. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 34.
- 342, 25. Jupiter. Pausan., ii, 4, 5.
- 342, 27. thermae. Vol. ii, p. 258.
- 342, 32. metropolis. Aristid., *Or.*, iii, p. 21 sq.
- 342, 38. Poseidon. *Id. ib.*, pp. 23, 5 J.

- 343, 3. books. *Id. ib.*, p. 24, 10, where R. Rochette, *Peint. antiq.*, p. 198, 2 wrongly refers *θησαυροὶ γραμμάτων* to paintings.
- 343, 6. Numisianus. Galen, ed. K., ii, 127.
- 343, 22. Epidaurian. Curtius, *Peloponnes.*, ii, pp. 423 ff. and 573; Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, ii, 74-76.
- 343, 29. Sulla. Plutarch, *Sulla*, c. 26, 5.
- 343, 34. better. *Id.*, *Quaest. conviv.*, iv, 4, 1-4, and 8. *De fraterno amore*, c. 17. Cf. Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenland*, ii, 409.
- 343, 35. buried. *Ausland*, 1866, no. 2, p. 48; cf. Abegg, *Die Bäderstadt Aedepeus*, in *Ausland*, 1874, p. 190.
- 344, 4. stay. Antipater, *Thessalonica*, 35-37. *Anthol.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, p. 104 sq. (*A. Pal.*, ix, 421); Apollonidas, *A. P.*, ix, 408.
- 344, 7. Naxos. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 96, 3.
- 344, 12. island. Philostrat., *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, ed. K., p. 138, 22.
- 344, 14. Roman. *CIL*, iii, 1, 489.
- 344, 16. West. Mommsen, *Eph. epigr.*, v, 602; *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, viii (1884), p. 75 ss.
- 344, 18. recovered. Ad. Michaelis, *Griech. Grabreliefs*, in *Archäol. Zeitg.*, 1872, p. 148 f.; Bursian, *op. cit.*, ii, 458.
- 344, 19. possessed. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 236, 1.
- 344, 20. depopulated. Pausan., viii, 33, 1.
- 344, 22. Cicero. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, v, 11.
- 344, 24. birth. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 240.
- 344, 25. two. Ovid, *Met.*, xiii, 630 (cf. above, n. on 341, 11): duasque Latona quondam stirpes pariente retentas; in *Heroid.*, 21, 102 only one palm-tree is mentioned (et de qua pariens arbore nixa dea est), an indication of different authorship.
- 344, 28. seen. Ovid, *Heroid.*, 21, 95-104.
- 344, 29. Lesbos. Horace, *Carm.*, i, 7, 1; *Epp.*, i, 11, 1. Cf. Kessler, *Philologus*, xxviii, 559 f.
- 344, 32. environs. Cic., *Contra Rull.*, ii, 16, 40.
- 344, 33. Marcellus. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 10; cf. Cichorius, *Rom und Mytilene*, p. 46 f. (residence of Germanicus in 18 A.D., and visit of Hadrian in 124).
- 344, 34. exile. Tac., *A.*, vi, 3.
- 344, 39. abode. Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* (1865), pp. 3 and 51 f.
- 345, 3. Horace. Horace, *Carm.*, i, 7, 1.
- 345, 4. unrivalled. Strabo, xiv, p. 652.
- 345, 5. Greece. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxi (Rhod.), p. 321, 31 M.; 327, 17; 341, 27. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 349, 2.
- 345, 9. blows. Aristid., *Or.*, xliii (Rhod.), p. 550, 14, ed. J.
- 345, 11. built. *Id.*, p. 541 init.
- 345, 12. Sun-God. Lucian, *Amores*, c. 8.
- 345, 19. Miletus. Diodor., xix, 45.
- 345, 23. wreathe. The whole description is taken from Aristid., *ib.*, p. 539, 8 to 541, 3; cf. Pausanias, iv, 31, 5.
- 345, 26. ravages. Dio, *Or.*, xxxi, p. 355 M.
- 345, 27. statues. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 36.
- 345, 29. sate. Aristid., *ib.*, p. 553, 11.
- 345, 30. acceptable. Horace, *Carm.*, i, 7, 1.

- 345, 31. Tiberius. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 11. (Cf. the poem of Apollonidas [15], *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, p. 121 sq.)
- 345, 34. suspected. Tac., *A.*, vi, 20 sq.
- 345, 35. abdicate. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 34.
- 345, 37. tour. Tac., *A.*, ii, 53.
- 346, 7. roofs. Strabo, xiii, p. 594.
- 346, 9. Trojan. *Id. ib.*, p. 600.
- 346, 13. heroes. Herodotus, vii, 43; Arrian, i, 11; Plutarch, *Alex.*, c. 15.
- 346, 22. unscathed. Appian, *Mithridat.*, 53.
- 346, 25. immunity. Strabo, p. 594 sq.
- 346, 28. possessing. Tac., *A.*, iv, 55.
- 346, 31. troops. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 25.
- 346, 33. Julii. Tac., *A.*, xii, 58.
- 346, 35. ancestry. *Digg.*, xxvii, 1, 17 § 1.
- 347, 6. Strabo. Grote, *History of Greece*, 1884, i, p. 319 ff.
- 347, 7. Greek. *Ibid.*, p. 320.
- 347, 12. antiquities. Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan.*, iv, 11, 148, p. 168, ed. K.
- 347, 18. Ilus. Strabo, xiii; Pompon. Mela, i, 18; Artemidor., *Onirocr.*, iv, 47, p. 228.
- 347, 19. Diodorus. Diodorus, xvii, 7.
- 347, 23. Ilians. Pausan., viii, 12, 4.
- 347, 26. Tyana. Strabo, *loc. cit.*; Philostrat., *loc. cit.*; Dio, lxxvii, 16; Herodian, iv, 8.
- 347, 29. anew. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 238; Philipp., *Epigr.*, 75; *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, p. 216.
- 347, 32. legend. See Ovid, *Fasti*, vi, 421.
- 347, 33. Juno. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 51, 1.
- 347, 37. impressions. Lucan, *Pharsal.*, ix, 901 sqq.; cf. Sueton., ed. Roth, p. 299, 20. K. B. Stark, *Nach d. griech. Orient*, p. 373, adduces the passage of Lucan, 'which one might think written to-day on the heights of Balidagh', as a proof 'that the conviction was far from universally prevalent that the later Ilion was the local successor of ancient Troy'. It is clear that Caesar himself could only look for Troy in Ilium; and one would require the strongest reasons for the assumption that Lucan looked elsewhere for it, as, to the best of my knowledge, there is no trace elsewhere in Roman literature of any doubt as to the identity of the two cities. Probably a great part of Ilium lay waste after Fimbria destroyed it, and Lucan's description refers to such ruins. A. Steitz, *Die Lage des Homerischen Troja* (*N. Jahrb. f. Phil.*, 1875, p. 255, 7), finds no trace of personal observation in Lucan's description, and sees in it only a rhetorical display.
- 348, 10. excelled. Pausan., vii, 5.
- 348, 11. Colophon. *Id.*, l. c.
- 348, 12. oracle. Tac., *A.*, ii, 54.
- 348, 14. baths. Aristid., *Or.*, xiii, p. 189 J.
- 348, 16. native. Dio Chrys., p. 489, 20 M.
- 348, 18. Asia. Strabo, xiv, 641 sq.
- 348, 19. country. Aristides, *Or.*, xlii, p. 522 J.

- 348, 19. province. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 337-343; cf. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 303.
- 348, 21. world. Seneca, *Epp.*, 102, 21.
- 348, 24. drainage. Strabo, xiv, 646.
- 348, 30. Aristides. Lucian, *Imagg.*, 2; Aristides, *Or.*, xli, p. 613 J.; Philostrat., *Apoll. Ty.*, iv, 7, p. 67, ed. K; *CIG*, 3202, 3304-6.
- 348, 31. 178. Dio, lxxi, 32.
- 349, 6. leisure. Cf. (besides Strabo, *loc. cit.*) Aristid., *Or.*, xv, p. 232 J.; xx, p. 261; xii, p. 521.
- 349, 7. schools. Cf. vol. i, p. 317 and note on l. 18.
- 349, 10. strings. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ed. K., p. 219.
- 349, 13. Albinus. K. Sprengel, *Gesch. d. Medicin*, ii, 136 f. Strabo, xii, p. 580, mentions a medical school there, which no longer existed at his time.
- 349, 25. consulted. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 2-4. Jerome, *Vit. Hilarionis*, 42 (ed. v, 11, 37): ingressus ergo Paphum urbem Cypri nobilem carminibus poetarum, quae frequenter terrae motu lapsa, nunc ruinarum tantum vestigiis quod olim fuerit ostendit.
- 249, 30. Agrippa. Pliny, *N. H.*, v, 70; cf. on Agrippa's visit to Jerusalem, Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, p. 589 M.
- 349, 32. Jordan. Paus., v, 7, 3. In the text 'Dead Sea' should be read for 'Red Sea', and 'Antioch' for 'Antiochia'.
- 350, 1. Rome. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 407, 7.
- 350, 6. small. Antiphil., *Epigr.*, 16 (*Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, p. 185).
- 350, 7. hostel. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 5, 75.
- 350, 14. gate. Jordan, *Die Küste von Puteoli etc.*, in *Arch. Ztg.*, 1868, p. 93 f.; Beloch, *Campanien*, pp. 125-127, cf. 132 ff.
- 350, 20. topsail. Seneca, *Epp.*, 77, 1.
- 350, 24. ports. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2231.
- 350, 28. African. Strabo, iii, p. 145 C.
- 350, 30. beyond. Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan.*, vii, 12, p. 134, ed. K.
- 350, 31. investment. Cic., *De fin.*, ii, 26, 84.
- 350, 34. exported. Diodorus, v, 13; Blümner, *Die gewerbl. Thätigkeit d. Völker des class. Alterthums*, 117, 9.
- 350, 40. Syria. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 1104a = *CIL*, x, 1797.
- 351, 2. spending. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 98.
- 351, 5. resting. See n. on vol. i, p. 306, 2.
- 351, 7. Jews. Minervini, *Bull. Nap., N. S.*, iii (1855), p. 105: Giudei in Pozzuoli. *CIL*, x, 2258: P. Claudius Aciba. Cf. *Acts of Apostles*, xxviii, 14.
- 351, 10. worships. *CIG*, iii, 5853 with notes by Franz; Mommsen, *IRN*, 2462 = *CIL*, x, 1556: three bases with 'Dusari sacrum'. Cf. *ib.*, 1576, 1578, 1579, and 1634. Cf. Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 120 f.
- 351, 14. erected. *IRN*, 2486 = *CIL*, x, 1624.
- 351, 20. vessels. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 533 M.: σκάφους δ' ἐπιβάς τῶν μάλιστα ταχυναντούντων.
- 351, 21. built. Suidas, s.v. ναῦς.
- 351, 23. curious. Lucian, *Navig.*, 1-6, 13.



- 351, 27. tons. Cf. Graser, *De veterum re navali* (1864), pp. 42 and 47; also Jas. Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*<sup>4</sup>, 1880, p. 187 ff., who calculates the tonnage of the *Isis* at only 1100–1200 tons.
- 351, 35. reputed. Philo, *In Flacc.*, 5, p. 521 M.; Plutarch, *De f. orac.*, 17.
- 351, 36. Aristides. Aristid., *Or.*, xlv, π. ῥητορικῆς, p. 93 J. 600 persons in a ship, which brought prisoners from Judaea to Rome: Joseph., *Vit.*, 3. In *Acts of Apostles*, xxvii, 37 the MS. readings vary between 76 and 276. At the time of the Crusades the pilgrim transports carried 1000, 1500, and more passengers; Prutz, *Kulturgesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, p. 105.
- 351, 38. palace. Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 120 (praegrandi illa domo verius quam nave).
- 351, 40. marble. *Id. ib.*, xxxvi, 2; cf. Bruzza, *Iscr. de' marmi grezzi*, *AdI*, 1870, p. 136.
- 352, 4. burnt. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 70.
- 352, 7. corn. *Catal. imp.*, in *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Ges.*, ii, 1.
- 352, 14. planted. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 201 sq.; xxxvi, 70; Preller, *Regionen*, 221 f.
- 352, 18. rowers. Ammian., xvii, 4, 13. The transport and the erection of the obelisk on the Place de la Concorde in Paris cost 2 million francs.
- 352, 20. admired. *Ausland*, 1867, p. 722.
- 352, 27. fastest. Pliny, *N. H.*, xix, 1.
- 352, 29. cannot. Wessely, *Die Daten griech. Papyrus aus röm. Kaiserzeit*. *Mith. a. d. Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, ii, iii (1887), p. 11.
- 352, 31. Sicily. Cf. e.g. also Cicero, *Verr.*, ii, 5, 56, 145.
- 352, 33. *stadia*. Diodorus, v, 12.
- 352, 36. Rhegium. *Acts of Apostles*, xxviii, 11–13; Hausrath, *Der Apostel Paulus*, p. 466 ff.
- 352, 38. miles. Josephus, *B. J.*, iv, 10, 5.
- 352, 39. star. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 83.
- 352, 40. revealed. Strabo, xvii, 1, p. 792.
- 352, 41. Pharos. Ovid, *Am.*, ii, 13, 8: palmiferamque Pharon.
- 353, 2. entrusted. *IRN*, 6846: M. Aurelius Aug. lib. . . . proc. fari Alexandriae ad Aegyptum.
- 353, 3. legends. H. v. Maltzan, *Arab. Sagen über Alexandria*, in *Ausland*, 1870, p. 967.
- 353, 14. trace. A. v. Kramer, *Aegypten*, ii, 132 ff.
- 353, 15. clusters. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, i, 869. The lighthouse of Pharos appears to be depicted in the hand of an allegorical figure on a sarcophagus (Aquari, *Due sarcofagi*, in *Bull. comun. di Roma*, v, 1877, p. 154, plates xviii, xix); at least Aquari's explanation is far more probable than Lumbroso's (*BdI*, 1878, p. 66 s.), who considers it to be the lighthouse of Capri.
- 353, 18. diversity. Herodotus, ii, 35.
- 353, 26. revered. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto etc.*, pp. 1–10.
- 353, 26. spread. Athen., v, 203 C.: δ' χρυσόπρασ Νεῖλος.
- 353, 27. drinkable. Aristides, *Or.*, xlviii, p. 334.
- 353, 30. War. Lucan, *Pharsal.*, x, 189–192; cf. 194 ss. Pre-

sumably the whole passage was suggested by Nero's expedition (see vol. i, p. 326 f.).

- 353, 32. Nile. Lucian, *Navig.*, 44.
- 353, 36. trunks. Heliodorus, *Aethiop.*, i, 31.
- 353, 36. earthenware. Strabo, xvii, p. 788; Juv., 15, 126 sq.
- 353, 39. gay. Verg., *G.*, iv, 287.
- 353, 40. wall-paintings. Some of them are collected by Jahn, *Wandgemälde des Columbar. der Villa Doria Panfili*, p. 22; cf. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der verschütteten Städte*, p. 393 ff.
- 354, 4. crowns. Helbig, *Unters. über die campan. Wandmalerei*, pp. 101 and 302.
- 354, 6. surrounding. *Sever.*, c. 17.
- 354, 6. Palestrina. Perhaps imitation of a carpet from Alexandria, cf. p. 358 (after E. Q. Visconti), Lumbroso, p. 31.
- 354, 12. lances. The most important publications with full description in Wörmann, *Die Landschaft in der Kunst der alten Völker*, p. 304 ff.
- 354, 14. village-huts. Stephan, *Aegypten*, pp. 51 and 367.
- 354, 14. Dongola. Westphal, *Die röm. Campagna*, p. 104.
- 354, 17. Tacitus. Tac., *A.*, vi, 28.
- 354, 20. fruit. Pliny, *N. H.*, xiii, 42.
- 354, 21. pygmies. The representations of Pygmies in Jahn, *Archäol. Beiträge*, p. 418 ff.; Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, pp. 381-383.
- 354, 22. existent. According to Schweinfurth, *Im Herzen von Afrika*, ii, 131-155, the Akka, who live south of the Monbuttu, approximately between 1° and 2° N., and have an average height of 1.5 metre, are a link in the long chain of dwarf peoples, which extends across Africa along the equator. These peoples present every sign of a primeval race, which is tending to dissolution. The Akka are hunters, and especially clever in the pursuit of the elephant. Their only domestic animal is the fowl. A Pompeian mosaic 'shows Pygmies surrounded by their small houses and huts, all full of fowls'.
- 354, 24. Acoris. Cf. Appendix ii.
- 354, 26. Canobus. *Hadrian*, c. 26.
- 354, 27. Memphis. Marini, *Atti degli fr. Arv.*, p. 556 = *CIL*, vi, 461: qui locus appellatur Memphi—on an estate of Severus. Cf. p. 628 and *CIG*, 5922 (ὁ τόπος Λαβύρινθος); Lüders, *Die dionys. Künstler*, p. 62 n.
- 354, 36. copied. Letronne, *Rec. d'inscr. etc.*, i, p. 210; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 440, 6-9. The ruins of the city of Antinoopolis, founded by Hadrian, are an exception, cf. Mannert, x, 1, 396.
- 354, 38. incubators. Pliny, *N. H.*, x, 153 sq.; Hadrian, in *Vit. Saturnini*, c. 8.
- 354, 39. Pilgrims. Fel. Fabri, *Evagatorium* (*Bibl. des litt. Vereins zu Stuttgart*, vols. ii-iv), iii, 58; *Reisen des Samuel Kiechel* (*ibid.*, vol. lxxxvi, 442). Wilh. v. Boldensele, *Itinerarium* (*Ztschr. des histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen*, 1852, p. 249).
- 354, 41. Cairo. Stephan, *Das heutige Aegypten*, p. 126.
- 355, 2. knots. Pliny, *N. H.*, xiii, 29; Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 29.
- 355, 6. century. Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, p. 465 f.
- 355, 9. learning. Heliodorus, *Aethiop.*, ii, 27.

- 355, 13. Aethiopia. Dio, lxxv, 13; *CIG*, 5973.
- 355, 14. Memphis. Sueton., *Titus*, c. 5.
- 355, 15. intended. Philo, *Ad Gai.*, p. 595 M.; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 19, 20.
- 355, 15. Aurelius. Dio, lxxi, 28.
- 355, 16. Verus. Letronne, *Rec. des. inscr.*, ii, 310; cf. *CIG*, 4775, 4780 and the *Addenda*.
- 355, 17. capital. The great abundance of the material available for a description of Alexandria will, I hope, be sufficient excuse, if I have given a more detailed account than the scope of this section demands.
- 355, 23. town. For a *résumé* by Kiepert of Mahmud Bey's discoveries respecting the topography of ancient Alexandria see *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, vii, 337 ff. Neroutsos-Bey, *L'ancienne Alexandrie*, 1888, was inaccessible to me.
- 355, 28. *passuum*. Kiepert, p. 341; cf. vol. i, p. 4 and note. Cf. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci e dei Romani*, p. 87 s.
- 355, 34. Corso. Lumbroso, *BdI*, 1874, p. 14; Wachsmuth, *Zur Topogr. v. Alexandria*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, xlii (1887), p. 464 ff.
- 355, 41. led. Achill. Tat., v, 1. At the intersection of the two main streets (the centre of the town, where the *δικαστήριον*, the *ἄλση*, the palaces and the *σῆμα* were situated), arose later (not much before the beginning of the fourth century) the Tetrastylon. Lumbroso, *Sulla descriz. Straboniana di Alessandria*, *AdI*, 1876, pp. 14-16; *Id.*, *L'Egitto*, p. 138.
- 356, 1. Road. Kiepert, pp. 341-344.
- 356, 5. water. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 582.
- 356, 5. roofs. Caes., *Bell. Alex.*, i, 1.
- 356, 7. fourth. Strabo, xvii, 1, p. 793 sq.; cf. Kiepert, *op. cit.*, p. 346.
- 356, 9. melted. Gutschmid on Sharpe, *Gesch. Aegyptens*, ii, 91.
- 356, 13. view. Strabo, *ib.*, p. 795.
- 356, 15. Antony. Lumbroso, *Sulla descrizione Strabon. di Alessandria*, *AdI*, 1876, pl. 10; *id.*, *L'Egitto*, pp. 157-161.
- 356, 19. silver. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 567 M.
- 356, 21. decorated. Euseb., *Chron.*, ad an. 119.
- 356, 27. Capitol. Ammian., xxii, 16, 12.
- 356, 29. unique. *Expos. t. mundi*, 35.
- 356, 31. free. Diodor., xvii, 52 sq.
- 356, 36. Strabo's. Strabo, xvii, p. 792.
- 356, 37. Neapolis. Wachsmuth, *Z. Topogr. v. Alexandria*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, xlii (1887).
- 356, 38. second. *CIL*, viii, 8394; Henzen, 6929.
- 356, 39. Jews. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>a</sup>, 455.
- 356, 40. cross-race. *Ibid.*, 283, 5.
- 356, 41. districts. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 525 M.
- 357, 1. named. Philo, *ib.*; Lumbroso, *Cenni sull'antica Alessandria*, in *AdI*, 1875, p. 14 s.
- 357, 2. seen. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 565 M.
- 357, 4. Trajan. Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, iv, p. 142 f.
- 357, 5. limited. Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 18, 7 and 8.
- 357, 8. contained. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 593.

- 357, 13. Indians. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxii, p. 373 M.  
 357, 16. Joppa. Diodorus, i, 31.  
 357, 19. India. Stephan, *Das heutige Aegypten*, p. ix.  
 357, 21. peoples. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxii, p. 372 M.  
 357, 23. world. Diodorus, xvii, 52.  
 357, 24. Rome. Josephus, *B. J.*, iii, 2, 4; Dio Chrys., *loc. cit.*; Aristid., *Or.*, xiv, p. 205 J.  
 357, 25. Carthage. Herodian, vi, 6, 1; iv, 3, 7.  
 357, 32. ascendant. Preller, *R. M.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 448 f.  
 357, 36. fortune. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 98. Cf. n. on vol. i, p. 269, 2.  
 357, 38. Ptolemies. Strabo, ii, 4, 10, p. 118; xvii, 1, 13, p. 798. On commerce under the Ptolemies see Lumbroso, *Rech. sur l'économie politique sous les Lagides*, p. 138 ss.  
 357, 40. Myoshormos. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 616, holds that this immense growth of trade was attained through closing the Egyptian ports against Arabian and Indian vessels by means of a differential tariff.  
 357, 40. Africa. Strabo, xvii, 1, 13.  
 358, 10. profit. Höck, *Röm. Gesch.*, i, 2, pp. 281-290. In the text '100 per cent profit' should read 'a hundredfold profit'.  
 358, 11. exceeded. Strabo, p. 793.  
 358, 15. harbour. Lucian, *Toxaris*, 31. The ridiculing of the Egyptians as burden-bearers (Suidas s.v. αἰγυπτιαῖς: οὗτοι διαβάλλονται καὶ ὡς ἀχθοφόροι ὄντες, cf. s.v. ἀχθοφόρον and Intpp. to Cass. Dio, lxii, 6) has nothing to do with this. Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, p. 100 ss.  
 358, 18. consulted. Blümer, *Die gewerbl. Thätigkeit d. Völker d. class. Alterth.*, p. 8.  
 358, 21. dresses. *Id. ib.*, p. 10 f.  
 358, 23. paper. *Id. ib.*, 11-13, 15.  
 358, 25. army. *H. A., Firm.*, c. 3.  
 358, 26. famous. Blümner, p. 15 f.  
 358, 29. leave. Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 59.  
 358, 32. cults. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 97 s.  
 358, 37. every. *Vit. Saturnini*, c. 8 (Lehrs rightly emends 'nummus illis deus est', for 'unus illis deus est'; cf. Juv., i, 113; also Renan, *L'église chrét.*, p. 189, 3. Gutschmid in Sharpe, *Gesch. Aeg.*, ii, 146, 3 had already emended: 'Unus illis deus Nummus est'). *Ibid.*, p. 147, 1, on the authenticity of the letter, doubted by Hausrath, *Neutestam. Zeitgesch.*, iii, 534 f., and absolutely denied by Mommsen, *RG*, v, 676, 1; 585, 2.  
 358, 40. corn-supply. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 31.  
 359, 1. Aethiopia. Dio, *Or.*, xxxii, p. 373 M.  
 359, 4. snails. Galen, xvii, B. 492; xi, 42.  
 359, 4. lentils. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 56, 2.  
 359, 5. cook-house. Athen., iii, p. 94.  
 359, 5. barley-beer. Varges, *De statu Aegypti*, p. 72. Hehn, *Culturpflanzen und Hausthiere*<sup>4</sup>, p. 117 f. Cf. Dio Chrys., p. 387 M. The Egyptian beer *mizr*, of wheat, barley and millet, was a welcome object of taxation under the Khalifs; Kremer, *Culturgesch. des Orients*, ii, 204.  
 359, 7. impudence. Cf. vol. i, p. 37.



- 359, 11. dreaded. Dio, *ib.*, p. 367 M.
- 359, 13. Egypt. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iv, 422, believes that the governor of Egypt was L. Aemilius Rectus. So also Lumbroso, *BdI*, 1877, p. 52. Letronne, *Rec. p. servir etc.*, i, 235, however, names Vitrasius Pollio.
- 359, 14. government. Seneca, *Consol. ad Helv.*, 19, 6.
- 359, 20. play. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 19; Dio, lxvi, 8.
- 359, 23. Antinous. *Vita Saturnini*, c. 8. Verus was only adopted in the year 135, hence the doubt expressed in n. on 358, 37 of the genuineness of the whole letter.
- 359, 24. massacre. Herodian, iv, 9, 2; Dio, lxxvii, 22.
- 359, 27. nowhere. Dio, *loc. cit. init.*; p. 379 M.
- 359, 27. *circenses*. *Id.*, 370 M. (the words οὕτω γὰρ εἰρήσθαι πολλὸ βέλτιον are apparently a gloss.).
- 359, 28. amphitheatre. Strabo, xvii, p. 795.
- 359, 31. contests. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 103 ss.
- 359, 32. people. Dio, *loc. cit.*, 361 M.
- 359, 34. note. Athen., iv, p. 176 E.
- 359, 35. adept. *Id. ib.*, p. 183 D.
- 359, 37. influence. Cf. vol. ii, p. 344f. Alexandrian flute-players, Prop., iv (v), 8, 39; Tac., *A.*, xiv, 60. Cithara-players, *CIG*, 6651.
- 359, 39. tumult. Dio, *loc. cit.*, 367 M.
- 359, 40. people. *Id.*, 371 M. sqq.
- 359, 40. fights. Dio, *loc. cit.*, 374 M. sqq. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 103 s. On the riots on the racecourse of Alexandria, Philo-strat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 26.
- 360, 3. creating. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 519 M. *in f.*: τὸ Αἰγυπτιακὸν . . . διὰ βραχυτάτου σπινθηρος εἰωθὸς ἐκφυσῶν στάσεις μεγάλας. Cf. vol. i, p. 37, and Varges, *De statu Aegypti*, p. 48; Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, pp. 67, 3 and 68; and on the θιασοὶ (σύνοδοι, συμπόσια, κλῶναι), p. 72, 3.
- 360, 6. impertinence. Philo, *loc. cit.*, p. 537.
- 360, 9. flew. *Hist. Aug.*, xxx tyr., c. 22.
- 360, 10. songs. Dio, *loc. cit.*, p. 383 M.
- 360, 11. troops. Cf. e.g. Dio, lxxviii, 35. On the Roman troops quartered in Alexandria cf. Varges, p. 67 s.; Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 442.
- 360, 14. stones. *Exposit. tot. mundi*, 37; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 484.
- 360, 16. unrest. *Ibid.*, 580 f.
- 360, 19. murder. Diodorus, i, 83.
- 360, 21. tumult. *Hadrian*, c. 12.
- 360, 22. practices. *Vita Saturnini*, c. 8, and n. on p. 358, 37.
- 360, 30. perished. Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 18, 7; Euseb., *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, p. 164, Hg. Vers. Arm.
- 360, 34. consumptive. Cels., iii, 22; but cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxi, 63; xxiv, 28, and vol. i, p. 321 of this work.
- 360, 35. snow. Seneca, *Qu. n.*, iv, 2, 20.
- 360, 35. roses. Martial, vi, 80; Becker-Göll, iii, 78.
- 360, 36. sunshine. Ammian. Marc., xxii, 16, 8.
- 360, 37. monsoons. Diodor., xvii, 52.
- 360, 39. harsh. Pliny, *Ep̄p.*, v, 19, 6.

- 360, 40. studied. Sprengel, *Gesch. d. Medicin*, ii, 137.  
 360, 40. repute. Cf. vol. i, p. 168.  
 361, 1. flock. Galen, ed. K., iii, 220.  
 361, 2. physician. *Id. ib.*, i, p. clvi.  
 361, 3. witnesses. Πρὸς Πελίωνα περὶ τῆς θηριακῆς, c. 8; Galen, ed. K., xiv, 237.  
 361, 6. studied. Plutarch, *Anton.*, c. 28, 2. Study of medicine and Cynic philosophy in Alexandria, Lucian, *Toxar.*, 27; Ammian., xxii, 16, 18 with Lindenbrog's note, and Vales. (Fulgent. Planciades l. i. mythol. Alexandriae in cunctis fere angipertis fuisse medicorum domicilia scribit); Eunap., *Vitt. Sophist.*, 180 (Magnus); Augustine, *C. D.*, xxii, 8, 3. Cf. also Kuhn, *Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, i, 89.  
 361, 5. health. *Expos. tot. mundi*, 37 (*Geogr. lat. min.*, ed. Riese, pp. 114, 17-20).  
 361, 8. sought. Strabo, xiv, 4, 13, p. 674; Lucian, *Alexand.*, 44 (ὕδιν . . . ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παιδευόμενον). Cf. Gräfenhan, *Gesch. d. class. Philol.*, iii, 49 f.; Bernhardt, *Gesch. d. gr. Litt.*, i, 414.  
 361, 12. including. Ammian., *ib.* 17. Cf. the note and Kuhn, *Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, i, 100. Public instruction in music, Julian, *Epp.*, 56. On a school of mathematics (till 640) see Gräfenhan, iii, 49. Alchemy, Suidas, s.v. Διοκλητιανός and Ζώσιμος Ἀλεξανδρεύς; Gibbon, *History*, ch. xiii, 50. A school of magic at Canopus, Rufinus, *H. eccl.*, ii, 26. For Egyptian sorcery cf. Origen, *Contra Cels.*, iii, 36; Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talmud*, p. 406. On the Egyptian doctrine of numbers see Hippolyt., *Refut.*, iv, 43 sq.  
 361, 16. spread. Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi, 23: ταχυνγράφοι γὰρ αὐτῶ (Origeni) πλείους ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν παρήσαν ὑπαγορεύοντι, χρόνοις τεταγμένοις ἀλλήλους ἀμείβοντες, βιβλιογράφοι τε οὐχ ἡττοὺς, ἀμα καὶ κόραις ἐπὶ τὸ καλλιγραφεῖν ἡσκημέναις. *Expos. t. mundi*, 34: viros sapientes prae omnem mundum Aegyptus habundat.  
 361, 21. celebrated. *Expos. t. mundi*, 34; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 585, 2.  
 361, 21. Serapis. Cf. esp. Aristides, *Or.*, viii (p. 56); Preller, *R. M.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 375 ff.  
 361, 24. court. *Sever.*, c. 16.  
 361, 25. Caracalla's. Herodian, v, 8, 6.  
 361, 28. genuine. Juv., 6, 525 sqq.; cf. Ann. Florus in Florus, ed. Jahn, p. xlii.  
 361, 32. thronged. Strabo, xvii, p. 799.  
 361, 34. hotels. *Ib.*, p. 801.  
 361, 40. Harmachis. *CIG*, iii, 4961 (Hermann, *Opp.*, vi, 140) = Kaibel, *Epigr.*, 1049. On the god Armachis or Harmachis cf. Reinisch, *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 1732.  
 361, 41. Canobian. Strabo, p. 800: ἀρχὴ τις Κανοβισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖ λαμπρίας.  
 362, 34. secluded. Ammian., *loc. cit.*, 14: Amoenus impendio locus et laetis diversoriis exstructus, auris et salutari temperamento perflabilis, ita ut extra mundum nostrum, morari se quisquam arbitretur in tractibus illis agens, cum saepe aprico spiritu immurmurantes audierit ventos. Parthey, *Wanderungen durch Sicilien u. die Levante*, 2, 62: 'There is now hardly a

trace of the once so flourishing town, and only the branch of the Nile close by shows where it was situated.'

- 362, 5. Elysium. Lehrs, *Quaest. epp.*, p. 26.  
 362, 7. oracles. Strabo, p. 801; Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.*, c. 27; cf. Pausan., iv, 7.  
 362, 8. proverbial. Cf. e.g. Juv., 6, 84 and 15, 44.  
 362, 13. papyrus. Hehn, *Culturpflanzen*<sup>4</sup>, p. 250.  
 362, 16. flutes. Strabo, xvii, 15-18, p. 799 sqq. Wanton Egyptian banquets with music and dance, Clement Alex., *Paed.*, ii, 4, 40, p. 192 Pott. Two representations of obscene revels on the Nile, *Bull. Nap.*, iii, 82; cf. also *B. N.*, 1857, p. 34, further 1856, p. 61.  
 362, 23. camels. Philostrate., *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 43, ed. Kayser, p. 104: (from Alexandria) ἐχώρουν εὐθὺς πυραμίδων ἐπὶ καμήλων ὁχοῦμενοι, δεξιὸν θέμενοι τὸν Νεῖλον.  
 362, 23. stream. Germanicus sailed from Canobus up the Nile, Tac., *A.*, ii, 60.  
 362, 29. monuments. Strabo, xvii, 1, 32, p. 807 sqq.  
 362, 34. hills. Tac., *loc. cit.*  
 362, 37. covered. Proved in detail by Letronne, *Mélanges d'érudition*, p. 377: sur le revêtement des pyramides de Gizéh (cf. *Rec des inscript.*, t. ii, p. 487 ss., and Scheiffel's article, *Pyramides in the StRE*).  
 362, 40. leaves. Cf. also Herodotus, ii, 125, 5; Diodorus, i, 64.  
 363, 8. climbing. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 76.  
 363, 10. Ages. Abdallatif (Letronne, *Rec.*, p. 492).  
 363, 12. height. Aristides, *Or.*, xlviii, p. 363 J.  
 363, 12. Marienburg. Treitschke, *Histor. u. polit. Aufs.*, i, 44.  
 363, 15. copied. Cf. Appendix xxi.  
 363, 23. excavated. *CIG*, iii, *App.*, 4700 b-1.  
 363, 35. specified. Tac., *A.*, ii, 60; Strabo, xvii, 1, 46, p. 816; Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, i<sup>5</sup>, 139.  
 363, 41. given. Brugsch, *Reiseberichte aus Aegypten*, pp. 123-128.  
 364, 2. Egypt. For all the following passage cf. Jacobs, *Vermischte Schriften*, vol. iii, p. 110 ff. and Letronne, *La statue vocale de Memnon*.  
 364, 7. destroyed. Philostrate., *Apoll. Tyan.*, viii, 4, ed. K., p. 107.  
 364, 28. Memnon. Letronne (*CIG*, iii, p. 1204, 4742b) quite unnecessarily hesitates to refer to him the inscription Ἀπίων Πλείστον . . . ἤκουσα τρίς, because the word ὁ is wanting before the father's name (Lehrs, *Qu. epp.*, p. 23).  
 364, 30. completed. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 58.  
 364, 39. visit. Letronne, p. 13.  
 365, 8. forgotten. Alciphro, *Epp.*, ii, 3: εἴ γε ἄρα πόθος αἰρεῖ σε . . . τῆς γε Αἰγύπτου, χρήματος μέγαλον καὶ τῶν αὐτόθι πυραμίδων καὶ τῶν περιχοῦντων ἀγαλμάτων καὶ τοῦ περιβοήτου λαβυρίνθου κ.τ.λ.  
 365, 15. home. E.g. *CIG*, 4917: N. N. ἤκω καὶ προσκεκίνηκα τὴν κυρίαν Ἴσιν καὶ πεποίηκα τὸ προσκύνημα τῶν φιλοῦντων με, ἔτους ἦ, Μεχέρ κα. Cf. on the *proscynemata* Franz, *Elem. epigr.*, p. 336 sqq. and besides the inscriptions from Egypt mentioned below, *CIG*, i, 516 = *CIA*, iii, 2, 3824 (Sunium, in the ruins of the temple of Athene: Ὁνήσιμος ἐμνήσθη τῆς ἀδελφῆς Χρήστης),

- CIG*, ii, 1826 sq., iii, 4668 sq. (on rocks between Suez and Sinai and in Sinai itself). Where ἐμνήσθη stands alone it cannot be understood with Letronne, *op. cit.*, p. 246, 'a laissé ce souvenir', but 'he remembered' i.e. his friends or perhaps the goddess. Lebas-Waddington, 349-358 (*proscynemata* in honour of Zeus Osogos at Mylasa by judges who had been sent thither from other cities to decide disputes), *ib.*, ii, 95a (Corinth). *Memor deorum*: *CIL*, i, 623; iii, 1, 582 (inscriptions in a grotto near Panormus in Epirus, specially visited by seamen, and now called Grammata [*CIG*, 1824-1827]). The name Grammata is also given to a now deserted natural harbour of Syra, owing to the many Greek and Latin, pagan and Christian inscriptions carved in the rock, including appeals to Aesculapius, who doubtless (like Serapis), had a temple here. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, i (1876), pp. 112-116; cf. iii (1878), p. 60 sq. Renier, *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 2583-2597 = *CIL*, viii, 5504-5518 (inscriptions of a god Bacaces or Bacax). Cf. also *ib.*, 6267 ss. The inscriptions in a cave in Minorca (*CIL*, ii, 3718 sqq.) seem to refer to an annual festival held there. Inscriptions of Christian pilgrims in the catacombs, De Rossi, *Roma. sott.*, pp. 170, 172; *ib.*, vol. ii, p. 14 sq. Plutarch, *De curios.*, c. 11, p. 520 D.: τὰ κατὰ τῶν τοίχων γράμματα . . . ἐμνήσθη ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ, καὶ φίλων ἀριστος ὅδε τις, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαύτης γέμοντα φλυαρίας.
- 365, 23. vultures. Parthey, *Wanderungen*, 2, 481; Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, p. 328.
- 365, 25. pipes. Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterth.*, i<sup>5</sup>, 173 ff.
- 365, 29. Ptolemies. Letronne, *Stat. voc. de M.*, p. 242 ss.
- 365, 32. have. *CIG*, iii, *App.*, 4821c.
- 365, 34. seen. *Archives des missions scientif.*, 1866, ii, p. 484. De Rossi, *Bull. di archeol. crist.*, v, p. 1, believes that the θαύματα of Rome are the catacombs, which is very unlikely.
- 365, 39. Empire. *CIG*, ii, 4832 ss. (Latopolis); 4838 c (Apollinopolis—Edfu); 4845-4858 (Silsilis); 4900-4947 (Philae); 4951 s. (Oasis Thebarum); 4980-5073 (stone-quarries in Nubia); 5039-5068 (Talmis-Kalabsha in Nubia, temple of the god Manduli); 5074-5108 (Pselcis); 5110-5124 (Hiera Sykaminos, temple of Isis and Serapis). Cf. append., pp. 1188-1239, and Deville, *Inscr. grecques d'Egypte recueillies en 1861 à Philae, Elephantine, Silsilis, Biban-el-Moluk, Abydos, Antinoë, Sakkarah, et Alexandrie. Archives des missions scientif. et littér.*, 2nd series, vol. ii (1866), p. 458 ss.
- 366, 6. pagan. *CIG*, 4837c; Letronne, *Rec.*, ii, p. 255, mentions as the place where it was found the *Hydreuma Panii*.
- 366, 11. battle. Henzen, 5310.
- 366, 14. priests. Strabo, xvii, in several passages.
- 366, 17. prophets. Aristides, *Or.*, xlviii, p. 331; cf. p. 360 J. and 363. Heliodorus, *Aethiop.*, ix, 22.
- 366, 19. Hermopolis. They showed it to Apio. Aelian, *H. a.*, x, 29.
- 366, 27. talents. Diodorus, i, 84.
- 366, 28. Germanicus. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 185.
- 366, 29. stable. Strabo, xvii, 31, p. 807.
- 366, 29. consecration. Sueton., *Titus*, c. 5.



- 366, 32. dry. Plutarch, *De solert. animal.*, 23, 8.  
 366, 33. fed. Strabo, *ib.*, p. 811 sq.  
 366, 36. labyrinth. Severus, c. 17: Nam et Memphim et Memnonem et pyramides et labyrinthon diligenter inspexit. Pomponius Mela, i, 19, names only the pyramids and labyrinth.  
 366, 36. Moeris. Tac., *A.*, ii, 61.  
 366, 39. equinox. Cf. Forbiger, *Syene*, *StRE.*  
 367, 2. filling. Aristid., *op. cit.*, p. 347; cf. Letronne, *Mém. de l'acad. des inscr.*, vi (1822), p. 291 ss.  
 367, 8. hurled. Strabo, *op. cit.*, p. 817 sq.  
 367, 11. joined. Aristides, *op. cit.*, p. 343 sq.  
 367, 19. transform. *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 349: ἐν γε τῇ Ἀραβικῇ καὶ ἡ περιβόητος αὕτη λιθοτομία ἡ πορφυρίτις ἐστίν· ἐργάζονται δ' αὐτὴν ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δὴ πού κατὰδικοι· ἀλλὰ τούτους γε ὡς φασὶν οὐδεὶς φρουρεῖ κ.τ.λ.  
 367, 32. earthquake. Antipater Sidon., *Epigr.*, 52, *Anal.* Brunck, t. ii, p. 20. Varro in *Hebdomad.*, i, in Gell., iii, 10, 16 (septem opera), a source from which later Roman authors drew (Rhoden, *De mundi miracc.*, pp. 8, 13). Diodorus, i, 63 (ἐν τοῖς ἐπτὰ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἐργοῖς); ii, 11 (ἐν τοῖς ἐπτὰ τοῖς κατονομαζομένοις ἐργοῖς). Vitruv., vii, *prooem.* 15 (septem spectacula); Strabo, xvi, p. 738; xvii, p. 808 (ἐπτα θεάματα). *CIL*, iv, 1111 (Pompeis in amphitheatro): 'omnia munera vicisti, ton hepta theamatōn esti'. Plutarch, *Animal.*, c. 35 (ἐν τοῖς ἐπτὰ καλουμένοις θεάμασιν). Cf. Martial, *Epigr.*, i, 1, with my note. Philo Byzant., *De vii orb. spectaculis*, ed. Orelli, pp. 67, 141 sqq.  
 367, 39. Delos. Martial, *Lib. spectaculor.*, i, 4.  
 368, 1. Babylon. Pausan., iv, 31, 5.  
 368, 2. walls. *Id.*, viii, 33, 3. Jerome, *In Jesai.*, v, 14, ed. Vall., iv, p. 175: didicimus a quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens nunc Hierosolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone et omnis generis bestias murorum eius tantum ambitu coerceri.  
 368, 4. customs. Plutarch, *Cato minor*, c. 12: βουλευθεὶς . . . πλανηθῆναι καθ' ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ γενέσθαι θεατῆς ἡθῶν καὶ βίων καὶ δυνάμεως τῆς περὶ ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν.  
 368, 17. travellers. Drepan., *Paneg.*, xxi, p. 391. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 30 sq.  
 368, 22. ceremonies. Fronto, *Epp. ad. M. Caes. et inv.*, iv, 4, ed. Naber, p. 66.  
 368, 24. view. Jerome, *In Jerem.*, i, 2, 20, ed. Vall., iv, 849: amoena enim semper et excelsa loca idolis dedicantur; Hilar. Pictav., *Ps.*, xiv, 5; p. 302, 4: et nunc quoque edita et excelsa quaeque montium fanis templis sacrisque maculantur.  
 368, 24. interest. Vol. i, p. 356.  
 368, 30. decorative. Philo, *Leg. ad. Gai.*, p. 568 M.  
 368, 34. air. P. Annius Florus in Jahn's edition of Florus, p. xli (p. 106, Hahn). Cf. Hübner, *Hermes*, i, 124 f.  
 369, 1. supplicants. Lucian, *Amor.*, 12 and 18.  
 369, 2. Pausanias. Pausan., i, 21, 9.  
 369, 5. sacrificial. Strabo, x, 5, 11, p. 487. Cf. on the grove by the temple of Branchidae near Miletus, xiv, 1, 5, p. 634; on

- the grove of Ortygia near Ephesus, xiv, 1, 20, p. 639; *CIL*, viii, 10,627: lucum a solo cum signis et ornamentis suis.
- 369, 9. lions. Preller, *R. M.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 396 f.
- 369, 9. geese. Reiff on Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*, iv, 83, p. 250.
- 369, 16. sesterces. *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, c. 21, lat. 4, 23-36.
- 369, 19. temples. Pliny, *N. H.*, *praef.* 19.
- 369, 20. fashion. Conze, *D. pergamen. Bibliotheken. Sitzungsab. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1884, p. 1259.
- 369, 25. pictures. Mommsen, *IRN*, 6.
- 369, 27. statues. See the list of places in Brunn, *Kunstlergeschichte*, ii, 774 ff.; Jacobs, *Verm. Schriften*, iii, 421 ff.; R. Rochette, *Peint. ant.*, p. 94 ss.; K. Zacher, *Ueber Gemälde als Tempelschmuck*, *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 1880, p. 577 ff.
- 369, 31. Apollo. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvii, 11.
- 369, 37. Cimiez. Millin, *Voyage dans le midi*, ii, p. 547.
- 369, 37. kept. See further Beckmann, *De historia nat. vet.*, c. iv, p. 169 sqq. and *Beitr. zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, ii, 364 ff.
- 369, 38. tusks. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 31. Cf. Beckmann, p. 367.
- 370, 3. Verres. Cic., *Verr.*, iv, 46, 103.
- 370, 7. India. Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 16.
- 370, 9. Capua. Pausan., v, 12, 1.
- 370, 13. War. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 37. Jordan (*Hermes*, vii, 68, cf. ix, 343) believes 'in templo' to be a gloss, but it appears also in xxxiii, 129 and xxxv, 161; 'in quodam templo', xiii, 88.
- 370, 14. Athens. Dio, lix, 16.
- 370, 15. bear. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 811.
- 370, 19. sprang. Pliny, *N. H.*, v, 51.
- 370, 23. Juno. Hanno, *Peripl.*, 18; Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 200; Peschel, *Gesch. d. Erdk.*, p. 21, 3; O. Keller, *Thiere d. class. Alterth. in kulturgesch. Beziehung* (1887), p. 15 f.
- 370, 29. Bodrium. Athen., v, 21 f.; Preller, *R. M.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 295, 1.
- 370, 30. Sicyon. Pausan., ii, 10, 2.
- 370, 31. ants. Pliny, *N. H.*, xi, 111.
- 370, 32. marmots. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumsk.*, ii, 849; iii, 314.
- 370, 34. cocoanuts. Philostrat., *Vit. Apollon.*, iii, 15.
- 370, 35. tree-trunks. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 162.
- 370, 36. plate. *Id. ib.*, xii, 94.
- 370, 38. burst. *Anthol. Graeca*, ed. Jacobs, iv, p. 201; *Epigr. adesp.*, 393.
- 370, 41. Capitol. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvii, 22.
- 371, 1. Elephants. *Id. ib.*, xxxvi, 196.
- 371, 3. pearls. *Id. ib.*, ix, 156.
- 371, 7. accessible. Cael. Aurel., *Morb. chron.*, ii, 4 (*Art. med. princ.*, ed. Haller, xi, p. 135).
- 371, 8. Smyrna. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiii, 129.
- 371, 10. clay. *Id. ib.*, xxxv, 161.
- 371, 12. Marsyas. Acro ad Horat., *A. P.*, 203. (Varro in iii disciplinarum et ad Marcellum de lingua latina.)
- 371, 16. move. Jerome, *In Zachar.*, 12 (vi, p. 896 Vall.); Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 299.
- 371, 20. elsewhere. Pausan., i, 21, 7-9.

- 371, 21. given. *Anthol. Palat.*, vi, 232 (Hadrian's epigram). Keller, *Thiere d. cl. Alterth.*, p. 59.
- 371, 26. birds. Solin, 27, 53, ed. Mommsen, p. 142 (auct. ignot.).
- 371, 28. believe. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 5, 97 sqq.
- 371, 31. daemon. Augustine, *C. D.*, xxi, 26.
- 371, 33. relics. On private collections of this kind cf. Becker-Göll, i<sup>3</sup>, p. 38; Lucian, *Adv. indoct.*, 13 sq.; Dio, lix, 21; lxxvii, 7.
- 371, 34. Mars. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 8.
- 371, 36. Cologne. *Id. ib.*, c. 10.
- 371, 38. Jupiter. Tac., *A.*, xv, 53 and 72.
- 371, 41. Rome. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 194.
- 372, 4. consecrated. Livy, iv, 20.
- 372, 6. horn. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvii, 4.
- 372, 8. threads. Herodotus, iii, 47.
- 372, 10. handling. Pliny, *N. H.*, xix, 12.
- 372, 10. Pindar. Pausan., x, 24, 4.
- 372, 13. doubted. *Id.*, i, 27.
- 372, 14. Sparta. Plutarch, *Agesil.*, c. 19, 8.
- 372, 15. Arcadia. Pausan., viii, 28, 1.
- 372, 16. Delphi. Appian, xii, 112.
- 372, 19. Palatine. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 14.
- 372, 21. Regia. *Id. ib.*, xxxiv, 48.
- 372, 24. historical. Cf. the passage *Hist. Aug., Vit. Aureliani*, c. 1 (cited by Grote, *Hist. Greece*, 1884, i, 437). Similarly in Italy memories of antiquity have remained alive, while those of the middle ages have perished: Reumont, *Vittoria Colonna*, p. 94 f.
- 372, 30. egg. Pausan., iii, 16, 2, and Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 50 sq. note.
- 372, 32. breast. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiii, 84.
- 372, 35. boat. Procop., *B. Goth.*, iv, 22. But there was also near Corcyra 'scopulus in quem mutatam Ulixidis navem a simili specie fabula est'; Pliny, *N. H.*, iv, 53.
- 372, 36. sceptre. Pausan., ix, 40, 6.
- 373, 1. skin. Ampelius, *Lib. mem.*, c. 8.
- 373, 4. strangers. Pliny, *N. H.*, xiii, 88.
- 373, 8. smelt. Pausan., x, 4, 3.
- 373, 9. Amalthea. *Id.*, vi, 19, 3.
- 373, 10. consecrated. Diod., vii, 4, 49.
- 373, 12. Memphis. Lobeck, *loc. cit.*
- 373, 14. Iphigenia. Dio, xxxv, 11.
- 373, 17. Teucer. Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 5.
- 373, 17. Odysseus. Strabo, v, 3, 6, p. 232.
- 373, 18. Nestor. Athen., xi, 489 B.
- 373, 21. long. Procop., *B. Goth.*, i, 15.
- 373, 24. altar. Strabo, xvii, 17, p. 834.
- 373, 27. anchor. Arrian, *Peripl. Ponti Euxini*, 11.
- 373, 29. mountain. *Id. ib.*, 16. This was visited also by Marcellinus, see Martial, ix, 45.
- 373, 31. Absyrtus. Procop., *B. Goth.*, iv, 2.
- 373, 36. bones. See Appendix ii. Cf. Forbiger in *StRE*, under *Joppe*.

- 373, 36. traces. Joseph., *B. J.*, iii, 9, 3.  
 373, 39. bathed. Pausan., iv, 35, 6.  
 373, 41. guides. Epictet., *Diss.*, 7, 1; Seneca, *Consol. ad Marc.*, 25, 2.  
 374, 1. fail. Cf. on the whole subject Preller, *Polemon. fr.*, p. 160 sqq. and Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, pp. 29-31 (on *μυσταγωγείν*). A list of places, where Pausanias mentions the *Exegetes*, Pr., p. 161 sq.  
 374, 4. punishments. Lucian, *Ver. hist.*, ii, 31.  
 374, 5. temple-servants. Lobeck, *loc. cit.*  
 374, 6. places. Preller, *op. cit.*, p. 162. Cf. Curtius, *Peloponnes.*, ii, 52 (on Pausanias' dependence on the guides at Olympia).  
 374, 8. antiquities. Preller, p. 168.  
 374, 8. physician. *CIG*, 1227.  
 374, 10. be. Non., p. 419, 9: vindicare . . . liberare; Varro: Et me Juppiter Olympiae, Minerva Athenis suis mystagogis vindicassent. (Petron., ed. Buecheler<sup>3</sup>, p. 166, 34).  
 374, 16. long. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 32.  
 374, 18. truth. Lucian, *Philopseud.*, 4.  
 374, 19. made. Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*.  
 374, 30. features. Solin., ed. Mommsen, p. xviii.  
 374, 35. save. *Itineraria*, p. 523 Wess. sqq.  
 374, 41. Menelaus. Tac., *A.*, ii, 60.  
 375, 1. golden. Aristid., *Or.*, xlviii, p. 360. My friend A. v. Gutschmid (d. 1887) informed me that Kanobos represents the Egyptian word *nub*, gold, which was pronounced with a strong initial aspirate; cf. Brugsch, *Geogr. des alten Aegyptens*, p. 283 (*H'ānub*); Bunsen, *Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgesch.*, ii, 76.  
 375, 4. repeats. Ammian. Marcell., xxii, 16. Cf. Suidas, s. *Κάνωπος*.  
 375, 7. beginnings. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 4.  
 375, 11. Leda. Aristides, *Or.*, xliii, p. 539 J.  
 375, 14. hairpin. Pausan., ii, 32.  
 375, 17. Aulis. *Id.*, i, 35.  
 375, 20. preserved. *Id.*, ix, 19, 5.  
 375, 26. statue. *Id.*, iii, 20, 10. It would be superfluous to give more examples.  
 375, 31. pyre. Livy, xxxvi, 30.  
 375, 31. Alexander. Sidon. Apollinar., *Epp.*, iii, 12 (cum Julium Caesarem . . . . . Hectori ut suo justa persolvisse didicerimus. In Lucan., *Phars.*, xi, 990, Caesar addresses himself, when sacrificing to the 'Di cinerum, Phrygiae colitis quicunque ruinas').  
 375, 32. Ilium. Dio, lxxvii, 16; Herodian, iv, 8.  
 375, 33. died. Dio, lxxviii, 30.  
 375, 34. Troy. Philostrat., *Heroic.*, p. 288; ed. Kayser.  
 375, 36. stone. Pausan., viii, 11, 5.  
 375, 37. tomb. Drumann, *RG*, iii, 525.  
 375, 39. survived. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 3; Riese, *Anthol. lat.*, 708.  
 376, 1. Calauria. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 456 ff.  
 376, 3. Dirce. Pausan., ix, 23, 2; 25, 3.  
 376, 4. zealous. Cic., *Fin.*, v, 1 and 2. Houses of Socrates and Demosthenes: Himer., xviii, 3; Wachsmuth, *Athen*, i, 714.



- 376, 7. battle-fields. Artemidor., *Onirocr.*, iv, 47, p. 288.  
 376, 10. temples. Hertzberg, *loc. cit.*  
 376, 16. inscribed. Arrian, *Peripl. ad Hadrian.*, i, 1.  
 376, 21. Macedonians. Plutarch, *Alex.*, c. 9, 2.  
 376, 23. Alexander. Appian, *Bell. Mithrid.*, c. 20.  
 376, 25. Tyre. Plut., *Alex.*, c. 25.  
 376, 26. Indus. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 352, 1.  
 376, 28. army. *Peripl. mar. Eryth.*, 41.  
 376, 30. honey. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 2, 117.  
 376, 30. coffin. Strabo, xvii, p. 794.  
 376, 31. visited. A procurator Neaspoleos et Mausolei Alexandriae, Lumbroso, *BdI*, 1877, p. 8, and 1880, p. 4.  
 376, 32. Caesar. Lucan, x, 19.  
 376, 33. Augustus. Dio, li, 16; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 18.  
 376, 33. Severus. Dio, lxxvii, 13.  
 376, 33. Caracalla. Herodian, iv, 8. See also Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 52.  
 376, 35. Alexandria. Leone Africano, *Descr. dell'Africa*, p. viii, in Ramusio, *Delle navigazioni e viaggi* (Venet. 1563), p. 82.  
 376, 41. guest. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 15.  
 377, 4. addressed. Ammian. Marc., xxiv, 2, 3.  
 377, 8. Troy. Appian, *Rom. hist. fr.*, i, 1.  
 377, 10. manes. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 234.  
 377, 11. given. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 6.  
 377, 13. dice. *Id. ib.*, c. 14.  
 377, 14. victims. *Id. ib.*, c. 62.  
 377, 15. Horace. *Id.*, *Vit. Horat.*  
 377, 22. intentions. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 6.  
 377, 23. shown. *Id.*, *Titus*, c. 2.  
 377, 27. gold. Martial, ix, 20; Becker, *Röm. Topogr.*, p. 586.  
 377, 29. named. *Pescenn. Niger*, c. 12.  
 377, 38. floor. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86.  
 377, 41. Appian. Appian, *B. civ.*, iv, 19: *χωρὸν δὲ καθ' ἰστροπὶαν τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους εἶδον.*  
 378, 2. Otho. Plutarch, *Otho*, cc. 14 and 18.  
 378, 5. Armenia. Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, i, 3, 5.  
 378, 6. Adiabene. *Id. ib.*, xx, 2, 3.  
 378, 6. Lot's. *Id. ib.*, i, 11, 4.  
 378, 8. huge. *Id.*, *B. J.*, ix, 9, 7.  
 378, 12. 333 A.D. Cf. vol. i, p. 278.  
 378, 21. well. *S. Silviae peregrinatio* (note on vol. i, p. 278, 35), cc. 34, 35, 51, 53.  
 378, 23. sisters. *Ib.*, c. 43.  
 379, 15. them. *Aetna*, ed. Munro, 565-598.  
 379, 19. look. Cic., *De imp. Pomp.*, 14, 40.  
 379, 25. resort. *Id.*, *Verr.*, ii, 4, c. 2 sq.  
 379, 28. Cicero. *Id. ib.*, 33, 74.  
 379, 27. Minerva. *Id. ib.*, 55, 122; cf. c. 57 sq.  
 379, 30. bronze. Propert., iii (iv), 21, 29 sq.  
 379, 31. seeing. Apulei., *De mundo*, p. 746.  
 379, 37. removed. Cic., *op. cit.*, c. 60, 135.  
 379, 39. Praxiteles. *Id. ib.*, and c. 2, 4; Strabo, ix, 25, p. 410.  
 Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 22.

- 379, 40. Cnidos. *Id. ib.*, 20.
- 380, 2. viewed. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 7, 23.
- 380, 8. Tacitus. *Dial. de oratt.*, c. 10.
- 380, 16. buried. Cic., *De legg.*, ii, 2, 4.
- 380, 21. Nature. *Id. ib.*, ii, 1, 2. A. Biese's treatise, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Römern* (1884) throws no light whatever on the subject. Cf. my review in *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 24 May, 1884.
- 380, 36. loci. Preller, *RM*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 201 f.
- 381, 10. sombre. Seneca, *Epp.*, 41. Other passages of the same kind in Preller, *RM*, i<sup>3</sup>, 108, 1 and Motz, *Ueber die Empfindung der Naturschönheit bei den Alten*, p. 45 f. Cf. Wörmann, *Ueber den landschaftl. Natursinn der Griechen und Römer* (1876), p. 82.
- 381, 14. worship. Apulei., *Florid.*, i, 1. Cf. also the two poetic appeals of Silvanus in the vale of Tirinus, Henzen, 5751, and near Axima, in Orelli, 1613 = *CIL*, xii, 103.
- 381, 19. times. Rudorff, *Röm. Brunnenordnung*, in *Zeitschr. f. gesch. Rechtswissenschaft*, xv, 214 ff.
- 381, 21. river-beds. *BdI*, 1853, p. 82. Cf. vol. i, p. 278, 5 and n. Hübner, *Heiligth. d. Nodon*, in *Jahrbb. d. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl.*, lxvii, p. 39.
- 381, 22. temple. *Note sur le monument des sources de la Seine lue à la société parisienne d'archéologie et histoire par Ch. Lucas, architecte*, Paris, 1869 (*Ausland*, 1869, p. 236); *CIL*, xii, 3076 (Nemausus): August. laribus cultores Urae (probably the modern Eure) fontis. On the spring of Nemausus, *ib.*, p. 381<sup>3</sup>.
- 381, 25. imposing. Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeers*, i, 118 f.; Hesse-Wartegg, *Tunis*, pp. 182-184; Guérin, *Voy. archéol. dans la régence de Tunis*, ii, 295; *CIL*, viii, 5884: Genio numinis Caput Amsagae sacrum. The source of the Amsaga (Medjerda) was adored as a divinity; cf. Mommsen's note.
- 381, 30. sanctity. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 8.
- 381, 39. Clitumnus. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 43. Among the numerous sanctuaries there, a station between Spoleto and Trevi was called Sacraria, *It. Heirosol.*, 613 W. De Rossi, *Del tempietto sulle rive del Clitumno consecrato al culto Cristiano*, in *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1871, pp. 143-148.
- 381, 40. well-head. Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 117; cf. Preller, *R. M.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 126.
- 382, 1. calls. Pausan., x, 32, 2.
- 382, 3. ravine. Strabo, xiv, 5, p. 671, describes it shortly, Pomp. Mela, i, 13, very poetically.
- 382, 3. Pausanias. Pausan., *loc. cit.*
- 382, 8. nymphs. Lehrs, *Populäre Aufsätze*<sup>2</sup>, p. 122 f.
- 382, 10. penetrating. Pompon. Mela, *loc. cit.*
- 382, 11. images. Pausan., *loc. cit.* (For inscriptions of pilgrims in grottos see n. on vol. i, p. 365. Jacob Balde describes quite in the ancient style the impression made on him by the grottos when he visited the Madonna at Waldrast in Tirol (*Lyricorum*, ii, 11, 21-24): 'Spirat ex antris pietas et horror Conscius

- nymphae. Locus ipse gratum Terret ac mulcet Superique per prae | cordia fusi'.
- 382, 16. silence. Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 3.
- 382, 17. godhead. Cf. Motz, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- 382, 20. acropolis. Pausan., viii, 23, 4; Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 238. Cic., *De legg.*, i, 1, speaks mockingly of some of them.
- 382, 22. date-palm. Hehn, *Culturpfl. u. Haushh.*, p. 488; Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 240.
- 382, 27. others. *Id. ib.*, xvi, 234 sq. He puts the erection of the temple of Lucina in the year 379 U.C. He therefore wrote this in the year 829 U.C. = 76 A.D. Cf. Appendix i, p. 4.
- 382, 28. men. Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 9 sq.
- 382, 30. Attalos. Strabo, xiii, 1, 44, p. 603.
- 383, 9. celebrated. Hehn, *op. cit.*, 234 ff.
- 383, 13. Ischia. Cf. e.g. Stromeier, *Erinnerungen eines deutschen Arztes*, i, 443; Karl Hase, *Ideale und Irrthümer*, p. 361.
- 383, 17. Pliny's. Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 30 sq.: et ante cunctos claritate Penius ortus juxta Gomphos interque Ossam et Olympum nemorosa convalle defluens D stadiis, dimidio spati navigabilis. In eo cursu [angustissimam vallem] Tempe vocant. v milium passuum longitudine et ferme sesquijugeri latitudine ultra visum hominis attollentibus se dextra laevaue leniter convexis jugis, [nemore] intus sua luce viridante. Hac labitur Penius viridis [? perhaps 'sonorus'] calculo, amoenus [viridi?] circa ripas gramine, canorus avium concentu. The additions of course merely indicate what the sense requires. Boccatt., *De montib. sylvis fontibus etc.*, says, paraphrasing Pliny's description: et gramine vestitis marginibus inter sonoros calculos labens canoro avium concentu laetior videtur incedere. Cf. *Programm Acad. Alb.*, 1867, iv, *De duobus locis Plinianis*, and the description of Tempe (quoted below in the text) in Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenland*, i, 58 f.
- 383, 22. Tibur. Hadrian, c. 26.
- 383, 24. Scylla. Seneca, *Epp.*, 79.
- 383, 29. Charybdis. Jerome, *C. Rufin.*, iii, 22 (ed. Vall., ii, 551).
- 383, 37. sensible. Seneca, *Epp.*, 104, 15. In the corrupt passage, 'alicujus fluminis sub observatione naturam', I suggest 'rariorem' for 'sub obs.'. Cf. *Qu. n.*, iii, 26; vi, 8.
- 383, 41. streams. Sidon. Apoll., *Epp.*, i, 5.
- 384, 3. ocean. Longinus, *De sublimitis*, 35. Alciphro, *Epp.*, ii, 3: ἡ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἰδεῖν τὸν Νεῖλον· οὐ μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἰδεῖν; οὐ μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰστρον οὕτω μέγαν ὄντα; καὶ ὁ Θερμῶδων, ὁ Τίγρης, ὁ Ἄλυσ, ὁ Πῆνος κ.τ.λ.
- 384, 7. Nero. Vol. iii, p. 32.
- 384, 7. Lucan. Lucan, iii, 261 sqq.
- 384, 7. Hadrian. Dionysius, *Perieg.*, 987.
- 384, 12. abroad. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 20. A lake with floating islands near Cotiliae, Dionysius Halic., i, 16. See vol. i, p. 329 of this work.
- 384, 15. Sabinus. Lucian, *Apologia*, 15.
- 384, 19. ebb-tide. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, iv, f.; v, *init.* Dickens,

*David Copperfield* (death of Barkis): 'and, it being low water, he went out with the tide'.

- 384, 24. put. Pliny, *N. H.*, ii, 208; Strabo, xiii, 3, 14, p. 629. Apulei., *De mundo*, p. 729; Galen, vi, 58; Dio, lxviii, 27.
- 384, 26. forgotten. Ammian. Marcell., xxiii, 6, 18.
- 384, 28. descents. Galen, xvi, 358 sq.
- 384, 30. Solfatara. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxi, 21.
- 384, 39. sight. Pseudolucian., *Charidem.*, 1.
- 385, 1. poetry. Helbig, *Campan. Wandmalerei*, p. 300 f.; Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, p. 504 f.; vol. iii, p. 12.
- 385, 2. rhetoric. Rohde, *op. cit.*, p. 508 f.
- 385, 6. made. Varro, *R. r.*, iii, 1, 4; cf. vol. i, p. 29.
- 385, 8. Lucullus. Varro, *ib.*, i, 2; cf. i, 59.
- 385, 12. lyres. Lucret., ii, 29.
- 385, 15. stream. Cic., *De legg.*, ii, 1.
- 385, 21. petty. Seneca, *Controv.*, ii, 9, p. 122 B.
- 385, 29. Haemos. Verg., *G.*, ii, 458 sqq.
- 385, 33. pipes. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 10.
- 385, 37. shore. Propert., i, 2, 9 sqq.
- 385, 38. ruralities. Mart., iii, 88, 5: *Sed rure vero barbaroque laetatur.*
- 385, 41. marble. Juv., 3, 18-20.
- 385, 41. poets. H. Motz, *Ueber die Empfindung der Naturschönheit bei den Alten*, p. 77 f.
- 386, 2. silent. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvii, 62.
- 386, 5. dreamed. E.g. Quintilian, x, 3, 24; Seneca, *Epp.*, 90, 43.
- 386, 6. poetry. Motz, *op. cit.*, p. 78 ff.
- 386, 6. thought. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 6. Quintilian expresses the opposite view, x, 3, 22-24.
- 386, 9. Epicurus. Pliny, *N. H.*, xix, 51.
- 386, 20. Pliny. Helbig, *Campanische Wandmalerei*, 273 f.; Vitruv., vi, 6, 1; 10, 3; Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17, 5; v, 6, 29.
- 386, 23. valued. See, however, vol. i, p. 10.
- 386, 27. park. Drumann, *RG*, v, 61, 46.
- 386, 28. cities. Sallust, *B. C.*, c. 12.
- 386, 31. fields. Vol. ii, p. 188.
- 386, 37. sleep. Vol. i, p. 114.
- 386, 41. groves. Philostrate., *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 22.
- 387, 1. deemed. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 8.
- 387, 6. views. Tac., *A.*, xv, 42.
- 387, 10. arrange. *Digg.*, viii, 1, 15 § 1 (Pomponius, lib. xxiii ad Sabinum). 'Viridia tollere' like 'hortos extollere', Tac., *A.*, xi, 1; 'piscinas extollere', xiii, 21.
- 387, 12. eminences. Seneca, *Epp.*, 89, 21.
- 387, 16. boats. Mart., iv, 64; cf. on the situation of the villa vol. ii, 543 f. of my edition. The view from the Janiculum as a sight of Rome; see vol. i, p. 10.
- 387, 24. variety. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 6.
- 387, 32. shady. *Corp. Glossar. Latin.*, ii, p. 16<sup>b</sup>; Amoenus σύν-σκιος τόπος. συνηρεφής, τερπνός. Pompon. Mela, iii, 16: (Gallia) . . . amoena lucis immanibus.
- 387, 32. fairer. Petron., c. 100: *quid aquis dici formosius potest?*



- 388, 5. sun. Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenland*, i, 58 f.; cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, 30 sq., and n. on p. 383, 17.
- 388, 10. cool. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 16, 15; *Carm.*, iii, 13.
- 388, 12. Garda. Catullus, *C.*, 31.
- 388, 14. ruins. Zumpt, *Philologus*, xii, 754 (after Orti Manara).
- 388, 16. river. Seneca, *Epp.*, 89, 21.
- 388, 19. sole. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 50.
- 388, 19. Bracciano. De Rossi, *Bull. Nap.*, N. S., ii, 21; Henzen, 5137 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 3316.
- 388, 22. villas. Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 7; *N. H.*, x, 77: *Larium lacum amoenum arbusto agro*.
- 388, 31. lake. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, xi, 14.
- 388, 34. lemon-trees. Dümmler, *Gedichte aus dem Hofkreise Karls des Grossen*, in *Haupts Ztschr. f. deutsch. Alterth.*, xii, 446 ff.; F. Dahn, *Paulus Diaconus*, p. 97, who (p. 65) doubts the authorship of P. D., which Dümmler regarded as certain.
- 388, 40. nested. Apoll. Sidon., *Epp.* i, 5.
- 389, 1. lined. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 57.
- 389, 2. Nero's. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 22.
- 389, 4. Tiburnus. Horace, *Carm.*, i, 7, 12.
- 389, 5. waterfall. Dionysius Halic., v, 37: *παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἀνίηνα, ὅς ἐκ πόλεως μὲν Τιβύρων καθ' ὑψηλοῦ πολλὸς ἐκχεῖται σκοπέλου . . . συνάπτει δὲ τὸ ρεῦμα τῷ Τιβέρει ποταμῷ, καλὸς μὲν ὀφθῆναι, γλυκὺς δὲ πίνεσθαι*.
- 389, 10. inner. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3.
- 389, 12. river. Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 54.
- 389, 15. Attic. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 393.
- 389, 17. birds. Gell., i, 2, 2.
- 389, 21. Capharnaum. Josephus, *B. J.*, iii, 10, 7, 8.
- 389, 24. fields. S. *Silviae Aquitanae peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, ed. Gamurrini (*Bibliot. storico-giuridica*, iv [1887]), c. 40. Cf. c. 44: in quo itinere hiens vidi super ripam fluminis Jordanis vallem pulchram satis et amenam habundantem vineis et arboribus, quoniam aquae multae ibi erant et optimae satis.
- 389, 28. pavilions. Procop., *B. Vandal.*, ii, 6; Luxor., 304, 332 (Riese, *Anthol.*, l. i, pp. 216, 269). *CIL*, viii, 7759 (Cirta) . . . . cognitus est locus amoenissimus Alba. In qua frondicomma odoratur ad mare pinus, Daphne pudica vir[et, sa]llit et loco vitrea Nais.
- 389, 31. synonymous. *Corp. Glossar. Latin.*, ii, p. 166: *amoenia (sic) al. ἀκραλ.* Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 76: *amoena littorum*.
- 390, 5. coasts. Cic., *N. D.*, ii, 39, 100.
- 390, 8. gain. Kiessling, *Pompejanisches*, in *N. Rhein. Mus.*, 1877, p. 636; Cic., *Epp. ad fam.*, vii, 1, 1 (Codd. 'patefecisti senum', Lambin. 'Misenum', Kiessling 'sinum').
- 390, 12. discriminate. Cic., *Ad Att.*, xiv, 13.
- 390, 12. Cicero. *Id. ib.*, xii, 9.
- 390, 12. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 18; cf. i, 9 and Motz, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- 390, 15. pleasure. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, i, 4, 5.
- 390, 17. sea-resort. Liban., ed. R., i, p. 285 sq.
- 390, 19. obstruct. *Nov. constit. Justiniani*, 63.
- 390, 21. exalting. Procop., *De aedif.*, i, 5, ed. Dindorf, iii, 191:

- ἡ θάλασσα ταύτη πόλιν εὐπρόσωπόν τε διαφερόντως ἐργαζομένη . . . πορθοί . . . περιπλεῖσθαι μὲν ἥδιστοι πάντες, ἀποσκοπήσασθαι δὲ ποθεινοί.
- 390, 24. sea. *Id. ib.*, 6, p. 194: the church of St. Anthimus close by the sea τὸ εὐχαρι ἐπιεικῶς ἔχει. Cf. *ib.*, 7, p. 195, 8, 198 (a hall by the sea, where walkers γεγῆθασι τῆς θαλάσσης ὄψει). II, 205.
- 390, 29. built. Vol. ii, p. 194.
- 390, 41. apart. Pliny, *Ἐρρ.*, ii, 17.
- 391, 4. seemed. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 16–20. See vol. i, p. 334 of this work and note.
- 391, 8. fragments. Parthey, *Wanderungen*, ii, 62.
- 391, 10. coasts. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, i, 83 f. Cf. e.g. Pausan., vii, 21, 4.
- 391, 18. desert. Susceptibility to this is probably first found among Christian hermits like Basil and Gregory of Nyssa. Cf. Humboldt, *Kosmos*, ii, 27, and Weingarten, *Der Ursprung des Mönchthums* (*Ztschr. für Kirchengesch.*, i [1878], p. 565), who rightly finds a Rousseau-like element in their descriptions.
- 391, 23. modernity. Rohde, *Gr. Rom.*, pp. 511 and 512.
- 391, 24. expression. *Pulcher*, it is true, is also not uncommon.
- 391, 25. attributable. This passage, so extremely characteristic of the feeling for nature of that time, reads as follows (iii, 7, 27): Est et locorum (laus) qualis Siciliae apud Ciceronem, in quibus similiter speciem et utilitatem intuemur; speciem in maritimis, planis, amoenis; utilitatem in salubribus, fertilibus.
- 391, 31. Greece. Lucian, *Navig.*, 20.
- 391, 35. Phaedrus. *Rhetores Gr.*, ed. Spengel, ii, 358.
- 391, 38. shore. Liban., ed. R., i, p. 531, 11–16.
- 392, 1. park. Cic., *De amicis*, 19, 68.
- 392, 2. Fibrenus. In the whole region near Isola there is flowing water, a thing not very common in the south. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 329.
- 392, 4. like. Cic., *De legg.*, ii, 1, 2.
- 392, 8. incline. Nissen, *op. cit.*
- 392, 10. head. Apparently in ancient times the snow on the Apennines melted later than now. Nissen, i, 398.
- 392, 11. view. Verg., *Aen.*, xii, 701.
- 392, 14. word. *Id.*, G., ii, 136–176.
- 392, 17. age. Nissen, i, 362 ff.
- 392, 22. springtime. Liban., ed. R., i, 338, 16: τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπερείας ἐσχάτοις οἰκοῦσι φοβερόν μὲν οὐδὲν οἶον ἐξ ὄρους, πάσης δὲ εὐθυμίας ἀφορμαί, πηγαὶ καὶ φυτὰ καὶ κῆποι καὶ ὦραι καὶ ἀνθὲ καὶ ὀρνίθων φωναὶ καὶ τὸ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν ἡρινῶν.
- 393, 23. Alps. Liv., xxi, 48. Cf. Nissen, *Ital. Landesk.*, i, 171–173.
- 393, 31. avalanches. Cf. especially Strabo, iv, 6, p. 204, who describes chiefly the western roads, and Claudian, *De bell. Getico*, 340 sqq., who describes the crossing of the Splügen.
- 392, 38. wooded. Humboldt, *Kosmos*, ii, 257 and *Sil. Ital.*, iii, 477–iv, 348; viii, 399. Before the construction of the road in 1806 ‘a path led terribly along steep rocks’ over the Simplon, so that H. A. O. Reichard after riding over it in 1785 ‘found no

- mountains dreadful any more'; but by that time the feeling for Nature could no longer be checked by the difficulties and dangers of the way. Uhde, *Reichards Selbstbiographie* (1877), p. 193.
- 393, 2. remote. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxv, 3.
- 393, 3. plants. F. Cohn, *Die Pflanze*, 223.
- 393, 6. Rhodope. Strabo, iv, p. 208 sq.
- 393, 10. Persians. Helbig, *op. cit.*, 278 f.
- 393, 13. Cayster. Strabo, xiii, 5, 625.
- 393, 17. sea. Apollon., *Argonaut.*, iii, 164 sqq.
- 393, 19. feet. Plutarch, *Aemil. Paul.*, c. 15; cf. Interpr. ad Apul., *De Deo Socr.*, p. 678.
- 393, 27. Polybius. Strabo, vii, 5, 1, p. 313.
- 393, 28. Mela. Pompon. Mela, ii, 2.
- 393, 29. Haemus. Pliny, *N. H.*, iv, 41. German geographical miles are meant. The supposed height is therefore about 29,000 ft. [The actual height is about 7,700 ft. TR.]
- 393, 33. few. Strabo, xii, 2, 8, p. 538.
- 393, 33. god. Solin., 45, 4, p. 192 Mommsen (auct. ign.).
- 393, 37. Seas. *Id.*, 5, 12, p. 55 M. (auct. ign.).
- 394, 1. crater. Strabo, vi, 2, 8, p. 274.
- 394, 6. eternal. Seneca, *Epp.*, 79.
- 394, 12. streak. Hadrian, c. 13. I read with Hirschfeld (*Wiener Studien*, i [1881], p. 116): 'ut solis ortum videret arcus specie, ut dicitur, varum' (or 'curvum', instead of 'varium'). Baedeker compares the shape to a convex lens.
- 394, 17. night shelter. Parthey, *Wanderungen in Sicilien und der Levante*, i, 260. For later ascents of mountains, beginning about 1500 with the ascent of Etna by Cardinal Bembo, cf. Schwarz, *Erschliessung der Gebirge*, p. 461.
- 394, 19. cock-crow. Hadrian, c. 14 with annotations by Salmasius and Casaubon.
- 394, 20. Ida. Diodor., xvii, 7.
- 394, 25. Lucania. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 2, 13; cf. vol. i, p. 329.
- 394, 31. plains. Cic., *N. D.*, ii, 38, 98.
- 395, 3. evidence. This is done by Motz, in his already quoted treatise, *Ueber die Empfindung der Naturschönheit bei den Alten*, a work, however, which abounds in acute observations. He says (p. 113), 'After these deductions it only can appear an *idolum fori* to suppose that the ancients had little feeling for the beauty of grand mountain scenery'. A. Gerber, *Die Berge in der Poesie und Kunst der Alten* (Munich, 1882), contains nothing relevant to this question.
- 395, 6. apart. Motz, *op. cit.*, p. 128, note 1.
- 395, 12. call. Humboldt, *Kosmos*, vol. ii, p. 79.
- 395, 17. infrequent. *Ib. id.*, ii, p. 33.
- 395, 20. foreground. Hehn, *Italien*, p. 64 f.
- 395, 24. scenery. Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, p. 233.
- 395, 24. blind. J. Falke, *Die ritterliche Gesellschaft im Zeitalter des Frauencultus*, p. 131.
- 396, 6. character. O. Dolch, *The Love of Nature in the Early English Poetry* (*Programm der Annen-Realschule zu Dresden*, 1882),

- p. 10. Hertzberg, *Chaucer's Canterbury Geschichten*, II, 159–II, 229.
- 396, 30. crops. See Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 234 ff., on all this.
- 396, 32. scenery. *Id. ib.*, pp. 237–240. St. Bruno of Cologne, the founder of the Chartreuse at Grenoble (d. 1101), in his description of the situation of a second house (della Torre) which he founded in Calabria, displays a feeling for Nature in no way different from that of the ancients. Semming, *Die grosse Kart-hause zu Grenoble*, i, in *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 26 April, 1889, Supplement.
- 396, 33. written. Cf. also Janitschek, *Die Gesellschaft der Renaissance in Italien* (1879), p. 36 f. For L. B. Alberti's love of Nature cf. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 112, 2; for that of Lorenzo de' Medici, Reumont, *L. d. M.*, ii, 11 ff. When P. Jovius (*Descriptio Larii Lacus*, Venet., 1559, p. xxii) praises the promontory near Bellaggio ('Bilacium promontorium quo nihil spectatius jucundius salubriusque reperitur') because of the view over both arms of the lake, his words are quite in the style of the ancient feeling for nature.
- 396, 36. Europe. The following pages repeat, with very many additions, the substance of my essay, *Ueber die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Gefühls für das Romantische in der Natur* (1873). Many readers will perhaps think this irrelevant. My own experience has, however, led me to believe that the chief obstacle to a true comprehension of the ancient attitude towards Nature is the constant tendency, whether conscious or unconscious, to assume modern sentiments in antiquity. This tendency can, I consider, be most easily counteracted by gaining as deep an insight as possible into the development of the feeling for nature which prevails at the present day. I considered it unnecessary to consult A. Biese, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (1888), judging from the review by R. M. Werner in *Deutsche Litt.-Zeitung*, 21 April, 1888. The observations (enclosed in quotation marks) on the value of the study of landscape painting for the history of the feeling for nature (pp. 396–398) are from the pen of G. Dehio.
- 397, 9. Scenery. Riehl, *Culturstudien aus drei Jahrhunderten*, 2nd ed., 1859, p. 57.
- 397, 12. ideal. *Id. ib.*, p. 59 f.
- 398, 21. Romantic. It is significant that Salvator Rosa, the most romantic of all the Italian landscape painters of the seventeenth century, was more esteemed in England than anywhere else.
- 398, 39. grazing-ground. Schwarz, *Die Erschliessung der Berge von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf Saussure* (1885), p. 315.
- 399, 1. pleasant. *Id. ib.*, pp. 328 and 340.
- 399, 5. nothing. *Pii II Commentarii*, pp. 4–6; cf. G. Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, i, 91.
- 399, 18. rocks. *Leonardi Bruni Arretini Epistolae*, rec. L. Mehus, iv, 3.
- 399, 22. road. *Fel. Fabri Evagatorium*, i (*Bibliothek des litter. Vereins zu Stuttgart*, vol. ii), p. 71; *Evag.*, iii (*Bibl.*, vol. iv), p. 444.



- 399, 24. built. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 312 f.
- 399, 34. silver-mines. *Evag.*, iii, p. 443.
- 400, 1. rolled. *Sabini Poemata*, Lips. 1581, p. 57, in Erich Schmidt, *Lesefrüchte*, i. *Alpenlandschaft in deutscher Dichtung* (*Archiv. f. Litt.-Gesch.*, xi, 321 ff.). Cf. there a similar passage by P. Lotichius. Of 'a truly romantic conception of high mountains in Jacob Balde' I can find no trace, at least in his odes.
- 400, 3. rocks. S. Münster, *Cosmographie* (1544). Montaigne, *Essais*, iii, 13: Ces humeurs transcendantes m'effroyent comme les lieux haultains et inaccessibles.
- 400, 4. Vale. Zehender, *Der Rheinfall im Licht der Naturanschauung verschiedener Zeitalter* (Zürich, 1866), p. 15. The falls of the Rhine are first mentioned in a well known letter of Poggio's, 1417 (*ibid.*, p. 13 f.). The new feeling for nature may be first noticed in a description of the falls by Lavater, 1771 (p. 26).
- 400, 5. Kiechel. *Bibliothek des litter. Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. lxxxvi.
- 400, 11. Delft. *Ibid.*, p. 16 f.
- 400, 11. level. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
- 400, 15. Venice. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
- 400, 20. cross. *Alpine Reiseliteratur in früherer Zeit*, in *Beil. z. Allgem. Ztg.*, September 9, 1885.
- 400, 25. nature-impressions. Urbach, *Zur Gesch. des Naturgefühls bei den Deutschen. Progr. der Kreuzschule zu Dresden*, 1885, p. xviii; Winter, *Beiträge zur Gesch. des Naturgefühls. Progr. d. Realgymnas. zu Harburg*, 1883, pp. 17-19.
- 400, 30. trees. Landgraf Ernst v. Hessen-Rheinfels, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, July, 1887, p. 42.
- 400, 36. Silius. Jacob Frey, *Die Alpen im Lichte verschiedener Zeitalter* (Samml. von Virchow und Holtzendorff, 274 [1877], p. 10.
- 400, 39. modern. Osenbrüggen, *Wanderstudien in der Schweiz* (1867), i, 1-78, cf. p. 3. Cf. also Hanhart, *Konrad Gesner*, pp. 91-94.
- 401, 13. ascent. J. Frey, *Die Alpen*, p. 13 f.
- 401, 20. exercise. C. Gesneri *de raris et admirandis herbis quae . . . lunariae nominantur Commentariolus. Ejusdem descriptio Montis Fracti. His accedunt Jo. Du Choul Pilati Montis . . . Descriptio. Jo. Rhellicani Stockhornias. Tiguri* [1555], p. 50: quod quaeso aliud intra naturae quidem limites honestius, majus et omnibus absolutius numeris oblectamenti genus invenies? Cf. Häser, *Alpenfahrten in früherer Zeit*, in *Nord und Süd*, July, 1886, p. 100. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 469 ff.
- 401, 28. fresh. *Alpine Reiseliteratur*, iv, *Beil. zur Allgem. Zeitg.*, September 11, 1885.
- 401, 38. glaciers. J. Frey, *Die Alpen*, pp. 24-27.
- 401, 41. Tell. Peppmüller, *Zu den Quellen des Schillerschen Tell*, in Gosche, *Archiv. f. Literaturgesch.*, i, 1870, p. 460 ff.
- 402, 2. depicted. Häser, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
- 402, 5. off-shoots. J. Frey, *Die Alpen*, p. 37.

- 402, 10. travelling. *Ausland*, 1871, no. 45 (*Ein Nürnberger Tourist aus dem Anfange des 17. Jahrhunderts*).
- 402, 19. intention. *J. Lipsii Opera* (Vesaliae, 1675), ii, 31 sqq. Cf. *Ausland*, 1872, p. 693 ff.
- 402, 28. *Peregrinus*. Cf. the *Program. Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1873, 1.
- 402, 32. 16°. Read '16<sup>mo</sup>'.
- 402, 33. divided. Zeiller, *Fidus Achates. Bedenken von Anstellung der Reysen*, iii. Zeiller already used the handbooks in pocket editions, published by Franz Schnellboltzen at Leipsic: *Deliciae Italiae*, 1600; *Itinerar. per Italiano*, 1602. *Beil. z. Allgem. Zig.*, 10 Sept., 1885.
- 403, 1. unknown. That individual travellers, especially Englishmen, already regarded Alpine landscapes with intelligent interest in the seventeenth century is shown by the extract from Evelyn's *Diary*, June 27, 1654, quoted in Appendix xxii. It is evident that in the seventeenth century, although it was an arduous and dangerous climb, frequent ascents were made of the highest peak in the Carpathians, from which one enjoyed a view extending to a distance of 150 miles. The travellers left their names, written on parchment, in leaden cases beneath rocks, and the guides erected 'signa'. The author of the description 'could not sufficiently express the wonderful works of God upon this mountain', on the peak 'he thanked God, and praised His wonderful creation with astonishment'. *Ungarischer oder Dacianischer Simplicissimus* (1683, place of printing not stated), new edition by Seiz, Wigand, 1854, p. 61 ff. The Schneekoppe was also often climbed in the seventeenth century.
- 403, 9. Isar. Bezold, *Konrad Celtis, der deutsche Erzhumanist*, in *Sybel's histor. Zeitschr.*, N. F., xiii (xlix), 1883, p. 44. In the biography written by his friends, Celtis is called a friend of the sun, the mountains, and the forests. Two of his odes defend solitary worship of God amid the grandeurs of nature (*Od.*, i, 16, 19). In some respects he was certainly a precursor of Rousseau.
- 403, 15. romanticism. As Schwarz says, *op. cit.*, p. 342, citing this passage.
- 403, 16. backgrounds. Vol. i, pp. 391, 394.
- 403, 31. Travels. Addison, *Remarks on several parts of Italy, etc.*, London, 1761, pp. 258-261, 273, 295-302. In part iv of Brocke's *Vergnügen in Gott* (1721-1748) he says in the *Betrachtung des Blanckenburgischen Marmors*: 'In many places the rough summits of the mountains are prodigiously beautiful. Vastness may awaken pleasure and horror at once'. Erich Schmidt, *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe*, pp. 183, 108.
- 404, 5. Saxony. *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague* (ed. 1837), i, 310, 21 Nov. 1716. I am indebted to Munro for nearly all the quotations from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letters, and for those from Gray's letters.
- 404, 6. about. 12 September, 1718.
- 404, 10. intensely. 25 September, 1718.
- 404, 13. loved. iii, 175.

- 404, 16. region. ii, 387 (21 July, 1747).
- 404, 20. planted. i, 275 (8 September, 1716).
- 404, 29. spirits. Gray's letters to his mother (13 October) and to West (16 November, 1739).
- 404, 40. lands. Richardson, *Grandison*, iii, 39, in Erich Schmidt, *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe*, p. 173 f.
- 405, 5. volumes. *Im neuen Reich*, 1873, no. 37, p. 408.
- 405, 10. accessible. *Le président de Brosses en Italie*, Paris, Didier et Cie. (1858), Letter 39 (ii, 74 s.) ; letter 53 (ii, 444).
- 405, 29. delighted. *Keysslers Reisen* (3rd edition by Schütze, 1776), p. 1010. See also *ib.*, pp. 1-4.
- 405, 33. scientific. Ludwig Hirzel, *Zum Gedächtniss Albrecht von Hallers*, in *Im neuen Reich*, 1877, no. 51, p. 964.
- 405, 39. inhabitants. Mörikofer, *Die schweizerische Litteratur im 18. Jahrhundert*, pp. 24-27.
- 406, 3. Holland. Edited by Ludwig Hirzel, 1883.
- 406, 12. picture. Pp. 27, 35, 55, 58.
- 406, 14. earth. Johnson, *Dictionary* (1755), s.v. 'Protuberance', quoting More, says 'Mountains seem but so many wens and unnatural protuberances upon the face of the earth'.
- 406, 15. Neckar. Haller's *Tagebücher*, p. 23.
- 406, 23. see. Rosenkranz, *Neue Studien*, iii, 92. *Life and Letters of Macaulay*, Tauchn. ed., iii, 117. J. Frey, *Die Alpen*, p. 23.
- 406, 28. frustrated. Mörikofer, *op. cit.*, p. 180 ; D. Strauss, *Kleine Schriften*, N. F., pp. 158-200. Cf. Winter, *Beitr. zur Gesch. des Naturgefühls*, p. 27.
- 406, 31. Gibbon. Gibbon's *Autobiography* (written 1788).
- 407, 10. incomparable. The following passage in *Gulliver's Travels* (Voyage to Laputa etc.), ch. iv, shows that Swift's feeling for nature resembled that of his contemporaries : 'We came into a most beautiful country : farmers' houses at small distances neatly built, the fields enclosed, containing vineyards, corn-grounds and meadows. Neither do I remember to have seen a more delightful prospect.'
- 407, 31. ruggedness. Johnson, *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* (1775), p. 84 ; Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Johnson* (1785), pp. 373 and 473. I am indebted to Munro for these references.
- 407, 40. fancy. Isabella L. Bird (Mrs. Bishop), *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*<sup>4</sup>, 1881, p. 63.
- 408, 5. swollen. R. Pauli, *Entstehung des Einheitsstaates in Grossbritannien*, 3, in *Preuss. Jahrb.*, 1872, September, p. 320 (from H. Burton, *History of Scotland from the Revolution, etc.* [1855], ii, 365 note : verbatim extract from *A Journey through England and Scotland along with the Army under the Command of H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland* [1746], p. 93). For most of the following references I am indebted to Pauli (d. 1882), who also inquired of the late Mr. J. H. Burton, the most competent authority on Scottish history (in this and other aspects) in the eighteenth century, regarding the time when the first signs of admiration for the Highlands appear.
- 408, 10. desolate. Hettner, *Litteraturgesch. des 18. Jahrhds.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 549.

- 408, 21. Beattie. *A Tour through the Island of Great Britain . . . originally begun by Daniel de Foe, continued by the late Mr. Richardson*, 8th ed., iv, 242.
- 408, 37. tincture. 'The steady growth of admiration for the Highlands may be traced in poems and descriptions of travel through the second half of the eighteenth century down to the time of Sir Walter Scott. Burton specially draws attention to Forsyth, *The Beauties of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1805' (Letter from Pauli).
- 409, 8. Vivis. *Cosmographie*, p. 493.
- 409, 20. became. *Confessions*, Book iv (Lausanne, 1782, i, p. 274).
- 409, 24. travel. *Nouv. Héloïse*, pt. iv, letter 6.
- 409, 32. isles. *Ibid.*, letter 11.
- 409, 35. Nature. Third letter to Malesherbes, in Hettner, *Litteraturgesch. d. 18. Jahrh.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 507.
- 409, 37. beauty. *Confessions*, Book vi (ii, 117).
- 409, 40. repaid. *Réveries du promeneur solitaire*, vii. *promenade* (vi, p. 203 s.).
- 410, 4. frightful. *Confessions*, Book iv (i, p. 308).
- 410, 10. mountain-torrent. *Réveries*, v. *promenade* (vi, p. 120).
- 410, 15. writes. *Nouv. Héloïse*, pt. i, letter 23.
- 410, 31. days. *Ibid.*, N. K., lxvii (ii, p. 354).
- 411, 4. herself. Hettner, *Litteraturgesch. d. 18. Jahrh.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 486.
- 411, 16. lively. To Frau v. Stein, i, 264, in Schmidt, *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe*, pp. 174, 100. Cf. also pp. 179, 105 (Herder, 1770, and Lenz).
- 411, 18. did. E.g. Nicolovius and F. L. v. Stolberg, 1791; *Denkschr. auf Nicolovius*, p. 28.
- 411, 19. *Héloïse*. Meiners, *Briefe über die Schweiz* (1784-1790), ii, p. 165.
- 411, 21. footsteps. Osenbrüggen, *op. cit.*, p. 20 f.
- 411, 34. frightens. Sainte-Beuve, *Ramond le peintre des Pyrénées*, in *Causeries du lundi*, 3. édit. (Paris, 1857), x, pp. 362-403. Cf. J. Schmidt, *Franz. Litteraturgesch.*, i<sup>a</sup>, 115.
- 411, 39. Rosa. Sainte-Beuve, Obermann, in *Critiques et portraits littéraires*, Bruxelles, 1832, ii, pp. 240-281.
- 412, 8. Saussure. Sainte-Beuve, *Topffer*, in *Causeries*, viii, p. 336 s.
- 412, 10. first. Vol. i, p. 392 f.
- 412, 9. botanists. F. Cohn, *Die Pflanze*, p. 223, 43. Cf. also Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 465, and Cohn, *J. J. Rousseau als Botaniker*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1886, p. 364 ff.
- 412, 13. English. Saussure, *Voyages dans les Alpes*, iii, p. 197 s.
- 412, 17. glaciers. *Alpine Reiselitt. d. fr. Zeit*, vi, in *Allgem. Ztg., Beilage*, 15 September, 1885.
- 412, 24. readers. Saussure, *Voyages dans les Alpes*, iii, p. 22 ss.
- 412, 29. corpse. *Ibid.*, iv, p. 388 ss.
- 412, 29. tale. *Ibid.*, iii, p. 211.
- 412, 32. *Alpes*. Osenbrüggen, p. 22 ff.
- 412, 37. memoirs. Häser, *Alpenfahrten in früherer Zeit*, in *Nord und Süd*, July, 1886, p. 107. Breitingen, E. Rambert, etc., in *Deutsche Rundschau*, December, 1881, p. 41 ff. On the



mountain rambles of the brothers de Luc of Geneva cf. J. Frey, *Die Alpen*, p. 36. The first good views of the Alps were the 'Merkwürdigen Prospective aus den Schweizergebirgen' by the painter Kaspar Wolf of Aargau, *ibid.*, p. 32.

- 412, 37. Rigi. Goethe, *Werke*, xxii, p. 359.  
 412, 40. ice-mountains. *Ibid.*, xiv, p. 188.  
 413, 2. invaded. Gibbon, *Misc. Works*, 1837, p. 357.  
 413, 6. view. Saussure, *Voyages*, iii, p. 114.  
 413, 8. Lausanne. Gibbon, *op. cit.*  
 413, 9. Europe. Meiners, *Briefe*, vol. iii, preface.  
 413, 10. wearisomely. *Ibid.*, iv, p. 189.  
 413, 26. degree. Cf. my essay: *Kant in seinem Verhältniss zur Kunst und schönen Natur*, in *Preuss. Jahrb.*, 1867; Kant's *Werke*, ed. Schubert and Rosenkranz, iv, p. 128 f. (cf. 118), 137, 122.  
 413, 32. travelling. See Peschel, *Ausland*, 1869, no. 35 (*Zur Erd- und Völkerkunde*, ii, p. 314).  
 413, 39. digest. U. Hegner, *Die Molkenkur*, ii, p. 46.  
 413, 40. basis. Cf. Peschel's fine description of the influence of the geographical environment on human manners, *op. cit.*, i, p. 387 f.  
 413, 41. art. Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries*, viii, p. 338.  
 414, 4. supreme. *Id. ib.*, iv, p. 284.  
 414, 8. plains. Bonstetten, *Schriften*, ed. Matthison, 1793, p. 11.  
 414, 10. writes. Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1789*, vi, p. 465.  
 414, 13. mountains. See Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*, p. 231: 'Nearly every mountain is beautiful; the Karadja Dag between the Euphrates and Tigris is the only one I have seen which is not'. Bismarck on the other hand remarked that he did not much like mountains, first because of the limited views in the valleys, and secondly because of the climbing up and down. 'I prefer the plains—I won't say precisely the plain of Berlin—small hills with pretty woods, clear swift brooks, as in Pomerania and generally on the Baltic coast'. Busch, *Graf Bismarck und seine Leute*, ii, 178.  
 414, 14. Frat. Read 'the Euphrates'.  
 414, 29. please. J. Frey, *Die Alpen*, p. 23.  
 414, 34. 'mori'. Goethe, *Werke*, xxii, p. 387.  
 414, 34. returned. *Sprüche in Prosa, Naturwissenschaft*, iii.  
 415, 8. visited. *Tagebuch der Reise in den Berner Oberalpen*, in Rosenkranz, *Hegels Leben*, pp. 470-490.  
 415, 40. Muses. Vergil, *G.*, ii, 485.  
 416, 26. being. Foscolo, *Letzte Briefe des Jacopo Ortis*, German by Lantsch, 1829, p. 145. Cf. also the description of the crossing of the Alps in Manzoni's *Adelchi* (act ii, scene 2).  
 416, 33. Zante. Reumont, *Gräfin von Albany*, ii, 169; cf. 168.  
 416, 35. fillip. Stendhal, *Chartreuse de Parme*, bk. i, ch. 2.  
 416, 36. Italy. *Italien, Skizzen und Streiflichter*, St. Petersburg, 1867, 2nd edition, 1879.  
 417, 4. struggles. Hehn, *op. cit.*, p. 3.  
 417, 11. sea. *Ibid.*, p. 51 ff.

- 417, 15. charms. The following illustrates the contrary feeling : Fr. Preller wrote from Rome in March 1830 : ' I often gladly think of nature in our own country, though it used to impress me as empty and cold. . . . The quiet and modest beauty of the Fatherland will give me a happy welcome, and I think it not impossible that I shall be able to console myself for the loss of the sublime beauty of the south, for I have stored up its precious teachings and shall profit by them wherever I may be.' Burckhardt, *Aus Fr. Prellers erstem Aufenthalt in Italien*, in *Allgem. Zeitg.*, 21 May, 1878, *Beilage*. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 462, expresses himself still more decidedly. Cf. also 220, 2.
- 417, 32. country. Justi, *Winckelmann*, ii, 2, p. 427.
- 418, 18. regarded. F. Caballero, *Ausgewählte Werke*, vol. iv, p. 10.
- 418, 22. territory. P. Güssfeldt, *Reise in die Andes, Chile und Argentinien*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, November 1884, p. 264. Sebastian Münster had already introduced the word *Gletscher* (glacier) into literary German. Peschel, *Abhandl. zur Erd- und Völkerkunde*, ii, 314 f.
- 418, 38. garden. Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 334 f. Cf. Fleischer, *Ibn-Loyóns Gedicht vom spanisch-arabischen Land- und Gartenbau*, in *Berichte d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1885, p. 155 ff. Cohn, *Die Gärten in alter und neuer Zeit (Die Pflanze)*, p. 465. Tuckermann, *Gartenkunst der ital. Renaissancezeit*, p. 53 (garden of John of Ibelin at Beirut in the thirteenth century). Maltzan, *Sittenbilder aus Tunis und Algerien*, p. 109 (garden in Tunis).
- 419, 11. Indian. Baron Hübner, *Durch das Britische Reich*, ii, 91.
- 419, 14. Paradise. Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterth.*, iv<sup>5</sup>, 155 and 562.
- 419, 18. flowers. Liban., ed. R., i, 603, 15-20.
- 419, 20. Persians. Brugsch, *Persische Briefe*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, October, 1885, p. 133.
- 419, 22. arouses. Polack, *Persien* (1865), i, p. 91 f.
- 419, 25. emphasizes. Vergil, *Aen.*, vi, 673-677.
- 419, 29. blessed. *Koran*, Suras 55 and 76. Laboulaye, *Abdallah*: A proverb says, 'Three things delight the eye : running water, greenness, and beauty'.
- 419, 39. Interlaken. Tcheng-Ki-Tong [Ch'en Chi-t'ung], *The Chinese Painted by themselves* [1884], p. 143.
- 419, 41. Lamartine. Cf. also *Sse-ma-Kuang's Garden*, a poem by statesman at the end of the eleventh century, in Huc, *L'empire chinois*. The poet says : ' I like to sit near the water, in a dark wood, or on the top of a rock. The moon has already risen, I still sit there, it is a new pleasure. The murmur of the water, the rustling of the leaves, stirred by the wind, the beauty of the sky make me dream ; all nature speaks to my soul, and absorbs my attention, and the night is half over before I reach my door.' Cf. the modern poem describing evening, quoted by Tcheng-Ki-Tong, *op. cit.*, p. 180 (?).
- 420, 2. influenced. J. Falke, *Der englische Garten*, in *Nord und Süd*, Nov. 1884 ; A. Springer, *Bilder aus der neueren Kunstgesch.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 1886, p. 257. In France it was the missionaries' reports

- and Sir William Chambers's book on Chinese buildings (1757) that led to a breach with the old tradition, but above all the enthusiastic propaganda of Rousseau, who had become acquainted with the great English gardens in 1766 (F. Cohn, *Rousseau als Botaniker*, p. 369). According to Falke, *op. cit.*, p. 189, in spite of the innovations of Kent and his successors, the splendid illustrated work *Britannia illustrata* still about 1750 shows the gardens, without exception, in the old style. The change, however, was rapid from that time onward, and the new style prevailed.
- 420, 6. sinuous. Cf. also Marco Polo's description of the garden laid out by Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century in Peking. Ferd. Cohn, *Die Gärten in alter und neuer Zeit*, *op. cit.*, p. 512.
- 420, 11. feelings. Wörmann, *Die Landschaft in der Kunst der alten Völker*, pp. 35-52 (after the *Mémoires concernant les Chinois, par les missionnaires de Pé-kin*, Paris, 1782, vol. viii).
- 420, 17. waterfall. Hübner, *Ein Spaziergang um die Welt*, *Deutsche Ausgabe*, 2nd edn. (1875), ii, 78.
- 420, 18. artistic. Miss Isabella L. Bird (Mrs. Bishop), *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1880, i, 75, 218; ii, 196 f. (flower festivals, exhibitions and gardens); cf. also ii, 182 (street-names in Tokyo).
- 420, 24. tasteless. Waitz, *Anthropol. d. Naturvölker*, iv, 91.
- 420, 28. Scott. Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, v, 248.
- 420, 31. huts. Princess Salm-Salm, *Zehn Jahre aus meinem Leben* ii, 12.
- 420, 32. necessary. Lady Brassey, *Voyage in the Sunbeam*<sup>4</sup>, 1878, p. 273.
- 420, 36. worshipped. Brosow, *Wald und Feldkulte der litauischen Völkergruppe*, *Progr. des Altstädt. Gymn. zu Königsberg*, 1887, p. 11. On the Esthonians' love of nature cf. *Aus dem esthnischen Volksleben*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Feb. 1882, p. 217.
- 420, 38. need. Ernst Wichert, *Litauische Geschichten*, p. 12.
- 420, 40. marshes. Müllenhoff, introd. to Klaus Groth's *Quickborn* (7th edition), p. xv. Klaus Groth, *Vertelln*, p. 22.
- 421, 5. apologized. Goethe, *Werke*, xxiii, 273. What Byron (*Don Juan*, canto iii, 56) says concerning the Greek islander Lambro is the fruit of observation.

'A taste seen in the choice of his abode,  
A love of music and of scenes sublime,  
A pleasure in the gentle stream that flow'd  
Past him in crystal, and a joy in flowers  
Bedew'd his spirit in his calmer hours.'

- 421, 27. shared. Diderot, *Le salon de 1765 etc. Œuvres* (ed. Nageon), vols. xiii and xiv. Cf. esp. xiii, 234 s., 478 ss., xiv, 173 ss., 227 s., 497 s.
- 421, 29. delineation. Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei*, p. 350.
- 421, 38. *pulcherrima*. *Forma* is similarly used in Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3, 15: quae forma beatis Arte manus facieque locis ('facieque'

- Bährens substitutes for the corrupt 'artemque'; cf. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17, 3: *Varia hinc atque inde facies*).
- 422, 2. plastic. Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 354 f.
- 422, 4. moon. Nearly all these passages are in Motz, p. 99 ff. Horace, *Carm.*, ii, 5, 19 sq.
- 422, 5. quiver. Vergil, *Aen.*, vii, 8 sq.
- 422, 5. refreshing. *Id.*, *Georg.*, iii, 137.
- 422, 6. red. *Id.*, *Aen.*, vii, 25.
- 422, 7. waves. Catullus, 63, 277; see vol. i, p. 389 of this work.
- 422, 9. mist. Lucretius, v, 461-464.
- 422, 15. blue. So also Motz says, p. 19: We think we have found that the ancients when describing things, mentioned all the other qualities rather than the colour.
- 422, 16. blue hills. H. Blümner has pointed out to me that Gierig and Korn, the editors of Ovid, have referred the 'caerula coma' of the mountain god Tmolus in *Metam.*, xi, 158 to the blue appearance of the distant mountain. They are certainly wrong. Ovid says: *Monte suo senior iudex consedit et aures Liberat arboribus, quercu coma caerula tantum Cingitur et pendent circum cava tempora glandes*. In this rather tasteless fancy of the mountain god with a human face, nothing was further from the poet's mind than the thought of the distant view of the mountain. In this aspect indeed a mountain appears blue from head to foot, and not only at the crest (here *coma*), and the forest looks as blue as the mountain itself. Undoubtedly *caerula* is here equivalent to *κavάv*. In Seneca, *Hercules Oet.*, 1873: *fleat Alciden Caerula Crete, magno tellus Clara Tonante*, I cannot explain *caerula*, but I do not think that an adjective which is only appropriate to the island as seen from a distance, could become an *epitheton ornans*.
- 422, 16. poetry. Perhaps also in modern literature nothing of the kind will be found before the eighteenth century. The earliest instances known to me are in Haller's *Alpen*, where the grey head of the Wetterhorn, adorned with snow and purple, puts to shame the 'blue crests of common mountains', and a ring of gleaming heights shuts in 'the blue distance'.
- 422, 27. tearful. Ovid, *Trist.*, i, 3.
- 422, 32. himself. Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 23.
- 422, 34. moonlight. Vergil, *Aen.*, vi, 270 sqq.; cf. iii, 588 sqq. Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 362 f.
- 422, 36. plainly. Vergil, *Aen.* iii, 150 sqq. Motz, *op. cit.*, p. 105, who speaks of 'ghostly' moonlight in this connexion, introduces with this epithet into the description a new idea, which is quite as foreign to ancient sentiment as it is familiar to modern, and thus unwittingly supplies a characteristic illustration of the difference between the two.
- 422, 37. poet. Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 363.
- 423, 13. combined. *Id. ib.*, p. 357 f. Lessing, whose ideal of beauty was entirely antique, shares with Winckelmann a dislike for landscape painting. Lessing, *Laokoon*, ed. Blümner, 2nd ed., p. 499 f.
- 423, 17. islands. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxv, p. 436 M.



- 423, 23. inland. See vol. i, p. 321 ff.
- 423, 25. boat. Lucian, *Alexand.*, 44.
- 423, 30. peripatetics. Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, 210, 1.
- 423, 31. Philostratus. Zeller, *Philos. d. Griechen*, iii, 2, 134a.
- 423, 33. reports. Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx, *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society*, xvii [1860], p. 70.
- 423, 36. Demetrius. Lucian, *Toxaris*, 34.
- 423, 38. escape. Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*, c. 3.
- 424, 1. succeeded. Cedren., ed. Bonn., i, 516. Cf. Clinton, *F. R.*, ad an. 330, and Interp. ad Ammian. Marcell., xxv, 4, 23. S. Jerome already knew the doctrine of the Indian Gymnosophists, 'quod Buddam, principem dogmatis eorum e latere suo virgo generavit. Jerome, *Adv. Jov.*, i, 42, ed. Vall., ii, 309.
- 424, 13. Berlin. Humboldt, *Kosmos*, ii, p. 4 f.
- 424, 24. grow. Pliny, *N. H.*, xiv, 1.
- 424, 29. common. Hehn, *Culturpflanzen*<sup>4</sup>, p. 223 ff.
- 424, 31. palms. P. de Crescentiis, *Op. rural. commodor.*, viii, 2 (de viridariis mediocribus et mediocrium personarum): plantentur in eo acies pinorum et malorum et palmarum in locis calidis et citroniorum. Cf. viii, 3 (de viridariis regum et aliorum illustrium et divitum dominorum).
- 424, 36. unknown. Vol. ii, p. 168 f.
- 424, 39. crocus. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxv, 9 (botanic garden of the physician Castor); xvi, 136; Colum., iii, 8, 4; x, 169 sq.
- 425, 1. Augustan. Cf. vol. i, p. 385 ff. of this work.
- 425, 3. century. Firmic. Mat., *De math.*, viii, 10: buxas arbores tondentes in belluas fingunt aut virides porticus in circulum flexis vitibus faciunt.
- 425, 5. Tuscan. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17; v, 6. Cf. Schinkel's designs in *Architektonisches Album*, *Hest 7* (Potsdam, 1841), reproduced by Tuckermann, *Gartenkunst der ital. Renaissancezeit*, p. 44 f. The essay by Woksch, *Der röm. Lustgarten*, *Progr. d. Gymn. zu Leitmeritz*, 1881, contains nothing new.
- 425, 10. steps. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 6, 17.
- 425, 12. decoration. Cic., *Ad Att.*, i, 20; Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 18.
- 425, 13. animals. Martial, iii, 19, 2.
- 425, 13. fountains. Cf. vol. i, p. 332; vol. ii, p. 194 ff. Manil., *Astr.*, iv, 262 sqq.
- 425, 17. sprays. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 6, 36, 40.
- 425, 18. fish-ponds. Becker-Göll, iii, 54 ff.
- 425, 19. kept. Cf. the picture of a garden in Presuhn, *Pompejan. Wanddecorationen*, pl. xxii.
- 425, 20. Tiburtine. Vol. ii, p. 196.
- 425, 22. Carthage. Luxor., in Riese, *Anthol. lat.*, i, pp. 216 and 269. Procop., *Bell. Vandal.*, ii, 6. Martial, iii, 58, 46: Et turre ab alta prospicis meras laurus. Cf. Becker-Göll, i, 150, 2.
- 425, 24. pine. Wüstemann, *Ueber die Kunstgärtnerei bei d. alten Römern*, p. 19 f.
- 425, 24. avenues. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 140 (metae . . . . distinguendis . . . . pinorum ordinibus).
- 425, 25. quincunxes. Quintilian, viii, 3, 9; Varro, *R. r.*, i, 7, 2; Cic., *Senect.*, 17.

- 425, 25. groups. Martial, xii, 50, 1: *Daphnonas platanonas et aërios pityonas*.
- 425, 27. diversities. Florentin., *Geopon.*, x, 1.
- 425, 28. Matius. Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 13.
- 425, 32. fleets. Wüstemann, p. 17 f.
- 425, 32. dwarf-trees. Pliny, *l.c.* Wüstemann, p. 18h, mistakes the cypress hedges of Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 140, for dwarf cypresses. The latter are probably referred to as '*metulae*' in Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 6, 35; cf. *N. H.*, xvi, 140 sqq.
- 425, 32. grafting. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvii, 120; Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, ii, 13, ed. Niebuhr; *Epp. ad M. Antonin. de oration.*, 4, 3. Similar tricks with grafting were practised by the old Arabs (Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 332 f.) and in medieval Europe (Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, p. 313).
- 425, 35. anemones. Wüstemann, pp. 23-25; Manil., *Astr.*, v, 256 sqq. On the names of the flowers cf. Prof. Ferd. Cohn's essay, Appendix xxiii.
- 425, 35. filling. Florentin., *Geopon.*, x, 1 (Florentinus mentions in the 13th book of his *Γεωργικά* Marius Maximus, *praefectus urbis* in 218 [Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 381, 2], so he wrote apparently in the third century. Gemoll, *Untersuchungen über die Geoponica*, in *Berliner Studien*, i, 170 f.).
- 425, 39. forming. Wüstemann, p. 17.
- 426, 15. inspiring. Wörmann, *Die Landschaft in der Kunst der alten Völker*, p. 330 ff. There is a coloured reproduction of the painting on the north wall in *Antike Denkmäler*, edited by the *Deutsch. archäol. Institut*, i, pl. 11; south wall, pl. 24. A park landscape with trees all of the same kind from a grave in the Vigna Sassi in Wörmann, p. 334. Cf. also the descriptions in Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, p. 512.
- 426, 21. middle-class. P. de Crescentiis, *Op. rural. commodor.*, ix, 2. Besides a black-letter folio edition of the original without imprint, I have used the Italian translation made from a more complete text by Dallo 'N ferigno (Milan, 1805).
- 426, 26. great. Crescentiis, ix, 3.
- 427, 4. roofs. *Id. ib.*, ix, 4.
- 427, 7. bases. Burckhardt and Lübke, *Gesch. der neuern Baukunst*, i<sup>2</sup>, 238 f.
- 427, 9. Italian. The following is taken nearly verbally, but with a few omissions, from J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, i<sup>2</sup>, 398-400.
- 427, 27. style. Burckhardt and Lübke, *Gesch. der neuern Baukunst* (2nd ed.), i, 237; ii (1st ed.), 258 ff.; Tuckermann, p. 77 ff. Kleinschmidt, *Augsburg, Nürnberg und ihre Handelsfürsten im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, gives on p. 116 ff. descriptions of the largest German gardens of that age (that of Jacob Fugger, who died in 1525, was preferred by Beatus Rhenanus to the royal gardens at Blois and Tours). On p. 161 ff. he describes the garden at the castle of Ambras in Tirol. I have not been able to see *Mittheilungen über Gartenbau im Mittelalter und während der Periode der Renaissance* by Al. Kaufmann in Pick's *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. Westdeutschlands*, vii, 129-155. For the

Venetian gardens in the fifteenth century see Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, p. 262 f.

- 427, 29. ruled. Frd. Cohn, *Die Gärten in alter und neuer Zeit*, in *Die Pflanze*, pp. 485-512; J. v. Falke, *Gesch. d. modernen Geschmacks* (2nd edition, 1880), pp. 253-269; 313-316. When Casaubon was presented to James I in 1610, he noticed 'les jardins et les figures que les jardiniers exécutent en taillant les arbres'. Nisard, *Triumvirat littér.*, p. 421. Bacon (*Essay* 46) does not approve of 'the making of knots or figures with divers coloured earth' near the house; but in the garden proper, which is enclosed by hedges with green alleys running past them, he will allow of 'variety of device' . . . He did not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff—'they be for children'. *The English Flower Garden*, in *Quarterly Review*, April, 1880, p. 330 ff.
- 427, 29. protest. Erich Schmidt, *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe*, 189, 114; Winter, *op. cit.*, p. 30 f.
- 427, 30. eighteenth. Kohl, *Alte und neue Zeit*, p. 363 f. (garden at Bremen, 1783).
- 427, 37. collision. *Goethes Unterhaltungen mit dem Kanzler Müller*, p. 103.
- 427, 41. transformed. *Hehn, Culturpfl. und Hausthiere*<sup>1</sup>, p. 419 ff.





## VOL. II

### I. THE SPECTACLES.

- 1, 12. concerns. Dio, liv, 17; Macrob., *Saturn.*, ii, 7: καὶ (Haupt, *Hermes*, viii, 249 val) ἀχαριστεῖς, βασιλεῦ· ἔασον αὐτοὺς περὶ ἡμῶν ἀσχολεῖσθαι.
- 1, 19. devices. Döllinger, *Akadem. Vorträge*, i (1888), 279.
- 1, 19. Josephus. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix, 1, 15 sq.
- 1, 29. Nero's. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 57 with Casaubon's note, and Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, iii, 200, 2.
- 2, 1. spectacles. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxi, p. 271 M.
- 2, 4. rumours. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 4.
- 2, 5. popularity. Plutarch, *Otho*, c. 3.
- 2, 10. dregs. Lucan, vii, 405: mundi faece repletam.
- 2, 18. injuring. Sallust., *Ep. ad Caes. sen. de rep.*, i, 7, 2.
- 2, 20. *panem*. Juv., 10, 81.
- 2, 24. Alexandria. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 103, 2, who remarks that both had already been introduced there long before: Josephus, *C. Apion.*, 2, 5 in f. (frumentationes); Epiphan., *De pond. et mens.*, ed. Basil., 1544, p. 537, 8 (Ptolemy I ἱππικὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατασκευάσας κ.τ.λ.).
- 2, 25. races. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxii, p. 370, 18. The words οὕτω γὰρ εἰρῆσθαι πολὺ βέλτιον are a gloss. Fronto, *Princ. Hist.*, 5, 11: Trajan said, populum Romanum duabus praecipue rebus annona et spectaculis teneri.
- 2, 35. account. Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>4</sup>, p. 90 sqq.
- 2, 36. regard. Sueton., *Aug.*, cc. 43-45.
- 2, 40. francs. Barthélemy, *Voyage en Italie*, 1801, p. 385.
- 2, 41. scudi. Ef. L. Tocco, *Del velario e delle vele negli anfiteatri*, p. 20.
- 3, 3. expended. Dio, lxvi, 10.
- 3, 3. Titus. *Id.*, lxvi, 25; Sueton., *Titus*, c. 7.
- 3, 15. people. Fronto, *Princ. Hist.*, 5, 11.
- 3, 17. absence. *M. Antonin.*, c. 23, cf. cc. 7 and 17.
- 3, 18. Hadrian. For 'next to Hadrian' read 'according to Herodian'.
- 3, 19. devote. Herodian, iii, 8, 6-10.
- 3, 21. spectacles. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 47.
- 3, 23. gladiatorial. *Id. ib.*, c. 34.
- 3, 25. Augustus. Dio, liv, 2 and 17.
- 3, 25. Nerva. *Id.*, lxviii, 2. The statements, quoted by Reimar, from Zonaras, p. 583 D., and *Chron. Paschale*, ad ann. 97, to the effect that the gladiatorial games were entirely abandoned, are exaggerations.

- 3, 26. Pius. *Anton. P.*, c. 12.  
 3, 26. Aurelius. *M. Antonin.*, c. 11, 27.  
 3, 34. Tacitus. *Tac., Hist.*, i, 72.  
 4, 1. cat-calls. *Cic., Ad Att.*, i, 16, 11; ii, 19, 3; xiv, 2; *Pro Sest.*, c. 54 sq.; *Propert.*, iii, 18, 18; *Lipsius, Electa*, ii, 10.  
 4, 2. Augustus. *Tac., Dial.*, c. 13.  
 4, 6. provider. The acclamation: *propitium Caesarem*, ut in ludicro aliquo precabantur, mentioned by Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 5, was addressed to the giver of the spectacle. Cf. the acclamation at the end of the inscription of the *collegium Silvani Aureli-anum*, which was composed of gladiators belonging to Commodus: Maxime Commodiane (perhaps the *procurator* of the *ludus*) abias propitium Caesarem. *Wilmanns, E. I.*, 2605.  
 4, 4. received. *Horace, Carm.*, i, 20, 3; see also *Sen., Epp.*, 29, 12.  
 4, 9. boys. *Sueton., Aug.*, c. 56.  
 4, 10. distributed. *Aurelian*, c. 48.  
 4, 10. titles. *E.g.* *Plutarch, Otho*, c. 3. Cf. *Tac., Hist.*, i, 72.  
 4, 12. song. *Tac., A.*, xvi, 4 (plebs . . . urbis . . . personabat certis modis plausuque composito). *Dio*, lxxiii, 2: ὅσα τε εἰώθεσαν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κομμοῦδου θεραπείᾳ εὐρύθμως πῶς ἐκβοᾶν, ταῦτα τότε μετασχηματίζοντες ἐς τὸ γελοῦστατον ἐξῆδον. Cf. *Lips.*, *loc. cit.* The custom still existed at the time of *Cassiodorus*; *Var.*, i, 31.  
 4, 18. reign. *Dio*, lvii, 11. *Tac., A.*, i, 54.  
 4, 26. acknowledged. *Sueton., Aug.*, c. 45; *Tac., loc. cit.*: neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis et civile rebatur misceri studiis vulgi.  
 4, 28. scoffed. *M. Antonin.*, c. 15.  
 4, 31. podium. *Sueton., Nero*, c. 11.  
 4, 31. used. *Pliny, N. H.*, xxxvii, 64.  
 4, 35. amongst. *Pliny, Paneg.*, c. 51.  
 5, 3. popular. *Dio*, lx, 13.  
 5, 8. circus. *Gell.*, v, 14, 29.  
 5, 10. exchanged. *Sueton., Claud.*, c. 11.  
 5, 14. contest. *Id., Titus*, c. 11.  
 5, 16. side. *Sueton., Domitian*, cc. 10 and 13; *Pliny, Paneg.*, c. 33.  
 5, 17. affable. *Id. ib.*  
 5, 19. reply. *Dio*, lxix, 6.  
 5, 22. easy. *Gallieni duo*, c. 12.  
 5, 25. combat. *Tac., Hist.*, i, 32: dissono clamore caedem Othonis . . . poscentium, ut si in circo ac theatro ludicrum aliquod postularent.  
 5, 25. gladiators. *E.g.* *Sueton., Calig.*, c. 30: cumque Tetrinius latro postularetur, et qui postularent, Tetrinios esse ait.  
 5, 26. fighter. *E.g.* *Martial, Spectac.*, 29, 3: missio saepe viris magno clamore petita est.  
 5, 31. lion. *Gell., loc. cit.*  
 5, 33. request. *Fronto, Ad M. Caes.*, ii, 4, 4.  
 5, 34. invalid. *Paulus, Digg.*, lx, 9, 17.  
 5, 36. consent. *Dio*, lvii, 11.  
 5, 37. tablet. *Id.*, lxix, 16.  
 5, 39. importunities. *Sueton., Tiber.*, 47.

- 6, 2. valued. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix, 1, 4.  
 6, 4. repeal. Dio, lvi, 1.  
 6, 6. emperor. Tac., *A.*, vi, 13.  
 6, 10. restore. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 62.  
 6, 12. loudest. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 1, 4.  
 6, 15. restitution. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 13.  
 6, 19. demand. *Id.*, *Titus*, c. 6.  
 6, 21. edict. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 17.  
 6, 29. spares. Tertullian, *Spect.*, 16; cf. *Ad nat.*, 1, 17.  
 6, 38. esset. Macrin., c. 12.  
 6, 40. endure. *De mortibus persecut.*, c. 17.  
 7, 3. moderate. Ammian., xvi, 10, 13.  
 7, 6. popular. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, i, 27.  
 7, 9. punished. *Digg.*, xlvii, 10, 7, § 8; cf. 9, § 1.  
 7, 11. extant. Schol. Juv., 5, 3.  
 7, 12. insults. Tac., *A.*, xi, 13.  
 7, 18. repeat. Cic., *Ad Att.*, ii, 19, 3.  
 7, 25. applauded. *Id. ib.*, xiii, 44, 1; cf. Drumann, *RG*, vi, 298.  
 2, 28. riot. Dio, xlviii, 31, certainly more right than Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 16.  
 7, 29. Cleander. Cf. vol. i, p. 58.  
 7, 34. enforced. Dio, lxxii, 13; Herodian, i, 12.  
 7, 38. were. Dio, lxxiii, 4.  
 7, 41. act. Cf. Grote, *History of Greece*, v, p. 260 ff. ('the common susceptibilities, common inspiration, and common spontaneous impulse of a multitude, effacing for the time each man's separate individuality').  
 8, 8. rehearsals. Dio, lxxv, 4.  
 8, 11. sons. *Id.*, lxxvi, 2.  
 8, 13. bury. *Id.*, lxxvii, 10.  
 8, 20. seat. Quintilian, vi, 3, 63.  
 8, 26. *toga*. Juv., II, 203.  
 8, 28. refuse. Sueton., *Aug.*, 40: *negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in foro circove nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere*. Roth himself was finally satisfied that *circove* is right and not *circave* (his former reading), p. xxix, cf. p. 287, 14.  
 8, 30. mourning. Dio, lxxii, 21 (cf. *Commod.*, c. 16); Becker, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, ii, 1, 279.  
 8, 34. death. *Commod.*, c. 16.  
 8, 39. bare-headed. Dio, lix, 7.  
 8, 41. died. Dio, lxxvii, 8.  
 9, 3. revoked. Martial, v, 23:

*Herbarum fueras indutus, Basse, colores,  
 jura theatralis dum siluere loci etc.*

- 9, 3. scarlet. *Id.*, v, 8; xiv, 131.—xiv, 137; iv, 2.  
 9, 4. sunshades. *Id.*, xiv, 28 sq.  
 9, 7. forbid. *Digg.*, i, 12, 1, § 13 sq.  
 9, 12. Punic. Mommsen, *RG*, i<sup>5</sup>, p. 462. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 488, 1.  
 9, 17. provincials. Marquardt, *op. cit.*

- 9, 19. games. Polyb., xxxii, 4, 5.  
 9, 24. stop. Cic., *Pro Mil.*, c. 35.  
 9, 25. Quintus. Cic., *Ad Qu. fr.*, iii, 8, 6 (ludos apparat magnificentissimos, sic inquam ut nemo sumtuosiores).  
 9, 26. says. *Id. ib.*, iii, 9, 2. The figure denoting the cost is corrupt. cf. Drumann, *GR*, i, 46 and 49. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 85 f.  
 9, 33. Augustal. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 377b, after the *Fasti Antiatini*. For the time of the composition see p. 295b.  
 9, 38. talents. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xvi, 5, 1. Herod when in Rome presented Augustus with 300 talents, *θέας τε καὶ διανομὰς ποιοῦμενον τῇ Ῥωμαίων δῆμῳ*. Augustus gave him in return half the revenue of the Cyprian mines, xvi, 4, 5.  
 9, 40. cost. Petron., c. 45.  
 9, 41. *municipia*. (C)n. Satrius Cn. f. Rufus *iiivir iur. dic.* (at Iguvium, apparently at the time of Augustus) spent 'in ludos victoriae Caesaris Augusti' 7750 sesterces. Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 67, 1.  
 10, 1. Pesaro. Orelli, 81.  
 10, 4. sesterces. Tac., *A.*, iv, 63.  
 10, 11. chariot. Martial, x, 41; iv, 67; v, 25.  
 10, 12. Hadrian. *Hadrian*, c. 3, where *iterum* is erroneously repeated before *vicies*. Valerian's letter with the list of the amounts granted to Aurelian for his *circenses* (*Aurelian*, c. 12) is not genuine. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 1, 138 note.  
 10, 17. double. Olympiodorus, ap. Phot., i, p. 63 Bekk. Cf. Marquardt, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, ii, 3, 264.  
 10, 20. share. Procop., *Hist. arc.*, c. 26. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 245. Following Hultsch, *Metrologie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 317, I reckon the pound of gold at £44 14s.  
 10, 22. *solidi*. Marcellin., *Com. chron.*  
 10, 33. partially. Cf. vol. i, p. 118.  
 10, 37. families. Ambrose, *De offic.*, ii, 21: Quod faciunt qui ludis circensibus vel etiam theatralibus et muneribus gladiatoris vel etiam venationibus patrimonium dilapident suum, ut vincant superiorum celebritates.  
 10, 38. emperor. Cf. vol. i, p. 123.  
 11, 4. avoid. Zosim., ii, 38.  
 11, 15. obligation. P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, p. 54 sq.; *Cod. Theodos.*, vi, 14, with annotations by Gothofredus. Cf. Kuhn, *Verfassung d. röm. Reichs*, i, 206 f., l. 5 (of the year 340), who fixes the following minimum amounts for the 3 praetorships of Constantinople: For the *Flavialis* 25,000 *folles* and 50 pounds of silver, for the *Constantiniana* 20,000 *folles* and 40 lb., for the *Triumphalis* 15,000 *folles* and 30 lb. of silver. On the significance of these amounts and their reduction to modern values, I have received from Fr. Hultsch the following kind communication.

'According to the Constantinian monetary regulations, on which these figures are undoubtedly based (*Metrol.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 330 ff., and 341 ff., esp. 344) the amounts must be reduced from silver lbs. to *miliarensia* (=  $\frac{1}{2}$  silver lb.), and thus:—



50 pounds silver = 3600 *miliarensia*

40       ,,       = 2880       ,,

30       ,,       = 2160       ,,

'Of the 3 quantities grouped together on p. 344 of the above work which may represent the *folles* mentioned in the law, the *siliqua* or *denarius follis* =  $\frac{1}{4}$  *miliarense*, is the only suitable one (for the coin [?] *follis* is too low, and the silver *follis* too high), and it appears that

25,000 *folles* = 14,285  $\frac{5}{7}$  *miliarensia*

20,000   ,,   = 11,428  $\frac{4}{7}$    ,,

16,000   ,,   = 8,571  $\frac{3}{7}$    ,,

These are very probable amounts. They stand to the corresponding amounts of silver lbs. nearly in the proportion of 4 : 1, i.e. the Treasury paid  $\frac{1}{5}$  in full weight silver and  $\frac{4}{5}$  in bags of small coin (the *denarius follis* = 12 coin *folles* = 250 *denarii*). Therefore according to *Metrol.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 348, the expenditure for the first *praetura* amounted to

3,600 *miliarensia*       = £161

25,000 *denarius folles* = 647

£808

For the second *praetura* according to the equation we get about £647, and for the third about £485. Total about £1940. Counting in silver *folles* the whole expenditure would amount to 60,000 *folles* (at £5 11s. 9d.) + 8640 *miliarensia* (at 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.), or about £336,000 in all, which seems an impossibly high figure.'

11, 21. picture. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 377 sqq.

12, 5. exhibitions. *M. Antoninus*, c. 10.

12, 14. out. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 43.

12, 30. sundown. My essay on the games on Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup> 494, 11.

12, 21. day. Cels., *De re med.*, i, 3.

12, 23. were. Augustine, *C. D.*, viii, 10, 24.

12, 31. pleasure. Cic., *Pro Sext.*, 50, 106; 58, 124.

12, 39. theatres. Pseudo-coins, such as contorniates, form the only exception.

13, 3. recall. Eckhel, *D. N.*, vii, 323-327.

13, 9. acrobats. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 494, 9.

13, 9. Varro. Serv., *Aen.*, x, 894.

13, 11. stage. Pliny, *N. H.*, vii, 83.

13, 21. provided. *Carin.*, c. 18.

13, 28. boat-races. Claudian, *De Fl. Mall. Theod. cons.*, 279 sqq.

13, 33. unfeathered. Manil. *Astron.* 439 sqq., 651 sqq. *CIL*, vi, 10, 157: (d) m | (me) morie (?) catadromarius | (ludis ro) manis qui catadrom. | (decucurrit) ccxxvi (?) in Glauce. 'Catadr. est funambulus (Sueton., *Nero*, 11; Dio, 61, 17). Glauce nescio an sit nomen equi, ita ut catadromarius ille equo vectus decucurrit ut elephanto eques a Sueton. et Dione memoratus'.

13, 35. ancient. Preller, *RM*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 17, 5; Marini, *Atti*, p. 290.

13, 37. lamps. Lucil., *Satt.*, i, 23: Romanis ludis forus olim ornatu' lucernis. Cf. Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 1, 22, 58; 54, 141: *N. D.*, i, 9.

- 13, 40. night-time. Ovid, *Fast.*, v, 361 sqq. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 495, 1.
- 13, 41. conducted. Dio, lviii, 19.
- 14, 3. attend. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 31.
- 14, 6. nights. Jerome, *Chron.*
- 14, 8. shortest. Preller, *op. cit.*
- 14, 11. night. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 6, 85 sq.
- 14, 15. bright. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 20 sq.; xvi, 5.
- 14, 16. illuminations. *E.g.* gladiatores dedit lumina ludos, *CIL*, xiv, 2121 = Or., 3324 (Lanuvium).
- 14, 19. certain. *CIL*, ii, 3664: cum vas(is) lum(inum).
- 14, 20. Caligula. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 18.
- 14, 22. spectacle. Tac., *A.*, xv, 44.
- 14, 24. light. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 4; Dio, lxxvii, 8.
- 14, 24. wave. Martial, *Lib. spectaculor.*, 25; cf. Rucca, *Sull'uso de' sotteranei* etc., p. 18.
- 14, 27. Republic. Cic., *Off.*, ii, 16, 55; cf. Jahn ad Pers., p. 224.
- 14, 30. lunch. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 495, 5.
- 14, 31. staggering. *Ibid.*, 496, 2.
- 14, 32. handed. *Ibid.*, n. 7.
- 14, 33. cheating. Martial, i, 11, 26; v, 49.
- 14, 35. feasts. Marquardt, *loc. cit.*, n. 3.
- 14, 37. abolished. Dio, lxxviii, 22; Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 1, 237, 6.
- 14, 39. pacified. Pers., 5, 180; cf. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 3, 182.
- 15, 5. poorest. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 6, 28 sqq.; cf. also Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 4.
- 15, 8. praetor. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 18.
- 15, 11. audience. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 496, 4.
- 15, 12. rained. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 6, 9 sqq., 65 sqq. As Wachsmuth has demonstrated, *Zu Statius' Silven*, i, 6, in *Rhein. Mus.*, xliii, 21-28, a line has fallen out after l. 77, in which another kind of birds was mentioned besides cranes, perhaps to this effect: 'quas Ganges lavat ac palus Scytharum'. The birds for distribution were hung up at the beginning of the games, probably in nets, on ropes stretched over the amphitheatre.
- 15, 16. examples. Henzen, *AdI*, xx, p. 293 ss.; *Mon. dell'Inst.*, iv, plate lii sq.
- 15, 19. senators. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 4.
- 15, 25. estates. *Id.*, *Nero*, c. 11.
- 15, 25. used. Dio, lxvi, 25.
- 15, 28. pounds. *Vit. Elagab.*, c. 22.
- 15, 29. eating. *Herodian*, v, 6.
- 15, 30. loss. *Ibid.*
- 15, 32. dear. Seneca, *Epp.*, 74, 8. *Missilia* seem to have been very popular in Africa. *CIL*, viii, 895 (Villa Magna). Erection of a statue of two aediles, ob honorem aedilitatis in compensatione missiliorum (239 A.D.); *ib.*, 6947 and 6948 (in both ludos scaenicos cum missilibus); 6996 (Cirta) ludos cum missil. et acro[amatibus]; 7094-98, 7122, 7123, 7137, 7960, 7963, 7984 (Rusicade).
- 15, 33. beforehand. *Digg.*, xviii, 1, 8 § 1 (Pomponius, *libro iv ad Sabinum*): Aliquando tamen et sine re venditio intelligitur,

veluti quam quasi alea emitur: quod fit quum captus piscium vel avium vel missilium emitur; emptio enim contrahitur, etiamsi nihil inciderit, quia spei emptio est, et quod missilium nomine eo casu captum est, si evictum fuerit, nulla eo nomine ex emptio obligatio contrahitur, quia id actum intelligitur.

- 6, 42. could. *Gordiani tres*, c. 3; *Prob.*, c. 19.  
 16, 4. *municipia*. Cic., *Verr.*, i, 18, 54.  
 16, 9. crushed. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 39.  
 16, 10. prevent. *Id.*, *Aug.*, c. 43.  
 16, 13. Rome. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 173.  
 16, 22. *pater*. Martial, *Spectac.*, 2.  
 16, 25. frequent. Dio, lxxviii, 26.  
 17, 1. womb. Tac., *Dial. de oratorib.*, c. 29.  
 17, 21. refuge. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 8, 36; Propert., iv, 8, 25; Seneca, *Epp.*, 87, 9; 99, 13; Tac., *A.*, xiv, 14: (Nero) nobilium familiarum posteros egestate venales in scenam deduxit; cf. Juvenal, 8, 183, describing the age of Nero.  
 17, 36. nobles. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 39.  
 17, 37. Laberius. Cf. esp. Juv., 8, 183 sqq.  
 17, 38. arena. Dio, xliii, 23; Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 39; cf. Dirksen, *Tab. Heracl.*, p. 97 sq.  
 17, 39. forbidden. Dio, xlviii, 43.  
 18, 2. decree. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 43.  
 18, 5. Vintilius. Dio, li, 22.  
 18, 7. acted. Sueton., *Nero.*, c. 4.  
 18, 9. gladiators. Dio, lvi, 25.  
 18, 14. convicted. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 35.  
 18, 17. continuing. Dio, lvii, 14.  
 18, 17. chariots. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 18.  
 18, 19. knights. *Id. ib.*, c. 30; Dio, lix, 10.  
 18, 19. senators. Dio, lix, 13 (πολλοὶ τῶν πρώτων καταδικασθέντες . . . πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μονομαχῆσαντες).  
 18, 21. abuse. Dio, lx, 7.  
 18, 25. drive. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12 (where, as Lipsius observes, only 'quadringentos senatores' cannot be right, and 'sexcentos equites' is hardly possible). Tac., *A.*, xiv, 14; xv, 32; Dio, lxi, 17.  
 18, 27. knighthood. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 62.  
 18, 30. dancing. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 8; Dio, lxxvii, 13.  
 18, 30. fight. Dio, lxxvii, 14.  
 18, 32. bear. Juv., 4, 99 sqq.  
 18, 33. combat. Dio, *loc. cit.*  
 18, 37. arena. *M. Antonin.*, c. 12.  
 18, 41. helmets. Dio, lxxv, 8.  
 19, 2. helmet. Seneca, *Qu. n.*, viii, 32.  
 19, 4. school. Juv., 8, 197; cf. also Fronto, ed. Naber, *Epp. ad M. Caesarem et invic.*, v, 22 s.; Dio, lxxviii, 21; *Philogelos*, ed. Eberhard, 87.  
 19, 20. buildings. The description follows Dionys. Halic., iii, 68.  
 19, 26. Maximin. *Catal. imp.*, ed. Mommsen, in *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Ges.*, ii, 647: Hoc imperatore (Antonino Pio) Circensibus Apollinaribus partectorum columna ruit et oppressit homines

- m cxii. (Cf. *Anton. P.*, c. 9). *Ib.*, *Diocletian. et Maximin.*; Partectorum podium ruit et oppressit homines xiii. Mommsen remarks, that by *partecta* (a word only found here) are probably meant the scaffolds forming the back rows of seats.
- 19, 32. seats. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 7, 21; and xxxvi, 24, 101.
- 19, 34. Trajan. Becker, *Topogr.*, 667. Also the obscure statement in Pausanias, v, 12, 4 (οικοδόμημα ἐς ἵππων δρόμους προῆκον καὶ ἐς δύο σταδίων μήκος) probably refers to Trajan's extension of the circus. According to Richter, *Topographie von Rom*, p. 842, 'Trajan's building was preserved in the main, although it may have been enlarged and embellished. At least Caracalla's coins (Cohen<sup>2</sup>, *Carac.*, 236) show exactly the same representation of the circus as those of Trajan (cf. *Chron.* of 354, p. 647, 19 M.)'.
- 19, 41. exhibited. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 51. The inscription Orelli, 3065 = *CIL*, vi, 955, in which the 35 tribes give thanks for their 'commoda' increased 'locorum projectione', refers not to the seats in the circus, but to the 5000 new places added by Trajan to the places of those who received corn doles; these are also meant by Pliny, *loc. cit.* (populo . . . locorum quinque milia adjecisti). Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 446, 3.
- 20, 1. extensions. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 506.
- 20, 3. course. On the disposition of the seats cf. *ibid.*
- 20, 9. bronze. *Expos. tot. mundi*, Riese, *Geogr. lat. min.*, i, 120, 10.
- 20, 13. Laterano. Preller, *Die Regionen Roms*, p. 221.
- 20, 20. resort. Cic., *Div.*, i, 58, 132.
- 20, 21. augurs. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 6, 141.
- 20, 24. boards. Juv., 6, 588.
- 20, 25. Circus. Cic., *Pro Milone*, c. 24: popa Licinius nescio quis de circo.
- 20, 27. guests. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 74.
- 20, 29. shops. Tac., *A.*, xv, 38.
- 20, 30. fruit-dealer. C. Julius Epaphra pomar. de circo maximo ante pulvinar. Orelli, 4268 = *CIL*, vi, 9822.
- 20, 32. used. Juv., 3, 65: ad circum jussas prostare puellas. *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, i, 190: Ille habuit doctas circi prostare puellas. *Elagabal.*, c. 26. Salmasius (ed. Lugdun., *Script. hist. Aug.*), p. 918b.
- 20, 33. brothel. Cyprian, *Spectac.*, 5.
- 20, 35. dress. Juv., 3, 65.
- 20, 35. danced. *Priap.*, 25 (*Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Meyer, 1642). Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xx, p. 264 M., describes similar but more decent incidents in a Greek hippodrome: ἤδη δὲ ποτε εἶδον ἐγὼ διὰ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου βαδίζων πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀνθρώπους ἄλλο τι πράττοντας, τὸν μὲν αὐλοῦντα τὸν δὲ ὀρχούμενον τὸν δὲ θαῦμα ἀποδιδόμενον τὸν δὲ ποίημα ἀναγινώσκοντα τὸν δὲ αἶδοντα τὸν δὲ ἱστορίαν τινὰ ἢ μῦθον διηγούμενον.
- 20, 37. performances. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 511 ff.
- 21, 1. picking. Manil., *Astronom.*, v, 85 sq.
- 21, 10. won. This inscription, found in December 1887 on the Via Campana, 3 *miglie* from Porta Portese, is not yet published and was communicated to me by O. Hirschfeld. It reads: Fuscus cursor prasini vix. ann. xxiv, vicit Rom, liii, ad deam



Diam ii. Bovillis i. Una palma rev(ocatus) bis eandem vicit. Hic omnium cursor(um) primus qua die missus est vicit sta-(dio) C. Cestio M. Servilio cos. Machao, conser(vus) memoriae causa. On the circus of the Arval grove see Marquardt, *VG*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 458, on that at Bovillae *ibid.*, p. 528, 6.

21, 14. *millia*. Pliny, *N. H.*, vii, 84.

21, 16. day. *CIL*, iii, 2, 2007. Read 'day, as a . . . feat; Fletcher'.

21, 19. hours. Waitz, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, iv, 411.

21, 37. lion. Gell., v, 14.

22, 7. laid. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxi, 7; Mommsen, *RG*, i<sup>5</sup>, 232.

22, 12. freedom. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 522, 4.

22, 19. years. Henzen, 7419 d β.

22, 21. victories. *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,047-49. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 522, 2, and Appendix xxiv.

22, 24. purses. Martial, x, 74. On the races, which presumably brought great profit to the victors, cf. Appendix xxiv.

22, 26. advocate. Juv., 7, 112:

si libet, hinc centum patrimonia caussidicorum,  
parte alia solum russati pone lacernae.

For *lacernae*, perhaps *Lacertae*, the reading of the interpolated MSS. is correct. A lamp with a victorious *agitor* bears the inscription: C. ANNIVS LACERTA NICA and CORACI NICA (probably a call to the chief horse), Henzen, *BdI*, 1861, March 8. On the frequent use of the same names among this class of people see Appendix xxxix.

22, 27. Faction. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 520, 6.

22, 28. fees. Cf. vol. ii, p. 23 f.

22, 33. Libanius. Liban., ed. Reiske, ii, 190, 12.

22, 39. charioteers. Jerome, *Ep.*, 83; cf. Symmachus, *Epp.*, vi, 42.

22, 40. train. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxix, 5: nullum histrionum equorum-que trigarii comitatio egressus.

23, 4. deemed. Martial, x, 50 and 53; cf. Haupt, *Hermes*, 1872, p. 387.

23, 6. Scorpis. Martial, xi, 1.

23, 9. Rome. *Id.*, v, 25:

quam non sensuro dare quadringenta caballo,  
aureus ut Scorpi nasus ubique micet.

23, 12. costume. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 29; Galen., *De praenot. ad Postum.*, p. 451 ed. K., xiv, 604, mentions τῶν μὲν ὀρχηστῶν καὶ τῶν ἡνιόχων εἰκόνας . . . τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλμασι συνέδρους, without naming Rome, which however the context shows to be intended.

23, 14. fame. List of representations of circus games on mosaics, reliefs, coins, contorniates and gems in Huebner, *Mosaico di Barcellona*, *AdI*, 1863, p. 137 ss. Cf. *id.* in *Monatsber. der Berl. Acad.*, Feb. 3, 1868 (a glass cup with circus games; beside the name of the victorious charioteer is written 'av(e)', and beside the names of the other three 'va(le)'); and de Rossi, *Bull. Crist.*,

- 1878, p. 151, 5 (Vetri). Cf. *CIL*, vii, 1273 sq.; Martial, iii, 95, 14. E. Brizio, *Musaici di Baccano*, *BdI*, 1873, p. 133; Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 504, 5.
- 23, 16. official. *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,048 (monument of Diocles) l. 13: Actis continetur Avilium Teren factionis suae primum omnium vicisse ∞ xi. Cf. Appendix xxiv.
- 23, 24. prize. Henzen, 7419 d β (iii, p. 590) = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,051.
- 23, 28. drove. Head of a boy charioteer: Ersilia Caetani-Lovattelli, *Una testa marmorea di fanciullo auriga*, in *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1880, p. 163 sqq. (pl. xi). *Id.*, *Di un musaico di colori rappresentante gli aurighi delle quattro fazioni*, in *R. acad. dei Lincei*, cclxxviii (1880/81) *seduta de 15 maggio* 1881.
- 23, 32. share. *Id.*, *La iscrizione di Crescente*, in *Bull. com.*, 1878, pp. 164-176. In an article *Aus dem Sportleben des classischen Alterthums* in the weekly journal *Der Sporn* (*Centralblatt für die Gesamtinteressen des deutschen Sports*), 1879 (xvii. Jahrgang), no. 5, p. 35, the proportion of first prizes won by Crescens is considered by no means a brilliant record, and it is added that a fashionable English jockey would hardly be content with his gains.
- 24, 16. gained. On these details and others cf. Appendix xxiv.
- 24, 33. won. *Der Sporn*, 1879, No. 48, p. 369.
- 24, 36. fortune. *Leipz. Illustr. Zeitg.*, 20 November, 1886.
- 25, 3. Epona. Juv., 8, 146 sqq. The addition: fecimus et nos Hoc juvenes (l. 163) shows that what was not seemly in the Consul Lateranus was readily overlooked if done by young men; Tac., *A.*, xiv, 14 (foedum studium).
- 25, 5. devotee. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 4.
- 25, 6. often. Dio, lxxv, 5.
- 25, 7. zeal. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 4.
- 25, 8. expert. Dio, lix, 5; lxi, 17.
- 25, 10. gave. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 55; Bücheler, *Coniectanea*, in *Rh. Mus.*, xxxvii, p. 334, believes him to be the same to whom Phaedrus dedicated his third book.
- 25, 11. build. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix, 4, 4.
- 25, 12. Verus. *L. Verus*, c. 6.
- 25, 12. Commodus. *Commodus*, c. 2.
- 25, 12. Geta. Herodian, iii, 10.
- 25, 13. Elagabalus. *Elagab.*, cc. 6 and 12.
- 25, 20. Nero. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 16. The inscription, Orelli, 2596 (proc. colleg. aurigariorum iiii fact.) is not genuine (*CIL*, vi, 5, 555\*).
- 25, 22. indispensable. Marquardt, *StV*, iii, 523, 1.
- 25, 23. racehorses. For the authorities see *id. ib.*, p. 523 f. I only cite those which are lacking there.
- 25, 27. incited. Schol. Juv., 1, 155; cf. also Varro, *R. r.*, ii, 7, 1.
- 25, 31. pastures. Strabo, vi, 2, 6, p. 273; cf. Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 1, 10, 28.
- 25, 34. account. Cf. also Gregorovius, *Gesch. Roms in Mittelalter*, ii, 64.
- 25, 38. horses. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter den Römern*, i, 487 f., 514.

- 25, 39. distinguished. Cf. the lists *CIL*, vi, 10,053 and 10,056 (in which also the owners and vendors of the horses are named) and Roehl, *Ind. CIG*, iv, 3, p. 136.
- 25, 40. blood. Vegetius, *Veterin.*, iv, 6.
- 26, 1. Cappadocia. *Solin.*, 45, 5, p. 192, ed. Mommsen (ex auct. ignoto): terra illa Cappadocia ante alias altrix equorum et proventui equino accomodissima est. *Itiner. Hierosol.*, ed. Pinder and Parthey, p. 273: mansio Andavilis (not far from Tyana): ibi est villa Pampati, unde veniunt equi curules. Gothofredus suggests Palmati for Pampati (*Cod. Theodos.*, x, 6, 1; xv, 10, 1). Cf. Ad. Schlieben, *Die Pferde des Alterthums*, p. 97 ff.
- 26, 2. famous. *Expos. tot. mundi*, ed. Riese, p. 111, 7: Habes ergo Antiochiam quidem in omnibus delectabilibus habundantem, maxime autem circensibus . . . Ecce similiter Laodicia circenses et Tyrus et Berytus et Caesarea.
- 26, 4. Tagus. Symmachus, *Epp.*, iv, 62. Perhaps the Cappadocian studs, which were so near, were at that time exclusively imperial.
- 26, 6. three. Colum., vi, 29, 4.
- 26, 7. years. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 42, 162.
- 26, 8. male. Undoubted exceptions like Dicaeosyne (Zangemeister, *Rilievo di Foligno, AdI*, 1870, p. 257n.) are very rare. Cf. Appendix xxv and my *De nominibus equorum circensium, Program. Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1875, iii; *CIL*, viii, 10,889-91 (6 names); *Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 566, 1318 (mosaic in the island of Meninx, 4 names); *ib.*, 317, 454, a leaden votive tablet from Carthage, once apparently containing 32 names, among which Beronica is perhaps masculine. Cf. Buecheler, *Rh. Mus.*, xli (1886), p. 160.
- 26, 9. Tuscus. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 260r, l. 51.
- 26, 10. Victor. *Id. ib.*, 2600, 2, l. 3.
- 26, 16. harness. G(ustav) F(reytag), *Sportbericht eines römischen Jockeys*, in *Grenzboten*, 1869, ii, p. 447. A horse that won 54 races (1876-79) without a defeat is considered to have beaten all records (Silberer, *Allg. Sportszeitung*, 1883, No. 10; *N. Fr. Presse*, 7 March. 1883).
- 26, 17. slaves. Veget., *R. vet.*, praef., 10.
- 26, 18. victorious. Colum., iii, 9, 5: sacrorum certaminum studiosi perniciosissimarum quadrigarum semina diligenti observatione custodiunt et spem futurarum victoriarum concipiunt propagata sobole generosi armenti.
- 26, 24. goal. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 160. A similar case occurred at Alexandria, see Philo, *De animal.*, § 58.
- 26, 26. torches. *Solin.*, 45, 11, p. 194 M. (auct. ign.). The inciting of the horses was apparently done by the *hortatores*, *CIL*, 10,074-76. Such are to be seen on the mosaic of Barcelona (one waving a cloth).
- 26, 30. spectators. *Digg.*, xxxi, 65, 1: quadrigae legatum equo postea mortuo perire quidem ita credunt, si equus ille decessit, qui demonstrabat quadrigam.
- 26, 31. acclamations. Dio, lxxiii, 4.

- 26, 34. representing. Besides those mentioned by Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 524, 1, see *CIG*, 6311, and especially in this connexion, the remarkable mosaic of Barcelona, edited by E. Hübner, (*AdI*, 1863, p. 135 ss., *Tav. d'agg. D.*). On the thighs of the horses are inscribed the names of the breeders or owners, Concordius and Nicetus. In the mosaic of Gerona (*Mosaico Romano*, Gerona 1876, the inscriptions *Eph. epigr.*, iii, 1877, p. 202) there stands near each of the four *quadrigae* besides the name of the driver only the name of the principal horse.
- 26, 41. revived. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 11, 27.
- 27, 4. business. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 520 ff.
- 27, 10. rank. The inscription *CIL*, vi, 10,077 (L. Avilio Galatae fact. russ. lib.), shows that the freedmen of the parties received the Gentile names of the *domini factionum*. L. Avilius Planta was a *dominus fact. russ.* Cf. Appendix xxiv (to l. 13 of the inscription of Diocles).
- 27, 28. later. Dio, lvi, 27. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 490, 1.
- 27, 35. runners. *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, p. 312, 1341 : A. Antonius Albanus cursor et supra cursores factionis prasinæ p. (cf. also n. on vol. ii, p. 21, 10).
- 27, 35. cellarers. *Ib.*, 1342 : cellarius factionis prasinæ.
- 28, 3. obscure. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 521, 3.
- 28, 4. colours. *Ibid.*, p. 517 ff.
- 28, 10. disappeared. *CIL*, vi, 10,062 : D. m. Epaphroditus agitator f(actionis) r(ussatae) ; vicit clxxviii et at purpureum liber (i.e. manumissus) vic. viii. I do not believe that the denomination *pannus chelidonium* for the purple party is right, but as before (in Marquardt, iii<sup>2</sup>, 518, 4) I prefer to read in the inscription *CIL*, vi, 10,046 : 'familiae quadrigariae T. Ateii Capitonis P. Anni Chelidoni' . . . etc. ; in spite of the specious analogy of 10,045 : decurionibus | et familiae | panni russei—C. Cejoni Maxim. etc.
- 28, 13. identity. Cf. the epigram of a later time, *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 191, 5 : dilexit genitor prasinum, te russeus intrat.
- 28, 17. factions. A *factio Garamantina* in a forged inscription, Henzen 6080 = *CIL*, vi, 10,065, is made up from a call to a charioteer or a circus horse, 'Garamanti nica' (Marini, *Iscr. dol.*, no. 222, in Preller, *Regionen Roms*, p. 156 f. note), as I have shown in *Ind. lectt. hib. acad. Regim.*, 1858.
- 28, 26. Vitellius. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 7 ; Dio, lxxv, 5.
- 28, 26. Caracalla. Dio, lxxvii, 10 ; cf. lxxviii, 8.
- 28, 26. Caligula. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 55 ; Dio, lix, 14.
- 28, 26. Nero. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 23 ; Dio, lxiii, 6 ; Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 90.
- 28, 27. Domitian. Martial, xi, 33 :—

Saepius ad palmam prasinus post fata Neronis  
pervenit et victor praemia plura refert.  
i nunc, livor edax, dic te cessisse Neroni ;  
vicit nimirum non Nero, sed prasinus.

On the reference of this epigram to Domitian, see my edition, i, p. 63.



- 28, 27. Verus. *L. Verus*, cc. 4 and 6.
- 28, 27. Elagabalus. Dio, lxxix, 14.
- 28, 28. leadership. Martial also was a partisan of the Greens; cf. vi, 46 and xi, 33; in Juvenal's time they had decidedly the upper hand (II, 97). A monument of the Blues with the inscription: *Victoria Venetianorum semper constet feliciter*, of unknown date, Marini, *Atti*, p. 582, cf. 637 b = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,074. Visconti, *M. PCl*, v, pl. 38-43, alludes to it and calls it an altar; Argoli on Panvin., *De lud. circ.*, i, 10, 69, speaks, perhaps by mistake, of two such stones. *CIG*, 6354 (Romae): Θ. Κ. Βασιλίου· Μνήμης χάριν ἐποίησεν Μ. Αὐρ. Διονύσιος ἀδελφῷ [εἰς αἰ]ῶνα Βενετιανοῦ συστήματος πρίγκιπι. Theodoric had to protect the Greens against the Blues (Cassiod., *Var.*, i, 20 and 27). In Constantinople the Blues (always favoured by the emperors, at least from the time of Justinian) had the precedence (Wilken, *Histor. Taschenbuch*, 1830, p. 330). On a monument of a charioteer there cf. *BdI*, 1847, p. 123 s.
- 28, 36. colours. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 517 ff. The mention of a *factio veneta* in an Arval inscription of the year 69 (Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 140) shows that at their races also there were four parties and four colours.
- 28, 38. bloodshed. Cf. my essay, *Die Circusparteien in der Kaiserzeit*, in *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, lxxiii, 745 ff.
- 29, 2. slaves. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 491, 4 and especially the inscription *CIL*, vi, 9719 quoted below (epitaph of a slave Crescens, who is described as a *Venetianus*). Evidence of the use of the colours in the Circus games of the provinces is afforded, not only by the mosaics of Lyons, Barcelona, and Italica, but by the inscription Gruter, 339, 4 = *CIG*, 6803 = *CIL*, ii, 4315: *Factionis Venetae Fusco sacravimus aram* . . . etc. The parties are also mentioned in *Pass. Perp. et Felic.*, c. 13: *et dixerunt (angeli) Optato: Corrige plebem tuam, quia sic ad te conveniunt, quasi de circo redeuntes et de factionibus certantes*. In the eastern part of the empire in the middle of the fourth century were very renowned circus games at Antioch, Laodicea, whence charioteers were procured for other cities, Tyre, Berytus, and Caesarea (n. on vol. ii, 26, 2), Nicomedia (*habet autem et circenses, structuram valde bonam, in qua circensium spectaculum diligentius spectatur*), Constantinople, Gortyn, Syracuse and Catania (*in quibus spectaculum circensium bene completur*). *Expos. tot. mundi*, 32, 49, 50, 65, 66.
- 29, 7. sinful. P. E. Müller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, p. 59, note o.
- 29, 10. Attila. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, i<sup>2</sup>, 190.
- 29, 16. dead. Salvian., *De gubern. Dei*, vi. Cf. the poems of Luxorius, who lived at Carthage at the beginning of the sixth century, and speaks of the circus of that town and the green and blue charioteers; *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 324-328.
- 29, 19. riots. *Expos. tot. mundi*, 50 (*Geogr. min. l.*, ed. Riese, 118, 6): *Nec non vero etiam circensium spectaculum saevissime (perniciosa et saevissima contentione C.) spectatur*.

- 29, 28. mania. See Choric., Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Διονύσου τὸν βίον εἰκονίζοντων ed. Graux, *Rev. de philol.*, N. S., i (1877), p. 247, c. 14, 4.
- 29, 36. loyalty. Martial, xiv, 131.
- 30, 2. authority. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 517, 5; Huebner, *De actis*, p. 42.
- 30, 9. bursting. Ovid, *A.*, iii, 2, 78: evolat admissis discolor agmen equis.
- 31, 11. colour. *Id. ib.*, 67 sq.; *A. a.*, i, 145.
- 30, 17. poisoned. Dio, lix, 14.
- 30, 21. Achilles. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 22.
- 30, 25. Tiridates. Cf. Dio, lix, 5; lxi, 17. The circus was generally strewn with *laminae* of mica. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 162.
- 30, 28. Vinus. Dio, lxxv, 5; Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 4.
- 30, 29. popular. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 91.
- 30, 33. revolution. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 14.
- 30, 39. Teachers. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 29. Nipperdey dates the treatise, in the introduction to the third edition, p. viii sq., after Domitian's death. Liban., ed. R., i, p. 200, 3, (during the lecture of the rhetorician, among the pupils), πολλὰ μὲν νεύματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ ἡνιόχων καὶ μίμων καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὀρχηστῶν. Scholte's supposition, *Observ. crit. in Juv.* (Traj., 1873), p. 41, that *viridis thorax*, Juv., 5, 143, means the braided tunic of a charioteer of the Greens (as a favourite gift for boys) would be very plausible, if Juvenal had written *prasinum thoraca*, but anyhow it may be right.
- 30, 41. safe. Martial, x, 48 (published under Trajan).
- 31, 2. engrossed. Cf. vol. ii, p. 2.
- 31, 6. exchanged. See Appendix xxv.
- 31, 12. superior. Pliny, *Épp.*, ix, 6.
- 31, 14. Cannae. Juv., 11, 197 sqq.
- 31, 17. partisanship. M. Anton., *Comment.*, i, 5.
- 31, 21. put. *L. Verus*, c. 6.
- 31, 24. pupils. *Ad amicos*, i, 6: Venetus venalis est. Scis hoc perpetuum Veneti(s) fatum esse, ut numquam venierit, veniat semper. (Perhaps 'ut numquam venerit, veniat semper'; that he is always coming, but never comes.)
- 31, 25. Circus. Fronto, *Épp. ad amicos*, ii, 3.
- 31, 28. great. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 29.
- 31, 32. senseless. Galen, *De ordine libror., suor.*, ed. Bas., p. 369; ed. K., xiv, p. 53.
- 31, 36. fodder. *Id.*, *Method. therapeut.*, iv, 6, ed. K., x, 478.
- 31, 40. chariot. Dio, lxxvii, 10.
- 32, 2. slaughter. Herodian, iv, 6.
- 32, 7. Factions. He lived in Rome in his later years. Cf. E. Moeller, *De Ammiano Marcellino* (Regim., 1863), pp. 13-21.
- 32, 17. brought. Ammian., xiv, 6, 26; xxviii, 4, 11 and 29. Cf. Symmach., x, 29 and 25: expectantur cotidie nuntii, qui appropinquare urbi munera promissa confirmit, aurigarum et equorum fama colligitur; omne vehiculum, omne navigium scenicos artifices advexisse jactatur.
- 32, 22. greeted. *Exc. Valesii*, 60 (Ammian., ed. Wagner et Erfurdt,

- i, p. 620). Cassiodor., *Chronicon*, 519. Cf. Gregorovius, *Gesch. Roms im Mittelalter*, i<sup>2</sup>, 288-292.
- 32, 26. killed. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, i, 20 and 27; cf. 30-33.
- 32, 29. was. *Id. ib.*, iii, 51.
- 33, 2. children. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iv, 42.
- 33, 6. Totila. Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, i, 436.
- 33, 21. games. Cf. vol. ii, p. 10.
- 33, 23. Symmachus. Cf. on him De Rossi, *Ann. dell'Inst.*, xxi, p. 283 ss. Jahn in *Berichte d. Sächs. Ges.*, January 14, 1851, and also Seeck, *De Symmachi vita, chronologia et prosopographia Symmachiana*, in his edition of Symmachus, 1883.
- 33, 23. owned. One was situated on the Caelian on the site of the Villa Casali, the second beyond the Tiber, the situation of the third is unknown. Seeck, *loc. cit.*
- 33, 36. wishes. Symmach., *Epp.*, iv, 60; ix, 132.
- 33, 39. son's. Seeck, p. lxxii. His quaestorship fell in the year 393 (p. lix).
- 33, 38. outbid. Symmach., *Epp.*, iv, 58-60; v, 82.
- 34, 1. post. *Id. ib.*, iv, 6 (he thanks Stilicho, who had contributed). Cf. vii, 48, 105 sq.; ix, 22.
- 34, 2. money. *Id. ib.*, ix, 20.
- 34, 3. breeders. iv, 60 (Eupraxius); ix, 18 sq. (Pompeia and Fabianus).
- 34, 3. connoisseurs. ix, 12.
- 34, 4. support. iv, 6; v, 83; vii, 82, 105 sq.; ix, 23.
- 34, 7. Laudacius. iv, 63.
- 34, 10. breeds. vii, 48.
- 34, 16. purchased. ix, 20 and 24.
- 34, 20. some. v, 36.
- 34, 25. narrow. v, 82.
- 34, 35. ship. Symmachus, *Epp.*, iv, 42 and 33. The first was written earlier.
- 34, 38. bets. Juv., 9, 201; Martial, x, 1, 14; Tertullian, *De spect.*, c., 16.
- 34, 38. Soothsayers. Tzetzes, *Chil.*, xiii, *hist.*, 497, 479.
- 34, 40. identified. Firmic. Matern., *Mathes.*, ii, 33 sq.
- 35, 1. pace. Arnob., i, 53; Veget., *De arte veterin.*, v (iii), 73 (74). Cf. Gothofredus on *Cod. Theodos.*, ix, 16, 11. P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, p. 70g; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 223.
- 35, 4. daemon. J. Schmidt, *Ephem. epigr.*, v, pp. 317, 454; Buecheler, *Devotion von Carthago*, in *Rh. Mus.*, xli (1886), p. 160. Delattre, *Inscriptions imprécatoires trouvées à Carthage* (*Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, 1888, pp. 294-302) quotes three inscriptions (all in Greek) of the seven found upon leaden plates in holes bored in the sepulchral *cippi* in the cemetery there. Two of them, which agree in the main, contain adjurations of a νεκυδαίμων ἄωρος to injure and to impede in their course 24 horses (including 12 of the Blues) and their 3 or 4 charioteers: ἀφελε αὐτῶν (the horses) τὴν νείκην, ἐμπόδισον αὐτοῖς τοὺς πόδας, ἔκκοψον, ἐκνεύρωσον αὐτοὺς ἵνα μὴ δυνασθῶσιν τῇ αὐρίον ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ μηδὲ τρέχειν μηδὲ περιπατεῖν μηδὲ νεικῆσαι μηδὲ ἐξελεθεῖν τοὺς πυλῶνας τῶν ἵππαφίων, μήτε προβαίνειν τὴν ἀρίαν (*aream*) μήτε κυκλεῦσαι τοὺς

καμπτήρας· ἅμα πεσέτωσαν ἅμα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἡνιόχοις (their names follow). Κατάδησον αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας· ἄφελε αὐτῶν τὴν νεκρὴν, τὴν ἀπόβασιν καὶ τὴν θρασιν, ἵνα μὴ δυνασθῶσιν βλέπειν τοὺς ἰδίους ἀντιπάλους ἡνιοχοῦντας ἅμα· μᾶλλον ἄρπασον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀρμάτων καὶ στρέψον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἵνα πεσέτωσαν μόνοι, ἐμ παντὶ τόπῳ τοῦ ἵπποδρομον συρόμενοι, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖς καμπτήρσιν μετὰ βλάβης τοῦ σώματος σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, οὓς ἐλαύνουσιν. Ἦδη, ταῦτα. The third plate with the heading κατάρα contains an adjuration, that Victoricus, a charioteer of the Blues, may be fettered to-morrow in the circus with his horses, ὡς οὗτος ὁ ἀλέκτωρ καταδέδεται τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ.

- 35, 15. lore. Ammian. Marcell., xxvi, 3, 3; cf. xxviii, 1, 27; 4, 25.
- 35, 17. run. Jerome. *Vit., Hilarion.*, c. 8.
- 35, 18. suspected. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iii, 51.
- 35, 27. ward. De Rossi, *Bull. di Archeol. crist.*, 1869, vii, p. 60 s.; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 1171.
- 35, 28. bells. Jahn, *Columb. d. Villa Pamfili*, p. 48. Such bells still exist; cf. Bruzza, *BdI*, 1877, p. 84, where two are described, bearing the inscriptions Εὐτυχῆς ὁ φορῶν and Εἰσαπέων Νεόφυτ(ον) νεῖκα (with a palm); a third (Εἰσαπέων Πρωτογένη νεῖκα) in Bruzza, *Nuovi campanelli iscritti (Commentat. Mommsen, p. 556)*. Bruzza, who recognizes here names of horses, not of charioteers, supposes that the use of these bells was derived from Alexandria.
- 35, 33. poor. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 26.
- 35, 36. injured. *Elagab.*, c. 23 : ante lucem, ut solet populus ad ludos celebres convenire.
- 35, 41. means. Juv., 9, 142.
- 36, 3. been. Martial, xiv, 160; Seneca, *De vit. b.*, 25, 2.
- 36, 9. increased. Cf. vol. i, p. 245 f.
- 36, 37. magistrate. Sueton., Claud., c. 12. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 394, 4.
- 37, 1. might. Cf. vol. ii, p. 7 f.
- 37, 10. bounds. The whole internal arrangement of the circus is treated in detail by Zangemeister, *Rilievo di Foligno rappresentante giuochi circensi*, *AdI*, 1870, p. 232 ss. Cf. also J. Friedländer's treatise cited by Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 504, 6.
- 37, 13. moat. Zangemeister, *op. cit.*, p. 248.
- 37, 20. usual. Race of 7 chariots at Alexandria, Philo, *De animal.*, § 58.
- 37, 36. chalk. Lucret., vi, 92 : ad candida calcis Currenti; Varro, *Satt. Menipp.*, 288 (Buecheler) : nemini fortuna curum a carcere intimo missum Labi inoffensum per aecor candidum ad calcem sivit. I certainly believe that the gloss emended by Zangemeister, p. 243 : λευκή ἵπποδρομίας creta, refers to it and not to the starting line.
- 37, 38. awarded. Cf. *CIL*, vi, 10,048, 10,055 and Appendix xxiv.
- 37, 39. races. According to an unintelligible testamentary foundation at Anzia (Mauretania Caesariensis), *CIL*, viii, 9052, ll. 10 and 15, there were to take place there twice a year circenses ce . . . . es (?) missus sex \*cxxxv.



- 37, 40. normal. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 514 f.
- 38, 2. last. See the *Fasti* of Philocalus, in *CIL*, i, p. 334 sqq.
- 38, 4. fewer. In the *Fasti* of Philocalus, only twelve are mentioned at the festival of Carna and Lorius (?).
- 38, 5. given. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 515, 2.
- 38, 9. double. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 387 sq.
- 38, 11. thirty-six. According to the *Fasti Philoc.*, there were thirty on November 13 (Jovis epulum) and December 25 (natalis invicti *i.e.* Solis, later Christi, p. 409 sq.), and thirty-six on October 22 (ludorum Solis dies extremus).
- 38, 14. three-in-hands. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 524.
- 38, 18. confined. *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Meyer, 1428; *CIL*, ii, 4314; *Bull. com. d. Roma*, 1886, 312, 1343: Gigas agit | factionis | prasinæ | vicit primas in biga | . . xxvi. majores ii.
- 38, 20. boys. Cf. the inscription of the 'bigarius infans' Florus, *CIL*, vi, 10,078.
- 38, 22. ten. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 524, 4; *CIL*, vi, 10,049, 10,051.
- 38, 26. sixteen. Appian, xii, 112. A gem (Caylus, *Rec.*, i t., 371, 1) shows a charioteer with a palm in a chariot with 20 horses.
- 38, 25. unlucky. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 24.
- 38, 32. prevent. Zangemeister, p. 259 f.
- 38, 39. belt. Cf. the torso of a charioteer in Gurlitt, *Antike Denkmäler*, *Epigr. arch. Mitteilungen*, i, 20. Handles of charioteers' knives, see *Bull. com.*, iv (1876), p. 189, pl. 21, 2.
- 39, 1. have. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxviii, 237.
- 39, 2. colours. The sleeves could have other colours; cf. Brizio, *Musaici di Barcano*, *BdI*, 1873, p. 133 s. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, 519, 4.
- 39, 3. starting. In the following description I have chiefly used, besides some passages from the early fathers (as Lactant., *Inst. div.*, vi, 20; Gregor. Nyss., *De vit. Mos.*, *init.*), Sil. Ital., xvi, 315 ss., who from his account evidently had the Roman Circus before his eyes.
- 39, 9. signal. Cic., *De div.*, i, 48.
- 39, 11. looked. Tertull., *De spect.*, c. 16.
- 39, 13. gates. We have no precise knowledge of the method of starting; cf. Huebner, *Mus. di Barcellona*, in *AdI*, pp. 150–152. It is however certain that at the time of Cassiodorus the chariots drove up to a marked line (which Zangemeister, p. 239 ff., finds, probably correctly, in the Lyons mosaic), and that the race began here (Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iii, 51); but it is quite uncertain when this arrangement was introduced. In modern trotting-races the American mode of starting is considered the best. The horses come up at a trot, and when, having passed the starting-post, they are approximately level, the signal for the start is given with the words 'Go on'. (*Zum technischen Betriebe der Trabrennen*, in *Der Sporn*, 1879, no. 6, p. 42).
- 39, 14. dust. Frontin., *De aquis*, 97: circus maximus ne diebus quidem ludorum circensium nisi aedilium aut censorum permissu irrigabatur: quod durasse etiam postquam res ad curatores transiit sub Augusto, apud Ateium Capitonem legimus.

- 39, 18. lasted. For trotting races (with sulkies) the average time for 1000 metres seems now to be 1 m. 43½ seconds (*Zum technischen Betriebe der Trabrennen*, in *Der Sporn*, 1879, no. 6, p. 43; for 5000 metres 8 minutes, 37 seconds, *ibid.*, p. 208; 4800 metres in 8 m. 43 s., p. 224). [The record for 1 mile was in 1905 1 m. 58½ s.; for 1 pacing mile 1 m. 55 s. in 1906. TR.] In the Roman circus the horses evidently always ran full gallop.
- 39, 23. finish. Manil., *Astron.*, v, 71-84; cf. Philo, *De animal.*, c. 58.
- 39, 33. collisions. See Choric., *loc. cit.* (n. on p. 29, l. 28), c. 19, 8, p. 245: τί δ' ἂν εἶποις περὶ τοὺς ἰθύνειν τοὺς ἵππους εἰδόντων, οἱ πολλὰκις ἀλλήλους ἐξάγονται δυοῖν ἐν ταυτῷ συμπλεκόμενων ἁρμάτων; ἀλλὰ καὶ κίνδυνος ἐκεῖ συνεχῆς ἵππων τε κἀνδρῶν, κὰν ἀνέλῃ τις τοῦτο, συνανεῖλε καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀμίλλης ἡδονὴν τῶν θεωμένων. Fred Archer 'hurls himself round the most dangerous corners, forces his way through the horses and at the decisive moment comes on with such an impetus, very often close to the inner barrier, even though it looks as if there were no room left for him, that by these devices and violent expedients he turns apparent defeats into victories, which would be hardly possible to any of his rivals' (cf. vol. ii, p. 24).
- 39, 37. spectators. Lactant., *Inst. div.*, vi, 20, 32.
- 40, 7. end. Seneca, *Epp.*, 83, 7; Juv., II, 197.
- 40, 9. sight. Rutil. Numat., *It.*, 201 sq.
- 40, 10. pauses. At the intervals after every 6 *missus* in the case of 24 races; after every 5 in the case of 20. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 516 note. Cf. also Appendix xxv.
- 40, 28. AMPHITHEATRE. My essay, *Ueber Gladiatorenspiele und Thierhetzen zu Rom in der Kaiserzeit* (Rhein. Mus., N. F., x [1855], pp. 544-590), reappears here, much altered and enlarged. The *Commentatio de Gladiatoribus* by G. Spaeth (*Programm des Ludwigsgymnasiums zu München*, 1863) contains nothing new. The treatises of M. Planck, *Ursprung der Gladiatorenspiele* (*Ulmer Gymnasialprogramm*, 1866), and Goguel, *Les gladiateurs romains* (Strasbourg and Paris, 1870) are unknown to me. The latest works on the subject are by P. J. Meier: *De gladiatura Romana quaestiones selectae* (Bonn, 1881), and other essays which are cited below.
- 41, 2. banquets. Strabo, v, 4, p. 250 C.
- 41, 2. Etruria. Henzen, *Explicatio musivi Borghesiani*, in the *Dissertazioni della pontif. Accad. Rom. di archeol.*, xii (1852), p. 74. Besides the statements of the authors (*Val. Max.*, ii, 4; *Nicol. Damasc.*, in *Athen.*, iv, p. 155 J.; Tertull., *De spect.*, c. 5, after Suetonius), there are other indications that fights of gladiators took place in Etruria; thus the word *lanista* ('executioner' in the Etruscan language according to Isidor., *Orig.*, x, p. 247) and the Etruscan Charon, who, like Mercury the guide of souls (Dio, lxxii, 19), was one of the characters appearing in the amphitheatre (Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 15). Also a picture in a tomb at Tarquinii shows gladiatorial combats (Canina, *Etruria maritima*, pl. 85; Micali, *Storia dell'Italia*

- etc.*, p. 53) ; likewise sepulchral urns, P. J. Meier, *De glad.*, p. 36,  
 1. Cf. G. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i  
 41, 9. Decius. Val. Max., ii, 4, 7 ; Livy, *Epit.*, 16.  
 41, 16. fought. Livy, xxiii, 30 ; xxxi, 50 ; xxxix, 46 ; xli, 28.  
 41, 20. probably. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxv, 52. Cf. Mommsen, *Gesch. d. röm. Münzw.*, p. 554, 164. From the number of pairs (at an unusually magnificent spectacle) one would be more inclined to refer it to the sixth century of the city.  
 41, 25. colonies. Buecheler, *Die staatl. Anerkennung des Gladiatorenspiels, in Rhein. Mus.*, xxxviii (1883), pp. 476-479. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 555.  
 41, 33. pairs. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 10 ; Plutarch, *Caes.*, c. 5.  
 41, 35. combatants. Dio, liv, 2.  
 42, 1. duels. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 3, 84.  
 42, 3. Genius. Pers., 6, 48.  
 42, 6. decree. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 34.  
 42, 8. some. Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 90.  
 42, 9. fought. Dio, lxviii, 15.  
 42, 13. 265. Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 66 ; Preller, *Regionen*, p. 85.  
 42, 14. scale. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 95.  
 42, 16. sometimes. *Gordiani tres*, c. 3.  
 42, 20. talents. Polyb., xxxii, 4, 5. Cf. vol. ii, p. 9, of this work.  
 42, 21. silver. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiii, 3, 14.  
 42, 22. amber. *Id. ib.*, xxxvii, 3, 45.  
 42, 28. nomads. Dacians and Suevi, 725, Dio, li, 22 ; Britons, 47 A.D. *ib.*, lx, 30.  
 42, 33. arena. *Aurelian*, c. 33.  
 42, 35. Sarmatians. *Probus*, c. 19.  
 42, 37. Saxons. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ii, 46.  
 42, 41. Parthians. Henzen rightly recognizes on the Torlonia relief (*Expl. mus. Borgh.*, p. 107) Parthian arms ; cf *AdI*, 1842, p. 18 and Ammianus' description, xxiv, 4, 15 ; 6, 8 ; xxv, 1, 12.  
 43, 13. candelabra. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 4 ; Dio, lxvii, 8.  
 43, 14. dwarfs. Dio, *ib.* ; Stat., *Silv.*, i, 6, 51 sq. According to Martial, i, 43, 10 and xiv, 213, dwarfs had already appeared in earlier times.  
 43, 16. age. Dio, lxiii, 3.  
 43, 18. noble. *Id.*, lxi, 17 ; Tac., *A.*, xv, 32 ; Dio, lxvi, 25 ; *Lib. Sp.*, 6b.  
 43, 19. prohibited. Dio, lxxv, 16. Cf. also Nicol. Damasc., in *Athen.*, iv, p. 154 A.  
 43, 24. forum. Vitruv., x, *praef.* 3 : nec solum id vitium in aedificiis sed etiam in muneribus, quae a magistratibus, foro gladiatorum scaenisque ludorum (?) dantur, quibus nec mora neque exspectatio conceditur sed necessitas finito tempore perficere cogit. Dio, xxxvii, 58 (A.U.C. 694) : καὶ τι καὶ θέατρον πρὸς παρήγυράν τινα ἐκ ξύλων ᾧ κοδομημένον ἀνετράπη \* καὶ ἀνθρωποὶ παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα παμπληθεῖς ἀπώλοντο.  
 43, 27. arisen. Cf. Appendix xxxvi, and on what follows, Becker, *Topogr.*, 680 ff.  
 43, 33. gladiators. Stieglitz, *Archäol. d. Baukunst*, vol. ii, p. 301,

- believes Pliny's account, fabulous as it sounds, and refers to an article by the architect Weinbrenner (*Die beweglichen Theater des Curio*, in *N. deutsch. Merkur*, 1797, p. 307 ff.). Also Prof. Rudolf Bergau of Nuremberg considers this building by no means improbable, 'as the construction and technical execution of Roman buildings compel us to presuppose a very high degree of elaboration in the machinery, the manual work and the technique generally. It is enough to recall the *velarium* stretched over the whole Colosseum, the erection of the obelisks, which was not only considered a remarkable performance in the year 1586 (Hübner, *Sixtus V*, ii, 160 ff.), but even in the nineteenth century in Paris, and the roof of the basilica in the forum of Trajan'. Paul Laspeyres (d. 1881) was of the same opinion, and remarked that the construction would be much simpler if one merely assumed a shifting of the spectators' seats; but that it would appear by no means impossible with the appliances available in that age, if one were to assume a rotation of the great masses of the timber framework, especially if the buildings in question were not on a very large scale.
- 43, 41. severest. Walter, *Gesch. d. röm. Rechts* (2nd edition), ii, p. 419 § 783 (Ulpian. *in collat. leg. Mos.*, xi, 7; Paul., *Sent. rec.*, v, 17, § 3, c. 1; *C. Th. ad l. Fab.* [9, 19]. *Fr. i. pr. D. h. t.*).
- 44, 1. non-citizens. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 559, 2.
- 44, 2. estate. Paul., *Sent. rec.*, v, 23, § 11, 15, 16, 17, fr. 3, § 5. Ulpian, l. ix, *De Off. Proc.* (*Digg.*, xlviii, 8, § 12); Marcian, l. ii reg. (*ib.*, xlix, 19, 3).
- 44, 14. obtained. Ulpian, *Coll.*, *loc. cit.*
- 44, 22. turned. Pliny, *Ep. ad Tr.*, 31 sq.
- 44, 24. robbery. Callistratus, lib. vi de cognit. (*Digg.*, xlviii, 28, § 15): nonnulli etiam ad bestias hos damnaverunt.
- 44, 24. sacrilege. Quintilian, *Decl.*, 9, 21: in ludo fui . . . morabar inter sacrilegos incendiarios et . . . homicidas. Cf. Martial, *Spect.*, 7, 7-10.
- 44, 25. mutiny. *H. A.*, *Claud. Goth.*, c. 11.
- 44, 32. beasts. Cic., *In Pison.*, 36, 89; cf. Drumann, ii, 69 f.
- 44, 39. deformity. Cic., *Ad. Fam.*, x, 32; Drumann, ii, 610, 44.
- 45, 1. arena. Dio, lxix, 10.
- 45, 5. beheaded. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 35.
- 45, 8. law. *Id.*, *Claud.*, 14.
- 45, 10. scenery. *Id. ib.*, 34.
- 45, 14. Tacitus. Tac., *A.*, xii, 56.
- 45, 20. appear. *Hadrian*, c. 17.
- 45, 23. fighting. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 7, 5.
- 45, 25. pardoned. Cf. vol. ii, p. 5, 23-38, of this work.
- 45, 28. criminals. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12.
- 45, 33. Claudius. Dio, lx, 30.
- 45, 38. Berytus. Josephus, *B. J.*, vi, 9, 2; vii, 2, 1; vii, 3, 1.
- 46, 3. triumph. *Paneg.*, viii, 23, 3; vi, 12, 3.
- 46, 6. bravoës. Dio, xxxix, 7 sq.; Cic., *Pro Sulla*, 19, 54; *Sext.*, 39, 85.
- 46, 10. Ebria. Pompon., *Auctorat.*, fr. 1 (Ribbeck).
- 46, 12, 13. money. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, iv, 46 and 8a.



- 46, 17. mentioned. Valer. Max., ii, 3, 2.  
 46, 20. Spartacus. Drumann, *RG*, iv, 74.  
 46, 25. bodyguard. Caes., *B. C.*, i, 14; cf. Cic., *Ad Att.*, vii, 14, 2, where the number is uncertain; Drumann, iii, 427 f.  
 46, 27. school. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 31.  
 46, 30. patricians. Sallust, *Catil.*, c. 30, 7; Cic., *Catil.*, ii, 12; *Pro Sext.*, 4, 9; Drumann, v, 453.  
 46, 33. win. Cic., *Pro Sext.*, 4, 9; Drumann, v, 563, 18.  
 46, 35. fixed. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 10.  
 46, 36. maximum. Dio, lix, 11.  
 46, 38. capital. Mommsen, *Die Gladiatorentessen*, in *Hermes*, xxi, p. 274, 3, who refers the deliberations in the senate *de ampliando numero gladiatorum* (Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 54) to the legal restrictions of the municipal games (often mentioned in inscriptions, e.g. *CIL*, x, 1211), and to petitions to the senate and emperor for exemptions from these games. Cf. *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 1071.  
 46, 40. excursions. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 25.  
 47, 5. murder. Tac., *A.*, i, 22.  
 47, 8. Thasos. *CIG*, 2164.  
 47, 9. ownership. *CIG*, 2511 and *Add.*, ii, p. 1028.  
 47, 11. company. Wrongly doubted by Ritschl, *CIL*, i, 755. Cf. Henzen, *BdI*, 1865, p. 105 sq. Pamphilus sociorum, Henzen, *Eph. ep.*, iii, 204, 6; Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiii, 120: in officinis sociorum (Garum sociorum, Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 439, 4. One Capratinus Curtiorum, Ritschl, *Tesserae*, n. 52).  
 47, 15. troop-master. *Bull. Nap.*, 1853, p. 115; *CIL*, iv, p. 70 ss.; Kiessling, *N. Jahrb.*, 1872, p. 69.  
 47, 17. gladiators. Hübner, *Monatsber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1868, p. 89 (one 'Valentinus legionis xxx' on a clay vessel at Colchester).  
 47, 20. prices. Dio, lix, 14.  
 47, 23. knocked. Sueton., *Calig.*, 38.  
 47, 27. trainer. *Id.*, *Vitell.*, c. 12; cf. Petron., c. 45.  
 47, 30. reason. *Hadrian*, c. 18.  
 47, 31. sales. *Digg.*, xlviii, 8, 11: servo sine iudicio ad bestias dato non solum qui vendidit, poena, verum et qui comparavit tenebitur. Cf. Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, iii, p. 61.  
 47, 33. provinces. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 190, 5 and 6.  
 47, 38. condemned. Gell., v, 13, after Apio, *Aegyptiac.*, v.  
 48, 2. hire. Gaius, *Instit.*, iii, § 146.  
 48, 6. returned. *Digg.*, xi, 4, l. 5; Wallon, iii, p. 245.  
 48, 9. condemnation. Macrin., c. 12.  
 48, 13. liable. Callistrat., lib. iii edict. monitor.; *Digg.*, xxxviii, 1, 38.  
 48, 18. freedmen. Petron., *Sat.*, 45; Dio, lx, 30: *οτι κατὰ τὴν ὀπλομαχίαν* (after the triumph over Britain in the year 44) *πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων ἀπελευθέρων . . . ἐμαχέσαντο*. P. J. Meier, *De gladi. Rom.* (Bonn, 1881), p. 48, 2, declares the 'liberti' in Petronius to be *rudiarii*.  
 48, 20. Gades. See vol ii., p. 44.  
 48, 24. fighting-school. Seneca, *Controv.*, v, 33.  
 48, 30. trades. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, 1418 = Orelli, 4404.

- 48, 32. applications. There was an *auctoratus* of Pomponius and a *Bucco auctoratus*.
- 48, 34. chance. Borghesi, *BdI*, 1842, p. 32.
- 48, 35. freeborn. *CIL*, i, 745, 747, 749, 756, 776 (in the years 740, 747, 752, 760 and during the reign of Claudius). Ritschl, *Die Tesserae gladiatoriae*, p. 14 [304].
- 48, 38. Sempronius. Parrucci, *Graffiti*, p. 60.
- 48, 41. pay. *Auctoratus ob sepeliendum patrem*, Quintilian, *Decl.*, 9 and 302; *vir fortis gladiator*, Calpurn., 50.
- 49, 4. drachmae. Lucian, *Toxaris*, 58.
- 49, 7. steel. Lips., *Saturn.*, ii, 5; cf. Juv., ii, 8: *scripturus leges et regia lanistae*.
- 49, 12. peace. Manil., *Astron.*, iv, 225.
- 49, 14. sword. Tertullian, *Ad mart.*, c. 5.
- 49, 18. brigandage. Dio, lxxiv, 2.
- 49, 22. arena. Martial, *Lib. spect.*, 29, 6.
- 49, 24. fingers. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 21.
- 49, 24. bowls. Cf. on *lances*, Digg., xii, i, ii; xxx, 51; *disci*, xvi, 3, 26 § 2. Presenting of gold coins on dishes, on the circus mosaic of Lyons, and Juv., 6, 204.
- 49, 27. appearance. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 7.
- 49, 29. generals. *Id.*, *Nero*, c. 30.
- 49, 34. belts. From Pompeii: *Mus. Borb.*, iii, plate lx; iv, pls. xiv and xxix; v, plate xxix; vii, plate xiv; x, plate 31. Further instances in the Despuig collection, Hübner, *Antiken von Madrid*, p. 307. Cf. Adr. de Longpérier, *Rev. archéol.*, viii, pl. 165, and the monument of M. Antonius Exochus, Fabretti, *Col. Traj.*, 256.
- 49, 35. feathers. Cf. e.g. Gell, *Pompeiana*, i, pl. 18, and a lamp from Constantine in *Rev. arch.*, xvi, pl. 371, 2. The Schol. Juv., 3, 158 mentions peacocks' feathers (seven in Lucil., *Satt.*, 3, 22). But probably the helmets adorned with ostrich feathers are also helmets of gladiators (Pliny, *N. H.*, x, i, 2).
- 49, 36. attire. Schol. Juv., 8, 207, among the monuments, particularly the Borghesi mosaic.
- 49, 40. necklets. *Pertinax*, c. 8.
- 50, 5. fencer. Cic., *De or.*, iii, 23, 86.
- 50, 6. mentioned. Cf. vol. ii, p. 46.
- 50, 10. begged. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 26.
- 50, 12. sharp. *Id.*, *Calig.*, c. 54; Dio, lix, 5.
- 50, 15. Allienus. Dio, lxvi, 15.
- 50, 15. Hadrian. *Hadrian*, c. 14.
- 50, 17. Parthians. *M. Antoninus*, c. 8.
- 50, 19. excusable. *Did. Julianus*, c. 9.
- 50, 21. art. Dio, lxxvi, 7.
- 50, 30. always. The assertions of Dio, lxxii, 22, Herodian, i, 15, *Vita M. Antonini*, 19, *Commodi*, c. 12 may be combined thus. Cf. Meier, *De gl.*, p. 55, 1.
- 50, 39. wish. *Commod.*, cc. 8 and 11; *Clod. Albin.*, c. 6; Dio, lxxii, 17 sqq.
- 50, 41. tuition. Juv., 6, 246 sqq.

- 51, 1. favourites. Martial, v, 24, 10: *Hermes cura laborque ludiarum*.
- 51, 6. saw. Juv., 6, 78-113; Petron., c. 126, *arenarius aliquas accendit aut perfusus pulvere mulio aut histrio*.
- 51, 9. Hercules. Cic., *Phil.*, 2, 25, 63; Drumann, *RG*, i, 504.
- 51, 11. fame. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 9, 1.
- 51, 14. Commodus. *M. Anton.*, c. 19.
- 51, 15. poets. Martial, v, 24.
- 51, 16. seal-rings. Cf. Appendix xxvi.
- 51, 26. free. Cf. the inscriptions mentioned by Henzen, *BdI*, 1879, p. 46 ss. with 'lib(eratus)' and the number of the fight after which the gladiator was freed; e.g. *CIL*, v, 4511: *Thrax lib. viii (liberatus pugnatum octo)*.
- 51, 28. itinerant. Schol. Juv., 6, 105.
- 51, 30. estate. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 1, 5.
- 51, 31. seats. Juv., 3, 158.
- 51, 32. make. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix, 1, 15; Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 55. Without doubt the same called by Dio, ix, 28: *τὸν τῶν Κέλτων ἐπὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἀρξάντα* (formerly misinterpreted); he was saved from death by Messalina in the year 46.
- 51, 35. gladiator. *Macrinus*, c. 4.
- 52, 27. faced. Mérimée, *Lettres sur l'Espagne*, 1833; Bernhardt, *Reiseerinnerungen aus Spanien* (1867-1871), 1886, pp. 35, 46, 247 f.
- 52, 29. made. P. Poetellius (P.l.) *lanista ad ar(am) Forin|ar(um) Rom(ae) dd (?) vix. | ann. xliix | h. s. e.*, *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,200. An inscription of a 'lanista August(i)', *CIL*, x, 1733 = *IRN*, 2895 (Naples) is rightly doubted by Mommsen. One M. Tul. Olympus 'negotiator familiae gladiatoriae' (Arelate), Herzog, *Gall. Narb.*, n. 352 = *CIL*, xii, 727.
- 52, 32. disrepute. L. Julia munic. cap. viii lin. 49 (quive . . . . lanistaturam fecerit).
- 52, 34. *lanista*. Martial, xi, 66.
- 52, 35. about. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 12 (*lanistae circumforaneo*).
- 52, 38. business. Tac., *A.*, iv, 62 (ut qui . . . in sordidam mercedem id negotium quaesivisset).
- 52, 40. mentioned. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 42 (*lanistarum familiae*) Dio, iv, 26.
- 53, 40. early. Cic., *Catil.*, 2, 5, 9, in Jordan, *Hermes*, ix, 416 ff.; he also believes the 'ludus Aemilius', Hor., *A. P.* 32, to be a gladiatorial school. So Urlichs (*Archäol. Analekten*, 1885, p. 15 f.), who believes that a school had become a necessity because of the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus (30 B.C.), and was erected soon after, probably in its neighbourhood.
- 53, 41. Caligula. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 4, 3.
- 53, 41. Caligula. Pliny, *N. H.*, xi, 144, 245.
- 54, 4. imperial. *Catal. imp.*
- 54, 8. enlarged. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 179. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 1070-1072, who believes that as the *ludus magnus* arose with and after the Flavian amphitheatre, the *ludus matutinus* was, before Vespasian's time, the only school of gladiators in Rome.

- 54, 10. mortuaries. *Catal. imp.* (armamentarium samiarium spoliarium).
- 54, 11. overseers. Preller, *Regionen d. St. R.*, p. 121 f. A *curssor* (sic) *ludi magni*, *CIL*, vi, 10, 165.
- 54, 13. order. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*
- 54, 14. tribunes. Henzen, 6520 = *CIL*, xiv, 160 (the offices in ascending order) : trib. coh. i Germanor. proc. ludi matutini. proc. annonae Augusti Ostis, etc.; *CIL*, x, 1685 (as before) : praef. fabr. trib. milit. leg. iii Cyr. procur. ludi famil. glad. Caes. Alexandriae ad Aegyptum adlectus inter selectos ab imp. Caes. Aug. . . . etc.
- 54, 14. civil. *CIL*, xiv, 2922 (descending order) ; proc. xx her. proc. patrimoni proc. ludi magni proc. ludi matutini. proc. reg. urbis etc. *CIL*, viii, 7039 (as before) : proc. Aug. dioeceseos Hadrumetinae et Thevestinae et ludi matutini et ad putandas rationes Syriae civitatum trib. leg. vii geminae praef. coh. i Gaetulorum.
- 54, 15. heads. Henzen, 6947 (ascending order) : proc. Aug. Armeniae major. ludi magni hereditatum et a censibus a libellis Aug. praef. vigilum praef. Aegypti.
- 54, 15. step. So also *CIL*, viii, p. 968 ad 8328 (descending) : proc. quadr. G(alliarum ?) proc. ludi magni.
- 54, 18. sought. *CIL*, ii, 1085 (descending order) : proc. prov. Sicil. proc. alimentor. per Apuliam Calabr. Lucaniam Bruttios subproc. ludi magni.
- 54, 20. Capua. *Did. Julianus*, c. 8.
- 54, 20. Praeneste. Tac., *A.*, xv, 46. The watch kept by soldiers proves that it was imperial.
- 54, 22. existence. Cf. n. on l. 14 (tribunes).
- 54, 26. Cyprus. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 1071, 2 ; Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, 181, 4. Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL iii* (*Ephem. epigr.*, v, p. 44) : [proc.] Augg. ad f(amil.) gladiat. (per) Asiam e(t adhae)rentes p(rovin)cias pro(c.) Augg. ad xx tr(ans Pa)dum.
- 54, 32. levy. Dio, lxxvi, 10.
- 54, 35. licence. *Digg.*, xlvi, 19, 31 (Modestinus libro iii de poenis).
- 54, 39. emperor. *Digg.*, *ib.*
- 55, 2. unknown. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 31. I do not know whence Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2610, deduces the continued enforcement of this edict. It proves nothing as regards the games given by the governors, that imperial permission was needed for the municipal spectacles.
- 55, 6. camp. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 4, 3.
- 55, 7. Otho. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 11.
- 55, 10. millenary. *Gordian. tert.*, c. 33.
- 55, 11. Gallienus. *Gallien.*, c. 8.
- 55, 11. triumph. *Aurelian.*, c. 33. Read 'Aurelian'.
- 55, 16. Severus. Jordan, *Forma Urbis*, tab. i, 4 ; xv, 102.
- 55, 20. vizors. Bechi, *Mus. Borb.*, v, tav. xi (1829) ; cf. Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.*, N. S., i, p. 99 ss. ; Minervini, *ib.*, 1859, pp. 116-120 and p. 175.
- 55, 26. hall. Goro von Agyagfalva, *Wanderungen durch Pompeji*,



- p. 120 f. ; Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 193-198. According to Nissen, *Pompeji-Studien*, p. 253 ff., the court with the portico was used for walking or for elections (? *als Stimmplatz*) ; according to Overbeck-Mau, p. 197, the audience in the great theatre sheltered there from sudden rain.
- 55, 30. preserved. *Bull. Nap.*, N. S., i, tav. vii, 13 and 14 ; better *ib.*, 1859, tav. x ; cf. the April number of *Bull. Ital.*, 1860 (no. 182), which I have not been able to consult.
- 55, 38. weapons. Appian, *B. civ.*, i, 68 ; Vellei., ii, 30, 5 ; Flor., ii, 8 (iii, 20).
- 55, 40. commit. Seneca, *Epp.*, 70, 17 ; Symmach., *Epp.*, 2, 46.
- 55, 41. foiled. Tac., *A.*, xv, 46 ; cf. Zosim., i, 66.
- 56, 6. found. Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*<sup>4</sup>, p. 196.
- 56, 12. food. Lips., *Saturn.*, ii, c, xvi ; Cyprian, *Epp.*, 2 : impletur in succum cibis fortioribus corpus, ut arvinæ toris moles robusta pinguescat, ut saginatus in poenam carius pereat.
- 56, 14. *hordearii*. Pliny, *N. H.*, xviii, 72. Cf. Sueton., *Cl. rhet.*, c. 2.
- 56, 16. flesh. Galen, vi, 529.
- 56, 18. spendthrift. Juv., 11, 20.
- 56, 20. prescribed. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 88 : singulis ibi militibus Vitellius paratos cibos ut gladiatoribus saginam dividebat.
- 56, 21. return. Seneca, *Epp.*, 37, 2.
- 56, 22. preserved. Scribon. Larg., *De comp. medic.*, 102, 203, 207, 208, and Pliny, *N. H.*, xxvi, 135.
- 56, 24. diet. S. Preller, *op. cit.*, p. 122. A bronze bust erected by the *venatores* at Corinth to their physician, *CIG*, 1106 = Kaibel, *Epigr. graeca*, 885.
- 56, 25. esteemed. *CIL*, vi, 631.
- 56, 29. guilds. Mommsen, *De collegiis*, pp. 102, 108 ; 78, 25. Cf. Mommsen, *IRN*, 4615 = *CIL*, x, 4856.
- 56, 31. worshipped. Orelli, 2566 = *CIL*, vi, 631 sq. with Henzen's annotation.
- 56, 33. union. Henzen, 7209 = *CIL*, xii, 1590.
- 56, 33. elsewhere. Henzen, 7210 (collegium venator. Polentinorum. *CIL*, xi, 1, 862 = Orelli, 4063 (Mutina) colleg. harenariorum. Also the inscription at Puteoli, Mommsen, *CIL*, 1, 1234 : Mercurio retiarii (?) . . . can(dum) mag(istri) curarunt, belongs perhaps to a college of gladiators.
- 56, 35. Thracians. Borghesi, *Bull. Nap.*, i, p. 95 ; *CIL*, vi, 10, 197.
- 56, 36. *coarmio*. Orelli, 2571 = *CIL*, x, 7297.
- 56, 39. messmate. Garrucci, *BdI*, 1865, p. 80 : D. M. Priori retiario lud. mag. Juvenis murmillon lud. mag. con(v)ictori b. m. f..
- 56, 41. instructor. Doctor Thraecum, *CIL*, vi, 10, 192. Henzen, 6171 (Bergomum) : Thr. Pinnesis s[pectatus] v[ictor] de Val. Valerian[i] familia ?) nat. Raet. docet Faustus [doctor Thracum est ?) ; differently in Mommsen, *CIL*, v, 2, 5124. Doctor myrmillonum, *CIL*, vi, 10, 174 sq. Docto[ri] murm[illi]. (Concordia) *CIL*, v, 1, 1907. Doctor secutorum, Fabretti, 234, 613. D. M. Aniceto prov. sp. Ael. Marcion. doctor et primus (primus palus. Garucci, *op. cit.*) b. m. *ib.*, 614 =

- Henzen, 6173 = *CIL*, 10, 183. Doctor oplomachor., *ib.*, 10, 181. Magister Samnitium, Cic., *De orat.*, iii, 23. Donat., *Vit. Vergil.*, 7, 28: in Balistam, ludi [gladiatorii] magistrum—distichon fecit. Cf. Haupt, *Hermes*, 1, 41 ff. 'Doctor' only, *CIL*, iii, 10, 198 sq.
- 57, 1. wooden. Henzen thinks he can recognize such a *palus* on a lamp: *Expl. mus. Borgh.*, tav. vii, 1, and *BdI*, 1843, p. 93.
- 57, 4. practice. Goro, *op. cit.*, p. 122; cf. Lips., *Sat.*, i, cxv.
- 57, 10. riposte. Quintilian, v, 13, 54.
- 57, 10. used. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 26; Petron., *Sat.*, c. 45: Thraex qui et ipse ad dictata pugnavit, *i.e.* a gladiator trained in the school. Cf. Juv., 11, 8: dictata magistri.
- 57, 12. public. Jerome, *Epp.*, 48, 113; *Id.*, *Praef. in Comm. Ezechiel.*, 13: facile est dare dictata de populo et singulos ictus calumniari.
- 57, 12. service. Tertullian, *Ad marty.*, c. 1.
- 57, 15. thrusting. Valer. Max., ii, 3, 2.
- 57, 16. Commodus. A left-handed fighter was called *scaeva* (whence Scaevola). Buecheler, *Ind. Bonn. aestiv.*, 1877, p. 12, quotes from Ulpian (*Digg.*, xxi, 1, 12): sciendum est scaevam non esse morbosum vel vitiosum, praeterquam si imbecillitate dextrae validius sinistra utitur, sed hunc non scaevam sed mancum esse, and admirably emends Seneca, *Controv.*, *praef.*, iii, 8 ss.; quidam sic cum scaeva componi cupiunt quomodo alii timent (instead of 'aliti est'). Cf. Henzen, *BdI*, 1879, p. 46 ss.; Orelli, 6174 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 180: liberatus m[ur]millo] scaev[a] pugna iiiii [quarta] (or rather 'pugna[rum] iiiii', Meier, *Glad. Rom.*, p. 48, 2). 'Scaeva' as a name for a gladiator: Victor, *Caesares*, c. 17 (Commodus). *CIG*, 2889: Ὀρᾶξ Σκευᾶς (= 'scaeva'). Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 529 Βικτωρ Σκευᾶς. Cf. Heuzey, *Mission archéol. en Macédoine* (1876), p. 283. In pictures one often sees the sword at the left side, in some cases no doubt intentionally. Meier, *Westdeutsche Ztschr. f. Gesch. und Kunst*, i, 168.
- 57, 20. revived. Cf. on this Appendix xxxix.
- 57, 21. fellows. Cf. Appendix xxviii.
- 57, 25. tiros. *CIL*, vi, 631.
- 57, 27. fee. Sueton., *loc. cit.*
- 57, 31. fight. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 29, 37.
- 57, 33. profitless. Seneca, *De provid.*, 4, 4.
- 57, 34. equals. *Id. ib.*, 3, 4.
- 57, 36. contemptuous. Seneca, *Dial.*, ii (Nec injuriam . . . etc.), c. 16, 2.
- 57, 37. groan. Cic., *Tusc.*, ii, 20, 46.
- 57, 38. master. *Id. ib.*, ii, 17, 41.
- 57, 40. die. *Id. ib.*, and Seneca, *Epp.*, 30, 8.
- 58, 9. replied. Dio, li, 7. Herod supported Q. Didius, the legate of Augustus against these gladiators, Josephus, *A. J.*, xv, 6, 7; *B. J.*, i, 20, 2.
- 58, 9. Lucius. Appian, *B. c.*, v, 30, 33; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 14.
- 58, 10. Brutus. Vell., ii, 58, 2; Appian., *ib.*, iii, 49.
- 58, 13. soldiers. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 12, 23 sq., 34 sq., 43.

- 58, 14. stood. *Id. ib.*, iii, 57, 76 sq.
- 58, 17. obedient. *M. Anton.*, cc. 21 and 23.
- 58, 19. Capua. *Did. Julianus*, c. 8.
- 58, 28. giver. Quintilian, *Decl.*, ix, 7 (instead of 'fortunae conscius aliquando fulgor' read 'f. conspicuus etc.').
- 58, 35. Fadius. See vol. ii, p. 44.
- 58, 41. broken. Seneca, *Epp.*, 70, 20. The carriage must have had very high wheels, like those now used by the Roman *carrettieri*. Götting's repeatedly expressed notion (*AdI*, xiii, p. 60) that the other suicide was Thumelicus is, deservedly, quite forgotten.
- 59, 3. suppressed. Tac., *A.*, xv, 46.
- 59, 5. overcome. Zosim., i, 71.
- 59, 12. hands. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ii, 46.
- 59, 13. announced. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 561. I only mention the quotations missing there.
- 59, 18. begged. Cf. on the *scriptores* Henzen in Gerhard's *Archäol. Ztg.*, 1846, p. 295, and *Coll. Inscr. lat.*, 5663, 6566, 6975-6977. Zangemeister, *CIL*, iv, p. 10.
- 59, 22. For 'elsewhere' read 'at various spots' (in Pompeii).
- 59, 30. awning. *Museo Borb.*, i, *rel. dei scavi*. Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.*, 1853, p. 115. (TOTIVS ORBIS DESIDERIVM in an inscription quoted there is evidently also one of those advertisements). Mau, *Scavi di Pompei, Sepolcri della via Nucervina* (*Mitth. d. Arch. Instituts*, 1888, p. 120 ff.) gives two new advertisements of gladiatorial games, found on tombs by what appears to have been an abandoned road from Pompeii to Nuceria. P. 144: Glad. par. xx Q. Monni | Rufi. pug. Noia (Nolae?) k. Mais vi | v Nonas Maias et | venatio erit (not later than the early part of the reign of Augustus). P. 145 (sulla parete in fondo alla cella del monumento n. 2): Numini | Augusti | glad. par. xx et venatio Da (?) Pompei flaminis Augustalis | pug nab. Constant. Nucer. iii Pr. Non. | Nonis viii Eidus Maias |. Nucerini officia mea certo index (?). From the form *Eidus* not later than Tiberius.
- 59, 37. exported. *Hist. Aug., Claud.*, 5 ('in indice ludiorum' instead of 'ludorum', Ritschl, *Tesserae*, p. 641). Garrucci, *Graffiti di Pompei*, pl. x, p. 66, gives the picture of such a *libellus*. Apparently the list was written before the games and V and M were added afterwards; otherwise the victor would always stand first.
- 69, 6. arena. Even if the relief in *Bull. Nap.*, iv, plate 1, does not represent an amphitheatral *pompa* it at any rate (Jahn, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1861, pp. 313-315) has much in common with it. According to Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxv, 49 (where, after mentioning the decoration of ships and funeral piles, he proceeds: *iuvatque pugnatueros ad mortem aut certe caedem speciose vehi*), there seem to have been processions of gladiators in carriages (on their way to the amphitheatre?).
- 60, 8. gauntlet. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 9, 3 (inter novos auctoratos ferulis vapulare).
- 60, 9. mentioned. Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 1 (τὰς διεξόδους τῶν μαστρί-

- γων τὰς ἐκέισε εἰθισμένας); Tertull., *Ad mart.*, c. 5; *Passio SS. Felicit. et Perpet.*, c. 8, 33 (populus—flagellis eos vexari pro ordine venatorum postulavit), where Holstenius quotes other passages besides.
- 60, 13. naturally. Dio, lvi, 13; cf. Lips., *Exc. ad Tac.*, iii, 37.
- 60, 17. combats. Martial, viii, 80; cf. *Lib. Spect.*, 29.
- 60, 18. blunted. *M. Anton.*, c. 11; Dio, lxxi, 29.
- 60, 22. flutes. Juv., 3, 35 (quondam cornicines et municipalis arenae Perpetui comites). *CIG*, 3675: οὐκέτι χαλκελάτου φωνὴν σάλπιγγος ἀκούων Οὐδ' ἀνίσων αὐλῶν, κέλαδον λαῶν ἀνεγείρω. *CIL*, x, 4915 (Venafrum): Tibicinis cantu modulans alterna vocando Martios ancantu stimulan gladiantes in arma vocavi; cf. Mommsen's note. Music is also often depicted in the reliefs representing gladiatorial games. Three gladiators' trumpets of the shape shown in Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeii*<sup>4</sup>, p. 182, 3 ft. 11 in. in diameter, were found in a tavern at Pompeii, *BdI*, 1885, p. 252.
- 60, 37. *habet*. Donat., *Ad Ter. Andr.*, i, 1, 56; Prudent., *Psychom.*, 49 sq., cf. Gronov., *Obs.*, ii, 25; Turneb., *Advers.*, xvii, 10.
- 60, 39. custom. Plutarch, *Lycurg.*, c. 19, 8: καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀθλημάτων ταῦτα μόνα μὴ κωλύσαντος ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, ἐν οἷς χεὶρ οὐκ ἀνατέλλεται. Krause, *Agonistik*, p. 522, 4.
- 60, 41. left. Cf. besides Schol. Pers., 5, 119; Sidon. Apoll., *C.*, 23, 129; Garrucci, *Graffiti*, p. xi, and the monument of Scaurus, *Mus. Borb.*, xv, pl. 27 ss. Hence 'manum tollere', Cic., *Consol. fr.*, 7; 'ad digitum pugnare', Martial, *Lib. spect.*, 29, 4; Quintilian, viii, 5, 20; cf. viii, 5, 12. Meier, p. 48, 1.
- 61, 1. thumbs. A relief (from Cavillargues, now in the museum of Nîmes) shows the fight of a Samnite and a *retiarius*, and four spectators, amongst them a woman, with upturned thumbs. *BdI*, 1853, p. 130. The inscription, pug[N]ANTES MISSI (equivalent to 'stantes missi', *CIL*, xii, 2747; cf. Orelli, 2571 = *CIL*, x, 2, 7297 and 2581 = *CIL*, vi, 1, 10, 194, where ST. MISS. is to be taken together) is not a cry of the public, but an explanatory note. 'Stans missus' is the gladiator dismissed unconquered after an undecided fight, next to victory the most honourable issue; 'missus' is the vanquished gladiator dismissed by the grace of the master of the games or of the public. Meier, *De gl. R.*, p. 49 sq.
- 61, 6. willing. Seneca, *De ira*, i, 2, 5; Lactant., *Inst. div.*, vi, 20. In the epitaph on the *secutor* Urbicus, *CIL*, v, 25,933, the exhortation ascribed to the deceased: te moneo ut quis quem vicerit occidat, apparently recommends to the victors not to wait for the decision of the public; perhaps Urbicus was slain by an adversary whom he had previously defeated.
- 61, 12. Augustus. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 15. The inscription of Minturnae, Mommsen, *IRN*, 4063 = *CIL*, x, 6012 (of the year 249) shows that this prohibition was not in force everywhere and at all times.
- 61, 13. edict. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 4.
- 61, 15. fight. 'Suppositicius' (Martial, v, 24, 8; *CIL*, iv, 1179;



- 'gl(adiatorum) par(ia) xxx et eor[um] supp[ositi]cii] pugn[abunt] Pompeis', cf. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 14, 21; Lactant., *Inst. div.*, vi, 20) is called by Petron., c. 45, *tertiarius*, as the third to the other two fighters. Meier, *loc. cit.*, p. 50 sq.
- 61, 17. ground. Martial, ii, 75, 5.
- 61, 18. sand. Petron., c. 34: duo Aethiopes cum pusillis utribus, quales solent esse qui harenam in amphitheatro spargunt.
- 61, 18. palms. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 33: cum palma victorum more discucurrit. Meier, *loc. cit.*, p. 46, 2.
- 61, 32. shields. If the text in Cic., *Ad Attic.*, vii, 14, 2: scutorum in ludo (J. Caesaris Capuano) IIO is right (Victorius supposed *secutorum*; cf. against this Meier, *loc. cit.*, p. 19), *scuta* had by that time become a general designation for gladiators.
- 61, 32. permeated. Quintil., ii, 11, 1. A teacher of rhetoric was asked, Theodorus an Apollodorus esset? Ego, inquit, parmularius sum.
- 61, 34. Caligula. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 32 (sica), 54 (Threx); cf. 55 (myrmillonum armaturas recidit).
- 61, 34. Titus. Sueton., *Tit.*, c. 8 (studium armaturae Threcum prae se ferens).
- 61, 35. won. Martial, xiv, 213.
- 61, 36. contempt. *Id.*, ix, 68.
- 61, 41. spoken. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 10.
- 62, 9. identical. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 33.
- 62, 12. shields. M. Antonin., *Comment.*, i, 5.
- 62, 14. been. Fabretti, *Inscr. antiq.*, p. 222, 592 = *CIL*, vi, 9719, 1. 10: Crescens O (mulieris) ser(vus) natione Bessus olear(ius) de portic(u) Pallantian(a) Venetian(us) parmular(ius). Vix(i) bene jaceo secur(us).
- 62, 21. backs. Cf. the slightly discrepant statements of Appian, *Bell. civ.*, ii, 102; Dio, xliii, 23; Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 39; Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 22.
- 62, 23. performed. Dio, lv, 8.
- 62, 24. realistic. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 21.
- 62, 29. amphitheatre. Dio, lxi, 9. The 'consummatio gladiatorum' of Pliny, *loc. cit.*, probably means such a battle, cf. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 7, 5 (Agrippa's spectacle at Berytos, where 700 men fought on each side).
- 62, 30. Circus. Dio, lxxvii, 8.
- 62, 36. games. Livy, xxxix, 22.
- 62, 37. had. Val. Max., ii, 7, 13 sq.; Livy, *Epit.*, 51; *id.*, xxvi, 2.
- 63, 2. prisoners. Cf. vol. ii, pp. 43, 45 f.
- 63, 4. *bestiarius*. Seneca, *Epp.*, 87, 9; cf. Apulei., *Metam.*, iv, 72; Symmach., *Epp.*, v, 59; Claudian, *Cons. Mall.*, 293.
- 63, 5. dishonour. Ulpian, lib. iv ad Edict. (*Digg.*, iii, 1 § 6): et qui operas suas ut cum bestiis depugnaret locaverit (loses the right of accusation).
- 63, 6. scars. Tertull., *Ad mart.*, c. 5.
- 63, 7. unpaid. Ulpian, *loc. cit.*; cf. Tertull., *Ad nat.*, i, 18.
- 63, 9. families. Henzen, 6178 = *CIL*, v, 1, 2541 (Ateste: famil. venatoria, which, as Henzen thinks, refers rather to *bestiarii* than to hunters; cf. 7209 = *CIL*, xii, 1590: coll. venator.

- Deensium qui ministerio arenario fungunt [Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12 : confectores ferarum et varia harenae ministeria]).
- 63, 9. trained. Seneca, *Epp.*, 70, 20, even mentions a 'ludus bestiarius'.
- 63, 11. founded. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Spaniens*, iii, 207, 222 f.
- 63, 12. given. Preller, *Reg. d. St. R.*, p. 121.
- 63, 14. morning. *Ibid.*, advertisement in Pompeii : matutini erunt, *CIL*, iv, 1200. But in *CIL*, x, 7295 (Panhormi) apparently the *venator* (here *missio*) begins at noon.
- 63, 16. daybreak. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 34. In Martial, viii, 67 the *venationes* at the *Floralia* have not ended at the fifth hour. Also in Lucian, *Toxaris*, c. 58 the beast-fights come first. *Bestiarii* seems generally to be the name of the criminals destined for the beast-fight, so it is a sign of cruelty to like to see them (Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 34), and they are worse fighters than the worst gladiators (Petron., c. 45). *Venatores* on the other hand are practised hunters, and probably not as a rule condemned criminals.
- 63, 18. games. Cf. Appendix xxx.
- 64, 18. sudden. G. Freytag, *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*, i<sup>5</sup>, 344. Monach. Gall., *Gesta Karoli*, ii, 8 sq. (Pertz, *Monum.*, ii, 752). *Einhardi Annales*, 801 (*ib.*, i, 190) : Ipsius anni mense Octobrio Isaac Judaeus de Africa cum elefanto regressus portum Veneris intravit et quia propter nives Alpes transire non potuit, Vercellis hiemavit. Cf. 817 (p. 197).
- 64, 19. easy. I have taken these facts from Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, pp. 288–290. On the zoological gardens and menageries at the Hague (fourteenth cent.), Amsterdam, Lübeck, Ghent (fifteenth cent.), those of the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order at Marienburg and Stuhm, and the court menageries of Dresden and Vienna (from the middle of the sixteenth cent.) cf. Stricker, *Zur Vorgeschichte der zoologischen Gärten*, in *Im neuen Reich*, 1879, no. 41, p. 539 ff.; also the collection of Virchow and Holtzendorff, Heft 336. Further, *Beilage zur Allgem. Zeitung*, 15 Oct. 1882 (menageries of Henry I at Woodstock, of the emperor Frederick II etc.).
- 64, 40. animal. Politian, *Miscell.*, c. 3. Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, ii, 466 f.
- 64, 41. Dily. *Reisen des J. Schiltberger* (1394–1427), edited by K. F. Neumann, p. 103.
- 65, 1. Cairo. F. Fabri, *Evagator.*, iii, 30.
- 65, 3. France. Mongez, *Mémoire sur les animaux promenés ou tués dans les cirques*, *Mém. de l'Institut*, vol. x, p. 417 ss., and Oken, *Allgem. Naturgesch.*, vii, 2, pp. 1321–1329.
- 65, 12. transhipped. Brehm, *Illustr. Thierleben*, ii, 493.
- 65, 15. event. Seb. Münster, *Cosmographie* (Basel, 1578), p. MCCCCL—without doubt the same animal, which Emanuel sent together with an elephant to Leo X in the year 1513. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 290, 4.
- 65, 18. better. Brehm, *op. cit.*, ii, 756. S. Kiechel of Ulm saw a rhinoceros in Constantinople at the end of the sixteenth century. *Bibliothek. d. litter. Ver. in Stuttgart*, vol. lxxxvi, p. 414 f.

- 65, 19. 1664. *London Gazette*, 1664; cf. *Quarterly Review*, June 1855.
- 65, 23. Germany. Oken, *op. cit.*, p. 1193.
- 65, 34. milk. Dickens, *Household Words*, i (1850), p. 445 ss. (the hippopotamus).
- 65, 39. exaggeration. Dio, xliii, 22.
- 66, 9. delight. Aurel. Vict., *Epit.*, i, 25.
- 66, 11. laid. Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 94. For '500' read '3,500'.
- 66, 14. sorts. Sueton., *Titus*, c. 7. *Eutrop.*, vii, 21.
- 66, 14. tame. Dio, lxvi, 25.
- 66, 16. Dacian. *Id.*, lxviii, 15.
- 66, 18. Gardens. The zoological gardens in London contained on January 1, 1864, 567 quadrupeds, 1063 birds, 100 reptiles (*Ausland*, 1866, p. 240). The animals of the amphitheatre were nearly all quadrupeds.
- 66, 21. cooks. Galen, *Περὶ ἀνατομ. ἐγχειρήσ.* vii, 10, ed. K., ii, 619; cf. iv, p. 349.
- 66, 21. drugs. Vol. i, p. 176 ff.
- 66, 25. cage. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 40.
- 66, 30. individuals. The emperor Macrinus is said to have been a hunter in Africa, *Macrin.*, c. 4 (see also vol. ii, p. 51 of this work). Firmic., *De math.*, iv, 7, 3 sq. (bestiarum venatores aut Marsos tales qui aspides venari consueverunt . . . vel bestiarum magistros). An ἀρχικυνηγός? in Lebas-Waddington, 1743a (Ilium).
- 66, 31. merchants. Symmach., *Epp.*, v, 22 (ursorum negotiatores).
- 66, 41. supported. Strabo, ii, 5, 34, p. 131 C.
- 67, 6. pasturages. *Anthol.*, ed. Jacobs, iv, 202. *Epigr. adesp.*, 398. The damage caused by a lion is estimated at 6000 francs a year; Brehm, *Illustr. Thierleben*, i, 209.
- 67, 10. Sais. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxviii, 121.
- 67, 11. Nubia. Ammian. Marc., xxii, 15, 24. Cf. also Cless (Numidia), *StRE*, v, 736.
- 67, 13. Nile. Themist., *Or.*, x, p. 140a.
- 67, 14. occur. Brehm, *op. cit.*, ii, 768.
- 67, 18. menageries. Philostrate., *Apoll. Tyan.*, i, 28, ed. K., p. 20; Ammian., xxiv, 5, 1; Liban., ed. R., i, 603, 19.
- 67, 20. century. Ammian., xxxi, 10, 19; Julian, *De Constantii imp. reb. gest. or.*, ii, ed. Spanheim, p. 53 B.
- 67, 18. reinforced. *Panegg.*, i, 10; xii, 22; Marcellin. Com., *Chron.*, ad an. 496.
- 67, 22. lions. Ammian., xviii 7 4.
- 67, 23. animals. *Id.*, xxiii, 6, 50.
- 67, 26. panthers. *Digg.*, xxxix, 4, 16, § 7. Cf. Dirksen, *Abhandl. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1834, p. 104.
- 67, 28. exempted. Symmach., *Epp.*, v, 60 and 62.
- 67, 31. fell. *Instit.*, ii, 1, § 12; cf. Schirmer, *Kennen die Römer ein Jagdrecht des Grundeigenthümers?* in *Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch.*, xi, 311 f., and *id.*, *Noch einmal das Jagdrecht des römischen Grundeigenthümers*, in *Ztschr. der Savignystiftung*, iii, *Röm. Abth.*, pp. 23-33.

- 67, 34. imperial. Juv., 12, 106.  
 67, 35. sovereignty. *Aurelian*, c. 5.  
 67, 36. licence. Aelian, *Nat. anim.*, 10, 1: ἀνὴρ τῆς τούτων (elephantorum) ἀγρὰς οὐκ ἄπειρος, δύναμιν λαβὼν ἐκ βασιλείως τοῦ Ῥωμαίων πάλαι, Ἀλέξανδρος ὄνομα, καὶ σταλεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν . . . κ.τ.λ.  
 67, 41. selling. *Cod. Theod.*, l. xv, *Tit.* xi, l. 1. When Symmachus, *Epp.*, vii, 122, begs, 'ut aliarum ferarum Libycarum mihi emptio sacra auctoritate praestetur', perhaps he only means lions.  
 68, 4. lions. *Aurelian*, c. 20.  
 68, 4. procurator. Ti. Claudius Spectator procurator Laurento ad helephantos, Orelli, 2951.  
 68, 12. devoted. *Gordianus tert.*, c. 33. For *arcoleontes* (C) Salmasius conjectured *argoleontes*, Scaliger *agrioleontes*; I think *archileontes* is more likely.  
 68, 14. staff. For 'procuratores a loricata.' (Henzen, 6342), which Borghesi (and De Rossi, *BdI*, 1877, p. 83) erroneously referred to this, cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, pp. 3, 4. M. Aurelius Victor Augg. lib. adjutor ad feras, *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 208. Aurel. Sabinus Augg. lib. pp. (praepositus) herbariarum, 10, 209.  
 68, 16. criminals. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 27.  
 68, 17. save. *Aurelian*, c. 33. A lion requires 8 pounds of good meat a day, Brehm, *Illustv. Thierleben*, i, 210.  
 68, 19. served. Bunsen, *Beschr. Roms*, iii, 473.  
 68, 21. cohorts. Orelli, 22 = *CIL*, vi, 130: custos vivari coh. praett. et urbb. (241 A.D.); cf. Hübner, *Monatsb. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1868, p. 89.  
 68, 21. vivarium. Procop., *Bell. Goth.*, i, 22; cf. Jahn, *Ann. d. I.*, x, 208; Becker, *Topogr.*, 207.  
 68, 25. park. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 31.  
 68, 30. leopards. Symmachus, *Epp.*, iv, 12; vii, 59.  
 68, 31. Africa. Vol. i, p. 113 f.  
 68, 33. Republican. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 488, 5.  
 69, 2. provided. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, ii, 11, 2; viii, 9, 3. Cf. Plutarch, *Cic.*, c. 36.  
 69, 3. return-favour. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ix, 125.  
 69, 8. catch. Strabo, xv, 1, 42; Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 24; Arrian, *Hist. Ind.*, c. 13.  
 69, 9. boars. Claudian, *Laud. Stilich.*, 3, 305; Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 5, 28.  
 69, 10. ostriches. Aelian, *Hist. an.*, xiv, 7.  
 69, 11. lion-pits. Claudian, *ib.*, 3, 341. Pliny, *ib.*, viii, 54; cf. Xenophon, *De venat.*, c. 11. Cf. Appendix xxxi.  
 69, 20. green. Claudian, *ib.*, 3, 322.  
 69, 22. mostly. The embarking of the elephants (at Hannibal's crossing of the Rhone) described (after Polybius, iii, 46; Livy, xxi, 28) by Sil. Ital., iii, 460; Aelian., *Nat. an.*, x, 17.  
 69, 23. delay. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 34.  
 69, 23. wreck. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ix, 117.  
 69, 24. safeguarding. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 40.  
 69, 25. heavy. Claudian, *loc. cit.*  
 69, 28. succumb. Apulei., *Metam.*, iv, 72. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ii, 76.



- 69, 33. stay. *Cod. Theod.*, xv, tit. xi, 1, 2.  
 70, 3. backs. *Gallieni*, c. 8.  
 70, 4. amphitheatrical. *Mon. d. I.*, iii, pl. 38; cf. Henzen, *AdI*, 1840, p. 20.  
 70, 5. decorated. Also the metal plates which are hung about the beasts in the Borghesi mosaic are probably such *bracteae*. Henzen took them for devices to irritate them.  
 70, 7. plate. Seneca, *Epp.*, 41, 6.  
 70, 8. Capitol. *Juv.*, 10, 65; cf. Schol.  
 70, 9. scarlet. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 197.  
 70, 12. people. *Gordiani*, c. 3.  
 70, 13. tamed. Cf. vol. ii, p. 66 f.  
 70, 16. docility. Plutarch, *De solert. anim.*, c. 5, 5, p. 963 C. For the taming of beasts see Jahn, *Columbar. d. Villa Pamfili*, p. 34 ff.  
 70, 18. practised. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 105; cf. Philo, *De animalibus*, § 23 sqq.  
 70, 19. constellation. Manil., iv, 234 sqq.; v, 700; Firmic., *Mathes.*, viii, 17.  
 70, 20. escorted. Dio, xxxix, 22; or to the Capitol according to Suetonius, *Caes.*, c. 37.  
 70, 22. team. Cic., *Philipp.*, 2, 24; Plutarch, *Antony*, c. 9; Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 55.  
 70, 24. nobles. In the edict of the aediles, *Digg.*, xxi, 1, 40-42, boars, wolves, bears, panthers, and lions are mentioned as in the possession of private persons; cf. Seneca, *De ira*, iii, 23; *Juv.*, 7, 76; Plutarch, *De cohib. ira*, c. 14 sq., p. 462 F.; Pausan., viii, 17, 3 (white boars and bears); Epictetus, *Diss.*, iv, 1, 25; Dio, lxxviii, 7; *Elagab.*, cc. 21, 25, 28.  
 70, 25. rabble. Jahn, *Archäol. Beitr.*, p. 435; O. Keller, *Thiere d. klass. Alterthums in kulturgeschichte. Beziehung* (1887), pp. 3-5; Cic., *Ad Att.*, vi, 1, 25 (cynocephalus in essedo); Luxor., *De simiis canum dorso impositis*, *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Meyer, 341; Philo, *loc. cit.*, § 23 sq. (with an interesting description of the tricks of a goat, cf. § 90). A monkey in silk with bare back and buttocks as 'ludibrium mensis', Claudian, *In Eutrop.*, i, 303-307.  
 70, 27. boys. Martial, v, 31.  
 70, 27. reared. Aelian, *Nat. anim.*, vii, 4.  
 70, 28. water. Dio, lxvi, 25; Aelian, *loc. cit.*, Pliny, viii, 181.  
 70, 29. motionless. Pliny, *ib.*, Keller, p. 55, 26 and 27.  
 70, 30. stags. Martial, i, 104, 3 sq. A tame stag adorned, Calpurn., *Ecl.*, 6, 33 sqq. Tame stags are also mentioned in *Instit.*, ii, 1, 15.  
 70, 30. yoked. Martial, *ib.*; Luxor., *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 360, *De pardis mansuetis, qui cum canibus venationem faciebant*.  
 70, 30. cranes. Pliny, *N. H.*, x, 59.  
 70, 31. fought. Dio, lxvi, 25.  
 70, 32. death. Martial, iv, 35, 74.  
 70, 36. anew. *Id.*, i, 6, 14, 22, 48, 51, 104.  
 70, 37. teachers. *Id.*, i, 104; viii, 74; Seneca, *Epp.*, 85, 41; Caylus, *Rec. d'antiq.*, vi, pl. 1.

- 70, 38. cymbals. Aelian, *Hist. Ind.*, c. 14, 5; cf. Martial, i, 104; Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 4 sq.; Plutarch, *De fort.*, c. 3; Aelian, *Nat. an.*, ii, 11.
- 70, 40. rope. Pliny, *ib.*; Sueton., *Galba*, c. 6; described differently in Dio, lxi, 17.
- 70, 41. Latin. Aelian, *H. a.*, ii, 11; Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 6; Philo, *De animal.*, § 24 sq.
- 71, 2. practising. Pliny, *loc. cit.*; Plutarch, *De solert. an.*, c. 12, 3.
- 71, 5. turned. Cf. with the simple report of the eye-witness, Cicero (*Ad Fam.*, vii, 1), the narration in Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 21, and especially Dio, xxxix, 38.
- 71, 8. elephant. Dio, iv, 27.
- 71, 9. bull. Martial, *Spect.*, 9, 17, 19, 22. Fight of bear and bull, Seneca, *De ira*, iii, 43, 2. *Mus. Borb.*, xiv, pl. 48 (in the background are rocks, probably after a decoration in the amphitheatre). The same on a lamp, Bartoli, *Luc. sep.* i, f. 33.
- 71, 10. driven. Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, vii, 29.
- 71, 11. pricked. Cf. the Borghesi mosaic and Henzen's commentary. Taurocentae, *IRN*, 237 = *CIL*, x, 1074.
- 71, 11. hot. Martial, *Spect.*, 19; Ruinart, *Acta mart.*, p. 171.
- 71, 11. straw. Cic., *Pro C. Cornel. de maj. or.* i. fr.: videlicet homines foeneos in medium ad temptandum periculum projectos. *Gloss. Labb.*, pilae taurariae (cf. Salmas., *Ad Hist. Aug.*, p. 154). Similar scenes seem to be represented on some diptychs from Gori; cf. Henzen, *Ann. d. I.*, xxv, 118; Martial, ii, 43, 6:
- at me (toga velat) quae furias passa est et cornua tauri,  
noluerit dici quam pila prima suam.
- 71, 12. tossed. Martial, *Spect.*, 9, 19, 27.
- 71, 13. ropes. Cf. the references to fights between bears and bulls above in the note to p. 71, l. 9.
- 71, 17. survived. Fernan Caballero, *Ausgew. Werke*, v, 177 n., and Appendix xxxi.
- 71, 22. war. Strabo, iv, 5, 2, p. 199; cf. Grat. Falisc., *Cyneg.*, 174 sqq.; Nemesian., *Cyneg.*, 124 sqq.
- 71, 25. cages. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ii, 77.
- 71, 27. been. Martial, xi, 69; cf. the fable of *Cod. Bodl.* 69 in Crusius, *De aetate Babrii*, in *Leipz. Studien*, ii, 2, p. 188 f. Sartor arenarius magister? *CIL*, viii, 7158 (Cirta).
- 71, 29. bisons. Martial, *Spect.*, 15, 27.
- 71, 31. proficient. Herodian, i, 15.
- 71, 32. blow. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 34.
- 71, 32. easily. *Id. ib.*, viii, 54.
- 71, 36. heroes. Martial, *Spect.*, 27.
- 71, 39. Eleusis. Artemidor., *Onirocr.*, i, 8, p. 15.
- 71, 39. Athens. *CIA*, iii, 1, 114: Βασιλεῖ Ροιματάλκα ἀγωνιζόμενος Σαραπίων ταυροκαθάπτῆς. Rhoematalces therefore probably gave a bull-baiting as archon in Athens (37/38 A.D.). An inscription of a *venator* near Küstendje, who, πολλοὺς ἐν σταδίοις πλῆξας βόας, at last fell a victim to a βοῦς ἀγριος (*i.e.* a bison, Keller, *Thiere d. klass. Alterth.*, 54, 14).
- 71, 39. Pergamus. Aristides, *Or.*, xxv, ed. Jebb, p. 324.

- 71, 39. Miletus. *CIG*, 2858 (βοηγία).
- 71, 39. Smyrna. *Ib.*, 3212 (ταυροκαθάψια); cf. also Dio Chrys., *Or.*, 66, p. 606 M. in f., and the reliefs from Smyrna, representing the baiting of zebu, in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- 71, 39. Lesbos. Relief: before a zebu named Helix wearing a girth, lies an unarmed man, *AdI*, 1842, p. 148 sq., *tav. d'agg. Q.* The wild bull described by Philo, *De animal.*, § 51, he had probably seen in Alexandria.
- 71, 37. bull-fights. Bottiger, *Kl. Schr.*, vol. iii, p. 325 (*Stierkämpfe, ein Sieg des Alterthums über die Modernen*). Cf. also *Anthol. Pal.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, 192 (ix, 543); Heliodorus, *Aethiop.*, x, 28 ss. The subject is also treated at length in Waddington, *Voy. en Asie min.*, p. 137, on the inscription at Caryanda, no. 499, according to which the giver of the spectacle (ταυραφότης) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρεθιζομένου ταύρου διένειμε the flesh, etc. He distinguishes ταυροκαθάψιαι (bull-baiting) and ταυρομαχίαι (fights between bulls), and thinks the latter were introduced into Asia Minor from Rome.
- 71, 40. Caesar's. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 182; Appian, *B. C.*, ii, 102; Vellei., ii, 56.
- 71, 41. irritated. Ovid, *Metam.*, xii, 103.
- 72, 1. foot. *Gallieni duo*, c. 12.
- 72, 3. horns. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 21; Dio, lxi, 9. Cf. also *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxi, table 3, 1, with explanation by P. J. Meier. In Spain bull-fights are first recorded in the seventh century: King Sisebut (612-620) reproached Bishop Eusebius of Tarraco for his passion for them; see Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, v, 184; vi, 286.
- 72, 5. lions. Sueton., *ib.*; Dio, *ib.*
- 72, 7. defenceless. *Aurelian*, c. 37: sane Mnestheus postea sur-  
rectus ad stipitem bestiis objectus est. Ruinart, *Acta mart.*,  
p. 171: qui nudis corporibus stabant et commotis manibus  
eas (feras) in semet ipsos provocabant, id enim facere jubeban-  
tur. The *Sammlung röm. Denkmäler in Baiern*, published by  
the Academy, 1808 (a magazine of pottery, probably near Pons  
Oeni) represents numerous potsherds, among them plates v and  
vii, *venationes*; plate x, men bound naked to stakes, with bears;  
plate viii, bulls and figures in hooded mantles, presumably  
*magistri*. On a lamp of about the second century is a man on  
a *pulpitum*, bound naked to a stake, and a lion leaping at him  
(quite baselessly connected by Bruzza with Androclus). *Bull.*  
*crist.*, 1879, p. 21, plate iii, 1. Quint. Smyrn., vi, 532: εἶτε  
σύνες μέσῳ ἔρκει ἢ λέοντες Ἡματι τῷ, ὅτ' ἀνακτες ἀολλίσσωσιν ἀνθρώπους  
'Αργαλέως τ' εἰλέωσι κακὸν τεύχοντες ὄλεθρον Θηρσὶν ὑπὸ κρατεροῖς· οἱ δ'  
ἔρκεος ἐντὸς ἐόντες Δμῶας δαρδάπτουσιν ὅ τις σφισιν ἐγγὺς ἴκηται. Here  
the δμῶες are probably attendants.
- 72, 9. were. Dio, lx, 13; lxxi, 29; Ammian., xxix, 3, 9: habebat  
(Valentinianus) duas ursas saevas hominum amestrices, Micam  
auream et Innocentiam.
- 72, 12. morrow. M. Antonin., *Comment.*, x, 8. Josephus, *B. J.*,  
vii, 8, 7: οἱ δ' ἀπὸ θηρίων ἡμίβρωτοι πρὸς δευτέραν αὐτοῖς τροφήν  
ζῶντες ἐφυλάχθησαν, γέλωτα καὶ παιδιὰν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρασχόντες.

- 72, 14. body. Galen, *De anatom. administr.*, iii, 5, ed. K., ii, p. 385: τῶν τε γὰρ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακριθέντων καὶ θηρίοις παραβληθέντων ἐθεάσαντο πολλοὶ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς σῶμασιν ὅπερ ἐβουλήθησαν ἐκάστοτε διὰ ταχέων. Cf. also Cels., *praef. lib.* i (p. 10, ed. Targ.). The Empirics declare the vivisection of human beings to be useless: interdum enim gladiatorem in arena, vel militem in acie, vel viatorem a latronibus exceptum sic vulnerari, ut ejus interior aliqua pars aperiatur et in alio alia. Cf. Appendix ii.
- 72, 24. devoured. Strabo, vi, 2, 6.
- 72, 30. ranking. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 182-184.
- 72, 33. substructures. According to Promis, *Aosta*, p. 169, in all three amphitheatres they belong to the time of the Antonines; cf. Appendix xxxvi, and Rucca, *Dell' uso de' sotterranei anfiteatri* (from the *Mem. dell' acad. Ercolan.*, vol. iv), Napoli, 1851; but Rucca goes much too far in his conception of the use of this basement, e.g. he thinks that with the exception of the *essedarii* and *andabatae* all the men and beasts came up through the trap-door.
- 72, 34. level. Parker, *Archaeology of Rome*, part vii, 1876, pl. iii, cf. plates iv-viii, xvi, xvii and xxvii (the amphitheatre of Capua); the text is quite useless, with the exception of the reports on the excavations.
- 72, 38. thousand. Rucca, *Sull' ipogeo dell' anfiteatro Puteolano*, p. 11 s.
- 72, 40. space. Dio, lxix, 4.
- 73, 5. together. Seneca, *Epp.*, 88, 22.
- 73, 10. killed. Dio, lxxvi, 1; cf. the coin struck on this occasion, Eckhel, *D. N.*, vii, 182. According to Dio, lxi, 1, such a ship had even served as the model for the one in which Agrippina was to meet her death; cf. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 5 sq.
- 73, 14. emerged. Calpurn., *Eclog.*, 7, 69 sqq.; cf. Haupt, *Ind. lect. Berolin.*, 1854, 2, p. 31. On theatrical decorations and machinery in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries see Baudrilart, *Hist. du luxe*, iii, 486 ss.
- 73, 21. unhappy. Plutarch, *De sera num. vind.*, c. 9. The *Passio SS. Felicitatis et Perpetuae*, c. 18, shows that the victims of the arena were splendidly dressed; the Christian men on this occasion had to appear in the costumes of priests of Saturn (in scarlet and purple mantles, Tertull., *De testim. animae*, c. 2; *De pall.*, c. 40), the Christian women as priestesses of Ceres.
- 73, 25. torn. Tac., *A.*, xv, 44 with Nipperdey's note.
- 73, 27. tunic. Tertullian, *Ad mart.*, c. 5; *Ad nationes*, i, 18.
- 73, 31. Hercules. *Id.*, *Apol.*, c. 15.
- 73, 32. thief. *Anthol. Pal.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, 374.
- 73, 33. coals. Martial, viii, 30; x, 25. These executions also took place early in the morning; so also in Alexandria, Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 529 M.
- 73, 39. arson. Martial, *Spect.*, 7.
- 74, 3. bear. *Id. ib.*, 21, 21b.
- 74, 5. Europa. Aelian evidently alludes to such a representation, *Nat. anim.*, vii, 4, where he says that bulls were trained to carry women.



- 74, 5. Pasiphae. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12: inter pyrrhicharum argumenta taurus Pasiphaen ligneo juvencae simulacro abditam iniit, ut multi spectantium crediderunt. The same spectacle in Martial, *Spect.*, 5.
- 74, 6. Cupids. Juv., 4, 122.
- 74, 7. Daedalus. Martial, *Spect.*, 8.
- 74, 7. Hercules. Martial, *Spect.*, 16 sq.
- 74, 10. stars. *Id. ib.*, 25-26.
- 74, 12. NAUMACHIAE. On the *naumachiae* see Richter, *Topographie von Rom*, pp. 879, 881. The word is already found in Lucil. (*Fragment. satt.*, ed. Gerlach, 14, 4):
- naumachiam licet haec inquam alveolumque putare et calces: delectes te, hilo non rectiū vivas.
- 74, 19. land-fights. Dio, lxi, 9. The amphitheatre was built in the year 57, Tac., *A.*, xiii, 31; perhaps it was opened with this spectacle. Cf. the annotation of Reimarus.
- 74, 21. feast. So Dio, lxii, 15. Tac., *A.*, xv, 37 only writes of the notorious festival arranged by Tigellinus, which took place on the *stagnum Agrippae*, without mentioning the *naumachia* and other shows. Perhaps Dio has combined the account of the latter with that of the festival of Tigellinus.
- 74, 23. could. Rucca, *Dell' uso de' sotterranei anfiteatrali* (Napoli, 1851), p. 15; to the Colosseum belonged 'delle vaste conserve ne' muri addossati al monte Celio, in parte ancora esistenti', and, as Fea thinks (*Osservazioni sull' arena e sul podio etc. confutate da Fea*, p. 2) the arena was provided with water from the *Sette sale* also. Cf. Parker, *Archaeology of Rome*, p. vii, 1876, pls. x and xv. The aqueduct of the amphitheatre at Capua also still exists.
- 74, 26. Corinthians. Dio, lxvi, 26.
- 74, 26. battle. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 4.
- 74, 30. lake. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 39.
- 74, 33. oarsmen. Appian, *Bell. civ.*, ii, 102.
- 74, 33. filled. Dio, xlv, 17.
- 74, 36. due. Becker, *Topogr.*, 657 n., 1416, and Preller, *Die Regionen d. St. R.*, p. 206 n. Over this basin led a *pons naumachiarius*, which was burnt and reconstructed in the time of Tiberius. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 190 and 206. Dio (xl, 10) could still see traces of this *naumachia*.
- 74, 41. Persians. *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, c. 23, ed. Mommsen, p. 94. I follow Hirschfeld's restoration of these texts (*Wiener Studien*, 1881, p. 257 f. 1), viz. *in utrisque classibus* instead of *q[ui]bus in* *classibus*, and *ἐν ἐκατέρῳ στόλῳ* for *ἐν [τοῦτῳ τῷ] στόλῳ*.
- 75, 4. Garigliano. Tac., *A.*, xii, 56 with Nipperdey's note.
- 75, 6. warriors. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 21, mentions twelve triremes on either side; Dio, lxvi, 39, fifty.
- 75, 8. signal. Sueton., *ib.*; cf. *Aetna*, ed. Munro, 293 ss., as to which Sauppe, in *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1874, p. 493 proposes *moveri* for 'movere' in l. 297.
- 75, 29. banquet-room. Becker, *Topogr.*, n. 1418; Dio, lxi, 20; Tac., *A.*, xiv, 15.

- 75, 30. spectacles. Dio, lxvi, 25; Sueton., *Tit.*, c. 7.  
 75, 37. Fucinus. Martial, *Lib. spect.*, 28, cf. 24-26.  
 75, 38. new. Preller, *Regionen d. St. R.*, p. 207.  
 75, 40. real. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 4; Martial, i, 5.  
 76, 2. died. Sueton., *l. c.*; Dio, lxvii, 8. Cf. vol. ii, btm. of p. 8.  
 76, 3. naumachy. Becker, *op. cit.*; Aurel. Vict., *Caes.*, 28.  
 76, 4. Domitian. Preller, *op. cit.*  
 76, 7. *naumachiae*. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom.*, iii, 29; 3.  
 76, 16. children. Epictet., *Manuale*, 29, 3.  
 76, 18. *sbirri*. Cf. Huber, *Skizzen aus Spanien*, i, 217 f.; K. P. Moritz, *Reisen eines Deutschen in Italien* (1786-1788), vol. ii, p. 203.  
 76, 18. passionately. *Dial. de orat.*, c. 29.  
 76, 21. dispute. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 18, 19.  
 76, 25. was. *Id.*, *Sat.*, ii, 6, 44.  
 76, 26. avoided. Epictet., *Manuale*, 33, 2.  
 76, 31. smitten. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 164 sqq.  
 76, 37. out-rivalled. Martial, v, 65.  
 76, 40. laugh. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 6, 51 sqq.  
 77, 4. eye. Cic., *Tusc.*, ii, 20, 46.  
 77, 6. gave. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 34.  
 77, 11. aroused. *Id.*, *Paneg.*, c. 33.  
 77, 13. Europe. Gibbon, *History* etc., xxx (Basil, 1787, vol. v, p. 171). *Hist. Aug. Maxim. et Balbin.*, c. 8: alii hoc litteris tradunt (quod verisimilius credo) ituros ad bellum Romanos debuisse pugnas videre at vulnera et ferrum, et nudas inter se cohortes, ne dimicantes in bello armatos hostes timerent aut vulnera et sanguinem perhorrescerent.  
 77, 17. spear. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, vii, 1, 3.  
 77, 19. inconclusive. Varro, *Sat. Menipp.*, fr. 24; Petron.<sup>3</sup>, ed. Buecheler, p. 165.  
 77, 21. wearisome. M. Antoninus, *Comment.*, vi, 46.  
 77, 24. cheap. Tac., *A.*, i, 76.  
 77, 26. school. Cf. vol. ii, p. 59.  
 77, 29. Socrates. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ii, 46.  
 77, 30. extant. In the declamations which treat of gladiators, there are no allusions to the inhumanity of these spectacles. The words of Varro, in Non., *s. lusus vel lusio*: ab hujusmodi lusionibus radices crudelitas agere solet, might perhaps be referred to gladiatorial games, although, as is well known, authors of the best period only call them *munera*, never *ludi*. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 203: M. Varro . . . inquit . . . inde enim cinis lixius potus medetur, licet videre gladiatores, cum deluserunt, hac iuvari potione. In the inscription at Corduba, Huebner, *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, p. 37: edito ob honorem, flaminatus munere gladiatorio et duabus lusionibus, the *lusiones* are certainly not amphitheatral games. Cf. Garrucci, *Sull' epoca e sui frammenti dell' iscrizione dell' anfiteatro Puteolano*, Napoli, 1851, pp. 5-8, and Ritschl, *Die 'Tesserae gladiatoriae'*, p. 61, n. 1. *Munus*, 'the obligation, or due performance' (Mommsen, *Röm. Forschungen*, i, 345) can originally only have been the 'officium mortuorum honori debitum' (Tertullian, *Sp.*, 12).

- Munificus* is also mainly used in this sense. Poetic transference: *circi munus*, Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 190. Ritschl, *op. cit.*, p. 62 f.
- 77, 33. grief. Seneca, *Cons. ad Helv. matr.*, c. 17; cf. Jonas, *De ord. libror. L. Ann. Senecae*, p. 30.
- 77, 34. writings. *Epp.*, 7, 2. He speaks with indignation also in *Epp.*, 90, 45. Of the work *De tranq. animi* (c. 2, 13: *juvat jam et humano sanguine frui*) cf. Jonas, *op. cit.*, p. 41 sqq.
- 78, 36. greatness. In the year 58, when there was as yet no amphitheatre, German ambassadors were brought into Pompey's theatre, 'quo magnitudinem populi viserent', Tac., *A.*, xiii, 54.
- 78, 37. contemporaries. Martial, *Spect.*, 1.
- 79, 2. robes. Not only the magistrates in office, but all who had held curule offices wore the *praetexta* at popular festivals; Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 437, 1.
- 79, 6. gaze. Suetonius, *Calig.*, c. 35: *edente se munus (Ptolemaeum) ingressum spectacula convertisse hominum oculos fulgore purpureae abollae animadvertit.*
- 79, 9. foreign. Josephus, *A. J.*, xiv, 10, 6. A rescript of Julius Caesar contains the words: *ἰδῶσθαι τε Ἰρκανῶ καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβευταῖς τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεῖσιν ἐν τε πνυγμῇ μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων καθεζομένων μετὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν θεωρεῖν.*
- 79, 11. people. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 43: *quodam autem muneris die Parthorum obsides tunc primum missos per mediam arenam in spectaculum induxit superque se subsellio secundo collocavit.* Dio, lxviii, 15: (Trajanus) *τοὺς . . . πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνουμένους ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ θεάσασθαι ἐποίη.*
- 79, 14. togas. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 58: *patriis patriae cognomen . . . detulerunt ei . . . plebs . . . ineunti Romae spectacula frequens et laureata.* Dio, lxxii, 21 mentions the crowning of the senators with laurel. This was no doubt the regular practice, at least at great festivals.
- 79, 18. proletariat. Calpurn., *Eclog.*, 7, 26 and 79. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 557, 7.
- 79, 21. artistic. Calpurn., *op. cit.*, 7, 47.
- 79, 24. interior. Lucret., iv, 75 sqq.
- 79, 25. sky. Pliny, *N. H.*, xix, 25; cf. Appendix xxxiv.
- 79, 27. cooled. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 558, 4.
- 79, 34. typical. Augustine, *Confess.*, vi, 8.
- 80, 12. accommodated. Stephan, *Das Verkehrsleben der Alten*, in Raumer's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, v, 9, p. 22 n.
- 80, 16. Mérimée. P. Mérimée, *Lettres sur l'Espagne*, 1830 (Mosaïque, Bruxelles, 1833, p. 302).
- 80, 20. Maximilian. Maximilian, afterwards emperor of Mexico, (*Aus meinem Leben*, ii, 67) expresses a certain measure of enthusiasm for bull-fights. Cf. the expressions of disgust in Brehm, *Illustv. Thierleben*, ii, 676-683.
- 80, 23. weaning. On the gradual cessation of the amphitheatral spectacles see P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, p. 80 sqq.; or for a better and more complete account, Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, iii, 421 ss.
- 80, 29. bury. Jerome *Vita Hilar.*, c. 3. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, v,

- p. 77 ss., thinks that on a bucket found in Tunis with the Christian inscription ἀντλήσατε ὕδωρ μετ' εὐφροσύνης he recognizes a victorious gladiator (*thrax* or *retiarius*), whom he considers a symbol of the victorious Christian soul. Apart from the extreme improbability of such a symbol, I have no doubt that the figure represents a charioteer.
- 80, 31. orders. *Cod. Theodos.*, xv, 12, 1 (with Gothofredus' commentary).
- 80, 33. prohibition. Mommsen in *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1850, p. 213.
- 80, 37. Volsinii. Henzen, 5580.
- 80, 39. horrible. Firmic. Matern., *De math.*, iii, 5, 8; vii, 22.
- 80, 40. forbade. *Cod. Theodos.*, ix, 40, 8.
- 81, 2. amusement. Prudent., *In Symmach.*, ii, 1122 sqq. Cf. Obbarius, *Proleg.*, xi, 39.
- 81, 7. populace. Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.*, v, 26. Cf. Appendix xxxv.
- 81, 8. abolished. Usener, *Aufhebung der Gladiatorenschulen*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1882, p. 479 f.; Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 565, 2.
- 81, 10. existent. Augustine, *C. D.*, iii, 14, 2: pugnant etiam gladiatores . . . . . et tamen si in arenam procederent in se pugnaturi gladiatores, quorum alter filius alter pater esset, tale spectaculum quis ferret? quis non auferret? But in iv, 14, 22 he only names *aurigae*, *venatores*, *histriones*.
- 81, 16. callousness. Mueller, *op. cit.*, p. 87; Wallon, p. 427.
- 81, 20. valleys. Salvian., *De gubern. Dei*, vi (172), ed. Rittershus.
- 81, 24. Sundays. *Cod. Just.*, iii, 10, 11 (10, 9).
- 81, 27. instituted. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom*, i<sup>2</sup>, 290, 1.
- 81, 37. solemnly. Just., *Nov.*, cv, c. 1.
- 81, 39. clerics. *Cod. Just.*, i, 4, 34. Cf. also *Anthol. Pal.*, ix, 581 (ed. Jacobs, ii, 207): *εἰς τὸ μονημέριον ἤγουν κυνηγέσιον, ἐν ᾧ ἀγωνίζονται ἄνδρες πρὸς θήρας*.
- 82, 5. bloody. Cassiodorus, *Var. epp.*, v, 42. Some of the arrangements mentioned there perhaps *Rev. archéol.*, vii, pl. 153 (Mérimee, *Plaque de marbre gravée du musée de Narbonne*). Cf., besides the diptychs in Gori, *Thes. dipt.*, a new one of this kind in *Mon. ined. dell' Inst.*, v, pl. 51, with explanation by Henzen, *AdI*, xxv, pp. 115-118. Henzen thinks he can recognize here a figure intended to deceive the beasts; cf. also the epigram in *Anthol. Pal.*, iv, 538 (ed. Jacobs, ii, 190): *εἰς τὸν ἀπὸ κόντου κατερχόμενον θηριομάχον* and the contorniates in Sabatier, *Descr. gén. d. méd. cont.*, pl. viii, 11; ix, 4 and 6.
- 82, 11. officials. *Lex col. Genetivae. Ephem. epigr.*, iii, p. 93 s. and p. 102; on the time of the composition ii, 119 s., iii, 97. *CIL*, ix, 2350 (Allifae): *duumviratu suo acceptis a re p. xiii m.n. venationes plenas et gladiatorum paria xxi dedit*.
- 82, 16. communal. Curator muneris publici, *CIL*, xiv, 2972, 3011, 3014 (curat. mun. pub. glad. ter.), all at Praeneste.
- 82, 16. bequeathed. Curator muneris gladiatorii Villiani ad Deam Aug. Voc., *CIL*, xii, 1529.
- 82, 19. Emperor. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 887, 8.
- 82, 32. three. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, ii, 8, 2 (Antium); *IRN*, 6036 = *CIL*, ix, 3437 (Peltuinum); Petron., c. 45.
- 82, 32. four. *IRN*, 4063 = *CIL*, x, 6012 (Minturnae); *IRN*,



- 2518 = *CIL*, x, 1785 (Puteoli); Garrucci, *Graff. di Pompei*, pl. x, p. 66: munus P. Sornii v, iv, iii prid. Id.
- 82, 32. lasted. The five days' spectacles at Praeneste, *CIL*, xiv, 3015, and Cic., *Ad Attic.*, xii, 2. (708), and those of six days at Forum Clodii, *CIL*, xi, 1, 3303 are *ludi*, not *munera*. Dessau (*CIL*, xiv, p. 290b, and *Mitt. d. Archäol. Instit.*, ii, 1887, p. 194) confuses them.
- 82, 35. panthers. *IRN*, 4768 = *CIL*, ix, 2350 (Allifae); 4877 = *CIL*, ix, 2237 (Telesia); *IRN*, 112 = *CIL*, x, 539 (Salernum); Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 34 (Verona).
- 82, 35. ostriches. *IRN*, 2569 = *CIL*, x, 3704 (Cumae); 5789 = *CIL*, ix, 4208 (Amiternum).
- 82, 37. had. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiii, 49.
- 82, 39. four. *CIL*, x, 3704 (Cumae); *IRN*, 5789 = *CIL*, ix, 4208 (Amiternum).
- 82, 40. ten. *CIL*, xiv, 3015 (Praeneste).
- 82, 40. twenty. *CIL*, ix, 2350 (Allifae: gladiatorum paria xxi); xiv, 3663 (Tibur 184 A.D.); Murat., 617, 5 (Auximum).
- 82, 40. thirty. Orelli, 2545, cf. n. on 83, 17-19 below; *CIL*, ix, 2350.
- 83, 2. colleagues. *IRN*, 2378 = *CIL*, x, 1074d.
- 83, 8. contractor. *CIL*, iv, 1177 sqq.; cf. Kiessling, *N. Jahrbh. f. Philol.*, 1872, p. 68.
- 83, 10. pending. Petron., c. 45.
- 83, 12. extorted. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 37.
- 83, 14. tavern-keeper. Martial, iii, 59, cf. *ib.*, 16, 99. *CIL*, xi, 1, 862 (Mutina): D. m. Q. Alfidio Q. l. Hylae vi. vir. Foro Sempronii colleg. harenariorum Romae negotianti lanario Alfidia Severa patri pientissimo.
- 83, 21. *venatio*. Orelli, 2545. According to Henzen the inscription belongs to Ferrara, but the place is not mentioned before Paulus Diaconus (Ferraria).
- 83, 26. plays. *CIL*, ix, 2350.
- 83, 31. glory. *IRN*, 4040 = *CIL*, x, 4760 (Suessa): munus . . . secundum dignitatem coloniae. Cf. *CIL*, ix, 4208.
- 83, 38. 'know'. *CIL*, x, 6012.
- 83, 40. criminals. *CIL*, ix, 3437.
- 84, 14. pairs. *CIL*, ii, 1305.
- 84, 29. pay. Livy, xli, 20.
- 84, 37. jealousy. Cf. Appendix xxxvi.
- 84, 39. Rhodes. Dio, *Or.*, xxxi, 1, 1.
- 84, 41. hamper. Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rep.*, c. 30, 4: τῶν φιλοτιμιῶν ὄσαι τὸ φοινικὸν καὶ θηριῶδες ἢ τὸ βωμολόχον καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἐρεθίζουσι καὶ τρέφουσι, μάλιστα μὲν ἐξέλαυνε τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ μὴ, φεῦγε καὶ διαμάχου τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰτουμένοις τὰ τοιαῦτα θεάματα.
- 85, 3. despair. *Id. ib.*, cc. 5, 14, and 29, 1; *De cupid. divitiar.*, c. 5.
- 85, 9. gladiators. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, lxvi, p. 606 M. in f.
- 85, 9. Hadrian. *Hadrian.*, c. 19.
- 85, 12. Plutarch. Cf. also Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivi*, c. 17, 6. In *De sollert. anim.*, c. 1, 4, hunting is praised: ὅτι τοῦ πεφυκότος ἐν ἡμῖν ἢ μεμαθηκότος χαίρειν μάχαις ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διὰ σιδήρου τὸ πολὺ δεῦρο τρέψασα, καθαρὰν παρέχει θέαν.

- 85, 13. Lucian. Lucian, *Anachars.*, c. 37.  
 85, 15. depriving. Plutarch, *loc. cit.*  
 85, 19. precious. Pseudo-Plutarch, *De esu carn.*, ii, 2, 3.  
 85, 21. pity. Favorinus composed an oration ὑπὲρ τῶν μονομάχων (Philostat., *Vitt. soph.*, 491, 6, ed. Kayser), probably to display his art by defending what was universally condemned, for Philostratus mentions in the same context orations ἐπὶ τῷ λήρῳ and ὑπὲρ τῶν βαλανείων. Favorinus liked these 'infames materias', Gell., *N. A.*, xvii, 12. Only Libanius speaks of gladiators with a certain admiration, perhaps out of opposition to the Christian zealots (*De vita sua*, c. 3).  
 85, 22. abstain. Julian, *Fragm. epist.*, p. 304 D.  
 85, 26. Palestine. Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, p. 387: 'It is not permitted to sell to the heathen bears, lions, or anything else whereby the people could be harmed. It is not allowed to help them in building a basilica, a stadion or a scaffold'. From a treatise on idolatry and heathenism in the fourth *Seder* of the *Mishna* (edited at the end of the second century A.D.).  
 85, 37. permission. Evidence for this statement, as for all the rest, in the list of amphitheatres in Appendix xxxvi.  
 85, 39. demolition. Cf. the description of the amphitheatre of Sutri in Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i, p. 159 ff.  
 86, 10. craft. The Colosseum was reputed to be the seat of demons; Gregorovius, *G. d. St. Rom*, viii, 388, 1. See Benvenuto Cellini's story of the sorcery of which he was a witness in the Colosseum, book 2, chapter 1 (Goethe, 28, 138). The *Allg. Zeitg.* of 10 December, 1864, relates the following: 'In the Coliseum a crowd of curious people now assembles every day to watch the excavations of a certain Testa, who is convinced, on the authority of an old parchment, that at a particular spot he will find an enormous treasure, which is catalogued in the manuscript'.  
 86, 18. interrupted. Stancovich, *Anfiteatro di Pola*, p. 10.  
 86, 24. For 'tradition' read 'speculation'.  
 86, 25. Gallienus. Fr. Michel, *De la popularité du roman des Quatre fils Aymon et de ses causes* (*Actes de l'ac. de Bordeaux*, 1st half-year 1842, p. 58 s.) only known to me from the *Mém. de la société des antiquaires de l'ouest*, 1843, p. 162.  
 86, 28. Nîmes. Clérissieu, *Antiquités de la France*, p. 88 ss.; Millin, *Voyage dans le midi de la France*, iv, p. 220 ss.; Pelet, *Description de l'amphithéâtre de Nîmes* (1853), p. 137 ss.  
 87, 6. still. *Revue archéol.*, vii, p. 194.  
 87, 8. clearing. Estrangin, *Études sur Arles*.  
 87, 22. excavated. Texier, *Mém. sur la ville et le port de Fréjus. Mém. prés. p. div. sav. à l'acad. des inscr.*, 2nd series, vol. ii (1849), p. 235 sq.  
 88, 16. held. Cf. *Journal du voyage de Montaigne en Italie*, 1580/1581, i, 152 s.  
 88, 22. courage. Maffei, *Verona illustrata*, P. N. degli anfiteatri, vol. v, pp. 135-148 (ed. 2da, Milano, 1826).  
 88, 25. place. *Mém. de Mme. de Rémusat*, ii, 150.  
 88, 27. circle. Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, iii, 271.

- 88, 34. fall. Beda Venerab., *Collect.*, cap. 3, *de bell.* On the derivation of the name *Colosseum* cf. Appendix xxxvi. The restorations mentioned in *CIL*, vi, 1796, c. h. 1-16 were according to Lanciani, *BdI*, 1881, p. 6, effected under Theodosius, Placidus and Valentinian III by the prefect Flavius Paulus. As early as Theoderic's time part of the building was used as a dwelling. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iv, 42. Cf. vol. ii, p. 32 f. of this work.
- 88, 36. devastated. Marangoni, *Delle memorie sacre e profane dell'anfiteatro Flavio* (1746), p. 46.
- 88, 40. divisions. *Id. ib.*, pp. 49-53.
- 89, 11. Laterano. *Id. ib.*, pp. 53-55. Cf. the mention of the Colosseum in Fazio degli Uberti (*Dittamondo*, written between 1355 and 1367); Jordan, *Topogr. d. St. Rom.*, ii, 391.
- 89, 17. united. Marangoni, p. 55 s.
- 89, 23. mentioned. Gregorovius, *G. d. St. Rom.*, vii, 614 ff.
- 89, 24. Pius. Marangoni, pp. 58-60.
- 89, 28. ashes. *Id.*, p. 47 (Sallengre, *Nov. thes. antiq. Roman.*, i, p. 502).
- 89, 31. Farnese. *Id.*, p. 46.
- 89, 32. workmen's. *Id.*, p. 60 s.
- 89, 34. given. *Id.*, pp. 64 and 72.
- 89, 37. bricked. *Id.*, p. 64.
- 89, 38. grass. *Id.*, p. 73.
- 89, 41. provision. *Id.*, p. 67 ss.
- 90, 3. original. For the latest restorations see Canina, *AdI*, 1852, p. 258 ss.
- 90, 16. Theatre. I refer in general to my essay in Marquardt *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 529 ff., and I only give authorities here for statements and sentences which are lacking there, or occur in a different connexion.
- 90, 19. frequent. Cf. vol. ii, p. 12.
- 90, 19. least. *Ibid.*
- 90, 22. performed. Seneca, *Clem.*, i, 6, 1: cogitate in hac civitate . . . in qua tribus eodem tempore theatris viae postulantur.
- 91, 1. Pentheus. Juv., 6, 71.
- 91, 25. wearied. Choric., Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Διονύσου τὸν βίον εἰκονιζόντων, ed. Graux in *Rev. de philol.*, N. S., i (1877), p. 238, c. 14, 7; cf. p. 225, c. 8, 4 (mimes at the *Brumalia* in the emperor's presence); p. 227, c. 8, 22: φαίνεται τοίνυν αὐτῇ (ἡ βασιλεία) μάλιστα μίμους χρωμένην.
- 91, 33. famishing. Grysar, *Sitzungsb. d. Wiener Acad.*, xii, p. 251. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 15. A *mimus* Actaeon is alluded to by Varro, *Sat. Menipp.*, 513, Petron. ed. Buecheler<sup>3</sup>, p. 216: Quod si Actaeon occupasset et ipse prius canes suos comedisset et non nugas saltatoribus in theatro fieret.
- 91, 35. disguise. Cf. vol. i, p. 256.
- 91, 37. was. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 57; Juv., 8, 185.
- 92, 1. astonishment. Plutarch, *De sollert. anim.*, c. 19, 9.
- 92, 2. often. Cic., *Rabir.*, c. 12; Prudent., *In Laur. martyr.*, p. 144. For 'demagogu' read 'roguery'.
- 92, 6. charms. Juv., 6, 45; 1, 35; 8, 185.

- 92, 8. enriched. Cic., *Phil.*, 2, 27.
- 92, 10. pursuers. Seneca, *Epp.*, 114. Haupt, *Hermes*, vii, 182, reads *militēs fugitivi* for *divites*, needlessly in my opinion.
- 92, 11. Abuse. Philo, *Ad Gai.*, p. 598 M.: καταχλευαζόμενοι καὶ κερτομούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ὡς ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμοις.
- 92, 12. boobies. Cf. the list of actors in the dedication plays, which according to two Roman inscriptions (of 212 and presumably of a somewhat earlier date) were arranged by soldiers of the corps of *vigiles* and of the fleet of Misenum; Mommsen, *Hermes*, v, 303 ff.; *CIL*, vi, 1063.
- 92, 13. expression. Gell., *N. A.*, xvi, 7.
- 92, 14. coarse. Philo, *op. cit.*, p. 552. ἡ ἐπὶ μίμοις αἰσχυρῶν καὶ σκωμμάτων μὴ ὑπομειδιῶντα σεμνότερον, ἀλλὰ μειρακιωδέστερον καγχάζοντα.
- 92, 16. flute. Grysar, *op. cit.*, p. 264 ff.
- 92, 18. action. Quintilian, iv, 2, 53; Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, vii, 8, 4. Also the mime mentioned in *De soll. an.*, c. 19, 9, was πλοκήν ἔχων δραματικὴν καὶ πολυπρόσωπος. Troops of mimes contained also *actores quantarum*: *CIL*, vi, 10, 118 [quar]tarum in *mimis saltantibus utilis actor*). *BdI*, 1885, p. 240.
- 92, 21. end. Cic., *Pro Cael.*, c. 27.
- 92, 35. naked. Grysar, p. 271 ff. The idea that they showed themselves in complete nudity on these occasions cannot be proved by quoting accounts of performances at Byzantium and Antioch in the time of St. John Chrysostom. *Gloss. Labb.*: *sum nudus, fero levīa γυμνητάω*.
- 92, 40. praetors. *Trist.*, ii, 497 sqq.
- 93, 1. verse. Martial, iii, 86.
- 93, 2. emperor. *Id.*, xiii, *praef.*
- 93, 9. immorality. Salvian., *De gubern. Dei*, vi; cf. Cyprian, *De spectaculis*, 6, and vol. i, p. 246 f.
- 93, 12. mimes. Suid., s. *καθημαξευμένος*: Αἰλιανὸς · Γύναιον ἐκ Συρίας, καθημαξευμένον ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ προσιόντος. ἑταῖρα γὰρ ἦν ἐμφανὴς καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μίμοις δι' ἀκολασίαν περιπαθεστέρα, τοῖς τε φαινόμενοις εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ὕψιν σχήμασιν ἐκκαλουμένη τοὺς ὁρῶντας ἐς τὰ πάθη τοῦ σώματος, καὶ κατατείνουσα τὸν δῆμον καὶ ὅσον μετὰ τοῦ δῆμου πρὸς συνῶδην καὶ μανικὴν ἀσέλγειαν.
- 93, 15. dancers. Grysar, *op. cit.*, p. 310 ff. Cf. pp. 253 and 272. Jerome, *Epp.*, 52, 2 says of the story of Abishag and King David: *nonne tibi videtur . . . figmentum esse de mimo vel Atellanarum ludicro?*
- 93, 17. naked. Falke, *Deutsche Trachten- und Modenwelt*, i, 278. Louis XI was received on his entry into Paris in 1461 by the most beautiful girls of the city quite naked, with poems. Among the plays which were acted at Lille in 1468 before Charles the Bold was the Judgment of Paris, in which the three goddesses appeared entirely naked in accordance with the myth. Even as late as 1520 Dürer witnessed similar spectacles during his journey in the Netherlands. The municipality of Antwerp, he writes to his friend Melanchthon, presented all kinds of shows in the street at the entry of Charles V, among which were to be seen the most beautiful and well-born girls of the



city, almost entirely naked, being covered with nothing but dresses of thin gauze. The grave young emperor looked another way, but Dürer confesses that he gazed at them attentively 'because he was a painter'.

- 93, 39. distributed. Choricus, *Ἐπὲρ τῶν ἐν Διονύσου τὸν βίον εἰκονιζόντων*, ed. Ch. Graux, in *Rev. de philol.*, N. S., i (1877), p. 262 ss. The passages cited are : 7, 9, p. 224 ; 10, p. 229 ; 13, 6, p. 236 ; 15, 3, p. 239 ; 16, p. 240 s., 19, p. 244 s. It seems to have been the same in the West. Masculus, an *archimimus*, was condemned to death by Gaiseric because he was a Catholic, but was afterwards reprieved. Victor, *Vit. pers. Vandal.*, i, 15, 47.
- 94, 8. Laberius. Macrobi., *Sat.*, ii, 7.
- 94, 9. Atticus. Cic., *Ad. Att.*, xiv, 3 (710 A.U.C.): tu si quid *πραγματικὸν* habes, rescribes; sin mimus, populi *ἐπισημασίαν* et mimorum dicta perscribito.
- 94, 16. edict. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 43.
- 94, 18. effeminacy. *Id. ib.*, c. 68.
- 94, 20. applause. *Id.*, *Tiber.*, c. 45.
- 94, 27. reasons. Tac., *A.*, iv, 14. On the banishment of the pantomimes see vol. i, p. 247.
- 94, 28. arena. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 27.
- 94, 34. Italy. *Id.*, *Nero*, c. 39.
- 94, 39. times. *Id.*, *Galba*, c. 12 (Cod. Memm: *venitione Simus*; Roth, *venit Onesimus* [earlier editors, *venit io Simus*]; Lachmann, *venit Dorsennus*).
- 95, 3. Tiber. *Id.*, *Vespas.*, c. 19.
- 95, 6. divorce. *Id. Domitian.*, c. 12 (scenico exodio).
- 95, 7. stage. *M. Anton.*, c. 8. Also Galen mentions this Marullus (Grysar, *op. cit.*, p. 301) π. ἀνατ. ἐπιχειρ., vii, c. 12, ed. Kuehn, iii, 631: ὁ Μαρύλλου τοῦ μιμογράφου παῖς ἐθεραπεύθη καὶ ζῇ νῦν ἔτι.
- 95, 9. Faustina. *M. Antonin.*, c. 29.
- 95, 10. Commodus. *Commod.*, c. 3: appellatus est a mimis quasi obstupratus eosdemque ita ut non appareret subito deportavit.
- 95, 10. Greek. *Maximini*, ii, c. 9.
- 95, 15. concealment. Choric., *op. cit.*, 14, 3, p. 238.
- 95, 21. confusion. Meyer, *Anthol. Lat.*, ii, p. 89, no. 1, 1173, 17.
- 95, 26. *atellanae*. Petron., c. 53.
- 95, 31. Claudius. Welcker, *Die griechische Tragödie*, iii, pp. 1441 and 1458.
- 95, 33. Empire. *Mimographi* are mentioned by Galen, ed. K., ii, p. 644, *De anatom. administr.*, vii, 16: τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εἰς γελωτοποιῶν τοῖς γράφουσι τοὺς μίμους τῶν γελοίων ἀφείσθω; and by Jerome as still known in his day, *Epp.*, 54, 15: etiamsi clementissima fueris, omnes comoedi et mimographi et communes rhetorum loci in novercam saevissimam declamabunt. *CIL*, ii, 4092 (Tarraco): Aemilius Severianus mimographus.
- 95, 36. credible. *Martyr. S. Genesii*, 286 A.D. Ruinart, *Acta martyrum*, p. 236. 'Rabbi Abahu complains, that there is no need of wit to make the audience laugh, if only the Jews are jeered at'. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, iii, 76.
- 96, 2. stage. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 11.
- 96, 6. favour. The mention of a freedman of Hadrian, the Athen-

- ian Aristomenes, as ὑποκριτῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, in *Athen.*, iii, p. 315, cannot be taken for a proof that old comedies were represented on the stage.
- 96, 8. For 'doddering' read 'blustering and', and for 'mawkish' read 'dissolute'.
- 96, 9. centuries. Cf. Appendix xxxvi.
- 96, 16. hand. Quintilian, i, 11. The 'comoedi fibula' (Juv., *Sat.*, 6, 73; Martial, xiv, 215) shows that a fine voice was necessary for a comedian.
- 96, 17. Geminus. *M. Antonin.*, c. 2.
- 96, 24. Turpio. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 20.
- 96, 28. scene. Quintilian, vi, 2, 35.
- 96, 30. nobility. *Id.*, ii, 10, 13: quod faciunt actores comici, qui neque ita prorsus, ut nos vulgo loquimur, pronuntiant, quod esset sine arte, neque procul tamen a natura recedunt, quo vitio periret imitatio: sed morem communis huius sermonis decore quodam scenico exornant.
- 96, 32. scale. *Id.*, xi, 3.
- 96, 35. fishermen. *Id.*, xi, 3, 112. One may connect the 'fishermen' with such a piece as the *Rudens* of Plautus.
- 97, 9. decrepit. Read 'blustering'.
- 97, 13. other. Quintilian, xi, 3, 178-181.
- 97, 16. maiden. Juv., 3, 93-100.
- 97, 29. swallow. Cf. e.g. *Attore tragico*, *MdI*, vol. xi, *tav.* xiii (Robert, *AdI*, 1880, pp. 206-212).
- 97, 30. laughable. Lucian, *De saltat.*, 27.
- 97, 32. theatre. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 195, p. 89, ed. K.
- 98, 2. eye. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 181 sqq., 187.
- 98, 12. dances. Cf. Appendix xxxvii. On the declamation and gestures of the tragic actors see Ribbeck, *Röm. Tragödie*, p. 667 f.
- 98, 16. composer. My essay in Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 545.
- 98, 30. parts. Cf. the passages cited by Bergk, *Ueber einige Zeichen der Plautin. Hdschr.*, in *Philologus*, xxxi (1871/72), p. 239, 11. Cic., *De Or.*, i, 60; *De Legg.*, i, 4; *Ad Fam.*, ix, 22; *Pro Sestio*, 57.
- 98, 37. applause. Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 34. 'This strange device occurs even at the end of the sixteenth century, e.g. in the *Anfiparnasso* of Orazio Vecchi (1597), and in Monteverde's *Ballo delle ingrato*, Ambros, *Gesch. der Musik*, i, 520. It is remarkable, in view of Goethe's ideas on theatrical representation, that he once, if only as a make-shift, ventured on something similar on the Weimar stage (Devrient, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Schauspielkunst*, iii, 247).
- 99, 2. themselves. Cf. Mommsen, *RG*, iii<sup>5</sup>, 612 f. The resolution of tragedy into its elements is on the whole very accurately explained by G. Boissier, *De la signification des mots cantare et saltare et saltare tragoediam*, in *Rev. archéol.*, N. S., 2, pp. 333-343.
- 99, 8. stage. I refer in general to my essay in Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 553 f., and to the treatise of Grysar cited there, *Ueber das canticum und den Chor in der Tragödie*.

- 99, 14. vocalist. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 24, with Casaubon's notes. Grysar, *op. cit.*, p. 56, 1 and Lipsius, *Electa*, i, 24. According to Pseudolucian., *Nero*, c. 9, Nero at the Isthmian games caused an excellent rival tragedian named Epirotes to be killed by his actors: εἰσπέμπει Νέρων ἐπ' ὀκριβάντων (in *colthurni*, as Kayser explains, i.e. in costume) τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὑποκριτὰς οἷον προσήκοντάς τι πράγματι. Nero certainly took several actors about with him, but it cannot be concluded with any certainty from this outrage that several actors could appear on the stage together with the singer.
- 99, 15. choir. A Chorus must probably be assumed from Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 14: ὡς οἱ κακοὶ τραγωδοὶ μόνοι ᾄσαι οὐ δύνανται ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῶν.
- 99, 17. linked. Grysar's statements on p. 45 are mere conjectures.
- 99, 19. dialogues. The passage of Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xix, 261 may refer to dialogues, but equally well to iambic solos alone.
- 99, 30. free. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 21. Cf. Euripides, *Herc. fur.*, 1035. The parts which Juv., 8, 223, Dio, lxiii, 9 and 22, and Philostrat., *Vit. Apollon.*, v, 6, mention as played by Nero, are probably only arbitrarily chosen examples.
- 99, 34. death. Suetonius, *Nero*, c. 46.
- 99, 39. appear. *Id.*, *Caes.*, c. 39; *Aug.*, c. 43.
- 99, 41. actor. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 15.
- 100, 2. texts. Mommsen, *RG*, iii<sup>5</sup>, 613. Grysar (*Der röm. Mimus*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Wien. acad.*, xii, pp. 327-330) has introduced much erroneous and irrelevant matter into the section on the *scena Graeca*.
- 100, 4. audience. See vol. ii, p. 91, 24-5 and note. Choric., *op. cit.*, c. 14, 7, p. 238: ἵπποδρομίας μὲν οὖν κᾶρχησιν ὑπερβαίνει τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ μηδὲν στασιῶδες τοῖς δῆμοις ἐμβάλλειν, θαυματοποιούς δὲ καὶ τραγωδίας ὑπόκρισιν μετιόντας καὶ λύρα χρωμένους τῷ μὴ κόρον διδοῖναι, ἐκείνων γὰρ οὕτως ἐνεπλήσθησαν ἄνθρωποι τῶν θεαμάτων, ὥς μόλις δημοσιεύειν.
- 100, 7. mime. *Id. ib.*, c. 17, 2, p. 243: μῖμος γὰρ ἅπας, κἂν ἄγαν εὐφώνος ᾗ, τὰ δεύτερα φέρει τραγωδίας ὑποκριτοῦ, ὅς νῦν μὲν εἰσέρχεται παῖδα φονέα μητρὸς ὑποκρινόμενος, νῦν δὲ μητέρα ξίφος ἐπιφέρουσαν τέκνους ὑπὸ ζήλοτυπίας ἐρωτικῆς. If there was need of φωνασκεῖν and strict diet for mimes (c. 15, 9, p. 240), both were certainly all the more necessary for tragedians.
- 100, 22. Augustus. Sueton., in Jerome, ed. Roth (p. 301, 25).
- 100, 28. god. Henzen, *Tessera di un pantomimo*, *BdI*, 1875, p. 170 ss. J. Schmidt, *BdI*, 1879, p. 170. Buecheler, *Ind. Bonn. aestiv.*, 1877, pp. 11-13. *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 115.
- 100, 30. disuse. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 551, and below.
- 100, 38. Lucan. Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 1469; Jahn, *Proll. ad Pers.*, p. xxxiv; Genthe, *De M. Annaeo Lucano*, p. 64 sq. Cf. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 303, 4.
- 100, 41. Paris. Juv., 7, 92.
- 101, 5. men. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, ix, 15, 17. Cf. Liban., ed. Reiske, vol. iii, p. 381 sq.
- 101, 6. historical. Dosith., *Interpr.*, iii, ed. Boecking, p. 65, says in the introduction to the section on mythology: Fabulae

- quoque pantomimorum inde accipiunt laudem et testantur in saltatione, vera esse quae scripta sunt.
- 101, 12. Cleopatra. Lucian., *De saltat.*, 54 and 58.
- 101, 15. Nero. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 54.
- 101, 17. Macrobius. Macrobi., *Satt.*, v, 17, 15: Virgil treated so beautifully the story of Dido, that his description was not only imitated by sculptors, painters and tapestry-weavers, but also 'histrionum perpetuis et gestibus et cantibus celebretur'.
- 101, 18. Gods. Lucian., *De saltat.*, c. 59.
- 101, 29. Myrrha. Lucian., *op. cit.*, 37-61. Grysar, *op. cit.*, 53 f.
- 101, 32. fall. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 1, 13.
- 101, 34. audiences. Cf. on later times P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, 104 sqq.
- 102, 7. turmoil. Sueton., in Jerome (ed. Roth, p. 301, 25). Cf. Macrobi., *Saturn.*, ii, 7, 18.
- 102, 8. orchestra. The first two are mentioned several times by Lucian, the last two by Ovid, *Remed.*, 753 sq., where indeed mimes may also be meant. Cf. Grysar, *Rhein. Mus.*, ii, p. 58. (Arnob., *Adv. gent.*, i, 2; Cassiodor., *Var.*, iv, 51.)
- 102, 12. start. Grysar, *op. cit.*, 57 f. Cf. Jahn, *Das Columbar. der Villa Pamfili*, p. 24.
- 102, 17. music. Ovid, *Remed.*, l.c.; Lucian, *Salt.*, 2 (ὕπὸ κρούμασι καὶ τερετίσμασι καὶ πόδων κτύπῳ).
- 102, 23. parts. Lucian names five, *ib.*, 66 (τοσοῦτων γὰρ μερῶν τὸ δρᾶμα ἦν.). Cf. Grysar, *Rhein. Mus.*, ii, p. 38.
- 102, 26. Aërope. Lucian, 26, 67.
- 102, 26. Agave. *Anthol.*, ed. Jacobs, iv, p. 192; *Epigr. adesp.*, 353 (εἰς Ξενοφῶντος Σμυρναίου ἀρχηστῶς εἰκόνα).
- 102, 27. Cybele. Jerome, *Epp.*, 43: quomodo in theatralibus scenis unus atque idem histrio nunc Herculem robustus ostendit, nunc mollis in Venerem frangitur, nunc tremulus in Cybelen.
- 102, 32. Ganymede. Liban., ed. Reiske, iii, 391, 23.
- 102, 41. error. Lucian, *ib.*, 63.
- 103, 9. Lapithae. Liban., *ib.*, p. 373 sq.
- 103, 12. Priam. Manil., v, 479 sqq.
- 103, 28. ivy. Nonnus, *Dionys.*, xix, 136 ss. R. Köhler, *Ueber die Dionysiaka des Nonnus*, p. 29, 2.
- 103, 33. at once. Cassiodor., *Var.*, iv, 51.
- 103, 41. Hamilton. Goethe, *Werke*, 23, 257 f.
- 104, 2. skill. Fronto, *Epp. ad M. Antonin. Aug. de oratt.*, iv, 8: histriones quom palleolatim saltant, caudam cycni, capillum Veneris, furiae flagellum eodem pallio demonstrant. In Schol. Juv., 6, 653: spectant in theatro p a r a p a l l i u m Alcestin pro marito suo morientem, the corrupt word can hardly be supposed to mean anything of the kind.
- 104, 5. characters. In the only passage from which one might draw the conclusion that secondary actors appeared on the stage, Lucian, *De saltat.*, 83, the sense seems to be that the pantomime acted in such a way as to suggest the action of a second person facing him.
- 104, 11. doubtful. Quintilian, vi, 3, 65: Nam et finitione ausus est Augustus de pantomimis duobus, qui alternis gestibus con-



tendebant, cum eorum alterum saltatorem dixit, alterum interpellatorem.

104, 16. leaps. Lucian, *Salt.*, 71.

104, 18. fast. Seneca, *Controv.*, iii, *praef.* 8 : Nomio (edd. nomini meo) cum velocitas pedum non concedatur tantum sed obiciatur, lentiores manus sunt (according to the certain emendation of Buecheler, *Ind. Bonn. aestiv.*, 1877, p. 12).

104, 21. body. Galen, vi, 155.

104, 29. hands. Nonn., *Dionys.*, xix, 261-282.

104, 31. speech. Quintilian, xi, 3, 87.

104, 36. words. Seneca, *Epp.*, 121, 6.

104, 36. finger. Quintilian, xi, 3, 91 sqq.

104, 37. dance. Manu puer loquaci, Petron., ed. Buecheler<sup>3</sup>, p. 212. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 26 : illa foeda et praepostera sed tamen frequens quibusdam exclamatio, ut oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones diserte saltare dicantur. Among the Greeks Antipat. Thessalon., *Epigr.*, 27, mentions the Bacchus of Pylades πανφώνοις χερσὶ λοχεύμενος. Cf. *CIG*, 6305 : ἱστορίας δέλξας καὶ χερσὶν πάντα λαλήσας, and Grysar, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

104, 41. rhetors. Athen., i, p. 20 D.

105, 5. bald. Nonnus, *op. cit.*, 196-202.

105, 8. strings. Quintilian, xi, 3, 88 sq.

105, 12. contemplation. Macrobi., *Sat.*, ii, 7.

105, 21. dress. Lucian, *Salt.*, 80.

105, 26. saw. Macrobi., *loc. cit.*

105, 27. characters. *CIG*, 6306 = Jacobs, *Anthol.*, iv, 282 : συμπάσχωι κείνοισιν ὅσων κινεῖτο προσώποις.

105, 28. tears. Lucian, *ib.*, 79.

105, 32. tears. Minuc. Felix, *Octav.*, 37, 12.

105, 36. mask. Lucian, *Salt.*, 27, 29. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 551, 4.

106, 4. health. Lucian, *Salt.*, 75 sqq.

106, 6. absent. Cf the passages of Libanius in P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, p. 104 and Claudian in Eutrop., ii, 403-5.

106, 8. Paris. Galen, *De compos. medicament. sec. locos*, ed. Kuehn, xii, p. 454.

106, 11. food. Liban., *Pro saltat.*, *op. cit.*, p. 388 sq.

106, 15. sex. Columella, *De r. r.*, i, *praef.* 15. Lactant., *Inst. div.*, vi, 20, 32.

106, 19. inartistic. Apul., *Apol.*, c. 74.

106, 22. Leda. Juv., 6, 63-66 (Thymele tunc rustica discit).

106, 34. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 24 ; *CIL*, x, 1946 = *IRN*, 2911 (Puteoli) : C. Ummidius Actius Anicetus pantomimus (*CIL*, iv, 2155 : Actiani : Anicetiani ; 2150 : Actio . . . . Anicet(e) vale).

106, 37. Juvenal. Juv., l. c.

106, 41. pantomimes. Julian, *Fragm. epp.*, p. 304 B.C.

107, 2. monarchy. Zosim., *Hist.*, i, 6.

107, 7. weary. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, i, 32.

107, 9. artists. Athen., i, p. 20 F, and Plutarch, *Qu. conviv.*, vii, 8, c. 3, 3, are derived from the same source, a treatise of Aristoniscus. Plutarch's words are : ἀποπέμπω δὲ τῆς ἀρχήσεως τὴν Πυλάδειον, ὀγκώδη καὶ παθητικὴν καὶ πολυπρόσωπον (this word should

- also be read in Athen. instead of the meaningless πολύκοπον) οὔσαν . . . δέχομαι τὴν Βαθύλλειον αὐτόθεν πέζαν τοῦ Κόρδακος ἀπτομένην, Ἐχούς ἢ τινος Πανὸς ἢ Σατύρου σὺν Ἑρωτι κωμάζοντος ὑπόρχημά τι διατιθεμένην.
- 107, 10. art. Athen., *l. c.*
- 107, 15. Tragedy. Bursian in the *Litterar. Centralblatt*, 1869, no. 17, p. 490 f.
- 107, 18. dance. Seneca, *Controv. epit.*, iii, *praef.*: Pylades in comoedia, Bathyllus in tragoedia multum a se aberant.
- 107, 20. poet. Antipater Thessalon., *Epigr.*, 27. *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, p. 102.
- 107, 21. writer. Boeth., *ib.*, p. 114.
- 107, 24. hero. Macrobi., ii, 7.
- 107, 27. Pylades. *IRN*, 2378 = *CIL*, x, 1074.
- 107, 29. schools. Seneca, *Qu. n.*, vii, 32: stat per successores Pyladis et Bathylli domus.
- 107, 31. time. Cf. Appendix xxxviii.
- 107, 32. Plutarch. Plutarch, *l. c.*
- 107, 40. accompanists. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 553, 4 and 5, and Petron., c. 53 (odaria saltare). Of the inscriptions with 'cantavit saltavit et placuit' Orelli, 2605 is spurious, but 2607 = *CIL*, xii, 188 is certainly genuine. The latter (d. m. puer, Septentrionis [the name also occurs in Orelli, 2527 = *CIL*, xiv, 2977] annor. xii qui Antipoli in theatro biduo saltavit et placuit) has occasioned the following amusing comment by Wallon in his (generally very valuable) *Hist. de l'esclavage*, ii, 129: On connaît l'inscription de ce jeune enfant du Nord, 'qui parût âgé de douze ans sur le théâtre d'Antibes, dansa deux jours et sût plaire' . . . Quel sort fatal le ravît si tôt et si loin de sa patrie, sous un ciel qui le conviait à vivre par tous les charmes d'un climat plus doux?
- 108, 6. danced. Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 519; v, 7, 25; Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 54; Tac., *Dial.*, c. 26.
- 108, 6. *embolium*. Cic., *Pro Sest.*, 54, 116, cf. Schol. in *Mai. Auct. class.*, ii, 148.
- 108, 7. women. A bone stamp with the inscription: Sophe Theorobathylliana arbitrix imboliarum. *BdI*, 1873, p. 67 ss. = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,128 (a pupil of Theoros and Bathyllus; cf. note on p. 100, 28. An *embolaria* Pliny, *N. H.*, vii, 158, Orelli, 2613 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,127.
- 108, 10. Sparta. Athen., xiv, 631 A.
- 108, 14. houses. Cf. on the whole subject my essay in Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 553, 1 and Appendix xxxix.
- 108, 15. *civitas*. Dio, *l. c.*; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12.
- 108, 16. slaves. Orelli, 2639 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,141: Dis man. Naidi, Caesaris vernae ex numero pyrrhiche.
- 108, 21. cloaks. *Digg.*, xlviii, 19, 8, 11; Plutarch, *De sera num. vind.*, c. 9; Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, i, 2, 4; Lucian, *Piscator*, 36.
- 108, 23. squares. Apulei., *Met.*, x, 29, p. 734.
- 108, 25. sexes. *Anthol. lat.*, ed. Meyer, 959. De pyrrhicha:—

In spatio Veneris simulantur proelia Martis  
cum sese adversum sexus uterque venit etc.

- 108, 25. Bacchic. Athen., xiv, 631 A.  
 108, 27. shepherds. Lucian, *De saltat.*, l. c.  
 108, 33. blood. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12. Juv., 4, 122 (et pagma et pueros inde ad velaria raptos) probably also refers to a Pyrrhic. Cf. vol. ii, p. 74.  
 108, 37. Pyrrhic. Apulei., *Met.*, x, p. 232-236.  
 109, 28. knights. Philostrate., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 10, ed. p. 256 : ὁπότε οὖν σπουδάσειεν περὶ τὰς ἐγκυκλίους θεὰς ὀρχηστών δὲ αὐταὶ τὸ ἐπίπαν κ.τ.λ.  
 109, 29. pantomimes. E.g. Pliny, *Paneg.*, 46.  
 109, 32. despised. Liban., *op. cit.*, p. 350 reproaches his adversary with confusing the two kinds : ἀλλ' οἶμαι τὸ τοῦ βελτίονος σχήματος ἡλπίσε χεῖρον ἀποφαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν μετιόντων δ' χεῖρον εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ τὴν τῶν μίμων δόξαν ἔλξειν ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρχησιν.  
 109, 37. disease. Seneca, *Controv. epit.*, iii, *praef.*  
 109, 38. Rome. Tac., *Dial.*, 39.  
 109, 38. women. Cf. vol. i, p. 247.  
 110, 1. sexes. Cf. vol. i, p. 59. J. Schmidt, *Add. ad CIL viii, Eph. ep.*, v, 315 no. 443 (Carthage) : Thyas saltatrix Metiliae Rufinae vixit annis xiii. Thalamus sponsae suae. The dancers were perhaps *embolariae* (vol. ii, p. 108, 6, 7 and n.).  
 110, 3. dowry. Seneca, *Cons. ad Helv.*, 12 ; Luxorius, (*Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 310) : in pantomimam pygmaeam, quae Andromachae fabulam frequenter saltabat et raptum Helenae.  
 110, 4. decreed. Tac., *A.*, i, 77.  
 110, 5. letter. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 7 ; cf. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 24.  
 110, 17. garment. Cic., *In Pison.*, 10, 22 ; cf. 8, 18 ; *Pro Planc.*, 35, 87 ; *P. red. in senatu*, 6, 13 ; *P. domo*, 23, 60 ; *Catilin.*, ii, 10, 23 (of the partisans of Catiline) : nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt. Macrobi., *Satt.*, iii, 14, 15.  
 110, 18. statesman. Dio, xxxvii, 49.  
 110, 20. Ovid. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 595. Omit 'with her'.  
 110, 24. dancer. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 9, 23.  
 110, 24. Manilius. Manil., iv, 525 sqq.  
 110, 28. youth. Seneca, *Controv.*, i, *prooem.*  
 110, 28. Caligula's. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 55.  
 110, 29. teachers. Colum., *R. r.*, *praef.*, i.  
 110, 32. citizen. Pliny, *N. H.*, vii, 159 : Stephanionem qui primus togatus saltare instituit. (Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 119 n.) Presumably the same whom Suetonius, *Aug.*, c. 45, calls *togatarius*.  
 110, 35. women. Seneca, *Qu. nat.*, vii, 32 ; *Epp.*, 90, 19 : itaque hinc textorum, hinc fabrorum officinae sunt, hinc odores coquentium, hinc molles corporis motus docentium mollesque cantus et infractus.  
 110, 37. passion. Martial, ii, 7 (et belle cantas et saltas, Attice, belle). Cf. also Apuleius, *Apol.*, c. 74, quoted vol. ii, p. 106.  
 110, 38. house. Lucian, *De merc. conduct.*, 27.  
 110, 40. indecorous. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 8 ; Dio, lxxvii, 13. Cf. vol. ii, p. 17 ff.  
 110, 40. emperors. *Hist. Aug. Commodi*, c. 1 ; *Elagabal.*, c. 32 ; *Herodian*, v, 3, 10.

- III, 6. calumniator. *Edict. praet., Digg.*, iii, 2, 1. Cf. Cic., *De rep.*, iv, 10; Cornel. Nep., *prooem*, 4.
- III, 6. Diocletian. *Cod.*, ii, 12, 21.
- III, 9. provinces. Dirksen, *Obs. ad tab. Heracl.* (viii, l. 34), part ii, p. 71.
- III, 11. marriage. (Through the *lex Julia*) *Digg.*, xxiii, 2, 42 and 44.
- III, 13. freedman. *Ib.*, xlviii, 5, 24 (Macer, libro i Publicorum).
- III, 15. slavery. *Ib.*, xlviii, 19, 14 (Macer, libro ii de re militari):—si miles artem ludicram fecerit, vel in servitutem se venire passus est, capite puniendum, Menander scribit.
- III, 18. theatre. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 45.
- III, 18. remained. Tac., i, 77, where the passage 'divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat' is perhaps taken from the acts of the Senate. Suetonius gives a more precise and certainly more correct account of the matter. The proposal made then (in the year 15) 'ut praetoribus jus virgarum in histriones esset' appears to have aimed at the restoration of the law as it was before Augustus. Cf. my remarks in Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 540, 7. Kotzebue, *Erinnerungen an eine Reise nach Rom und Neapel* (1805), quotes from an edict respecting the theatres which at that time was published annually in Rome, and enjoined (although it remained a dead letter) that singers and dancers should in certain cases receive corporal punishment.
- III, 25. Pylades. Sueton., *l. c.*
- III, 27. infamous. Actors and sons of actresses appear comparatively often in the *tribus Esquilina* (of which perhaps not more than eight stones are known). Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 443, 10.
- III, 40. ruin. Gell., xx, 4.
- II2, 1. troops. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 539.
- II2, 1. tragedy. Cf. Lüders, *Dionysische Künstler*, 116 ff., Anhang 112; *Digg.*, xl, 5, 12 (cum Firmus Titiano tragoedos tres legasset).
- II2, 3. needed. Martial, vi, 6.
- II2, 3. Martial. *Id.*, xiv, 214.
- II2, 8. sale. Gai., *Inst.*, iii, 212; *Digg.*, xxi, 1, 34 (quum ejusdem generis plures res simul veneant veluti comoedi vel chorus). In Russia actors, and singers of both sexes, were very often serfs: Ségur, *Mémoires et souvenirs*, iii, 233. Haxthausen (*Studien*, i, 310) heard an opera in Nizhniy-Novgorod in which all the singers were serfs.
- II2, 9. table. Cf. vol. i, p. 218.
- II2, 13. acting. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 24.
- II2, 14. interceded. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 47; Dio, lvii, 11; Schol. Pers., 5, 9: Glyco tragoedus populo mire placuit et ideo a Nerone manumissus est, datis Vergilio tragoedo, domino ejus, pro parte dimidia quam possidebat HS iii.
- II2, 16. hire. Julian, lib. xlv; *Digg.*, xxxviii, 1, 25.
- II2, 17. friends. *Id.*, lib. i ex Minicio; *ib.*, 1, 27.
- II2, 21. ring. Macrobi., *Saturn.*, iii, 14, 13.



- 112, 23. Gades. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, x, 32, 2.
- 112, 31. happened. Seneca, *Epp.*, 80, 7: ille qui in scena latus incendit et haec resupinus dicit . . . servus est, quinque modios accipit et quinque denarios . . . Ille . . . diurnum accipit, in centunculo dormit. Cf. Lucian, *Apolog.*, 5; *Piscator*, 33. *Id.*, *Icaromenipp.*, 29: γελοῖον ἀνθρώπιον ἐπτά δραχμῶν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα μεμυσθωμένον,
- 112, 35. outcry. Cic., *De orat.*, iii, 51, 196; *Orat.*, 51, 173: *Parad.*, 3, 26.
- 112, 40. born. Plutarch, *De tranquill. anim.*, c. 13.
- 113, 1. offices. *Mitth. d. Archäol. Instit.*, 1888, p. 79 (Puteoli): L. Aurelio Aug(g.) lib. Pyladi, pantomimo temporis sui primo, hieronicae coronato iiii, patrono parasitorum Apollinis, sacerdoti synodi, honorato Puteolis d. d. ornamentis decurionalib. et duumviralib., auguri etc. The *parasiti Apollinis* known up to the present time (Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 538, 5) have been collected by Mommsen in the above work, p. 81. His derivation of the title from the *parasiti* of the mime appears to me impossible. The *archieueus synhodi* and *sacerdos Apollinis (vittatus)*, *CIL*, vi, 10, 117, xiv, 4264) stood above them in rank. With Henzen, *BdI*, 1885, p. 240: L. Faenius Faustus quartar. par. Apol. cf. *CIL*, vi, 10, 118: quar]tarum in mimis saltantibus utilis actor.
- 113, 3. synods. Cf. vol. i, p. 318.
- 113, 4. statues. *CIL*, xiv, 2977. Henzen, 6185 = *CIL*, iii, 1, 375: Colonia (Parium) P. Publilium Ingenuum comoedum ob insignem artis prudentiam et morum probitatem. Cf. vol. ii, 23, 11-12 and note. *Bull. com. d R.*, 1886, p. 89, 1121 . . . Primi (?) statuam | M. Iulio Honorato archim(imo).
- 113, 8. Tarentum. Cic., *Pro Arch. poet.*, 5, 10.
- 113, 12. time. Orelli, 2629 = *CIL*, v, 2, 5889. Cf. note on p. 113, 1, above.
- 113, 17. inhabitants. Inscription of L. Acilius Eutyches, Orelli, 2625 = *CIL*, xiv, 2408.
- 113, 19. limitation. Tac., *A.*, i, 77.
- 113, 23. gifts. *M. Antonin.*, c. 11. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 542, 1.
- 113, 26. ox-gall. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 94.
- 113, 29. Apollinaris. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 19; cf. also *Elagab.*, c. 22.
- 113, 33. sum. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 20; Plutarch, *Galba.*, c. 16, 2; Sueton., *Galba*, c. 15. For 'most' read 'much'.
- 113, 36. Rome. Dio, lv, 10: ἐποίησε μὲν οὖν καὶ Πυλάδης ὁ ὀρχηστὴς πανήγυριν τινα, οὐκ αὐτὸς χειρουργήσας ἀτε ὑπεργήρως ὢν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σκευῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν.
- 113, 37. Puteoli. *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1888, p. 79 (see above, note on p. 113, 1) . . . ob . . . eximiam liberalitatem in edendo muner(e) gladiatorum, venatione passiva (i.e. promiscua).
- 114, 1. Paris. Pliny, *N. h.*, vii, 128.
- 114, 3. wealth. Meyer, *Anthol. Lat.*, ii, p. 89, no. 1173 (cf. vol. ii of the present work, p. 95), l. 3:—

hic ego praevalui tota notissimus urbe,  
hinc mihi larga domus, hinc mihi census erat.

- 114, 6. slaves. Choric., *Apol. mimor.*, 2, 3, l. c., p. 214.  
 114, 10. empresses. Cf. vol. i, p. 59 f.  
 114, 16. 48 A.D. Cf. the passages quoted in the notes on the same passage, and on vol. i, p. 246 f.  
 114, 19. accusers. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 19-22.  
 114, 23. case. *Digg.*, xii, 4, 3, § 5; Tac., *ib.*, c. 27.  
 114, 26. teacher. Dio, lxiii, 18; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 54.  
 114, 26. Latinus. Cf. vol. i, p. 60.  
 114, 28. convention. Cf. Appendix xxxix.  
 114, 31. pantomime. Cf. vol. i, p. 247.  
 114, 37. promoted. Cf. Appendix lvi.  
 114, 38. spectacles. Fronto, *Principp. hist.*, 5, 13, ed. Niebuhr, p. 249.  
 114, 38. Pylades. Dio, lxviii, 10.  
 114, 38. Pius. Antonin. Pius, c. 11.  
 115, 3. Pylades. On the first see *L. Ver.*, c. 8; on the third Fronto, *Epp. ad L. Ver.*, 12; cf. Appendix xxxix.  
 115, 4. pantomimes. *M. Antonin.*, c. 23.  
 115, 12. legions. Dio, lxxvii, 21. But Dio's statement that P. Valerius Comazon, whom Elagabalus made an urban prefect, was a *histrion* is false. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 233 f.  
 115, 9. escort. Tac., *A.*, i, 77.  
 115, 10. accompany them. Seneca, *Qu. n.*, vii, 32, 3.  
 115, 11. grooms. *Id.*, *Epp.*, 47, 17.  
 115, 12. persons. Pliny, *N. h.*, vii, 184 (in venere obiere) et quos nostra adnotavit aetas duo equestris ordinis in eodem pantomimo Mystico tum forma praecellente. 'Nostra aetas' is the time of Nero, whose freedman Mysticus probably was. *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, p. 161, 1203: Claud(iae) Ep . . nis Mustici pantomimi lib. vix. an. vi.  
 115, 13. crowd. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 9.  
 115, 15. charioteers. Galen, *Method. med.*, i (ed. Kuehn, vol. x, p. 3).  
 115, 17. fragrances. Dio, lxvii, 3.  
 115, 22. Paris. Martial, xi, 13.  
 115, 24. favours. Cf. vol. i, p. 246 f.  
 115, 33. clappers. Marquardt, *StV*, iii, 520 f. Cf. also Petron., *Sat.*, c. 5.  
 115, 36. *claque*. Tac., *A.*, i, 16.  
 115, 39. parties. Fest., p. 86 M.  
 116, 9. themselves. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 4.  
 116, 11. disorder. Henzen-Orelli, *Ind.*, p. 173. Wilmanns, *Exempla*, ii, 634.  
 116, 18. executed. *Digg.*, xlviii, 19, 28, 3.  
 116, 27. Maecenas. Dio, liv, 17; Tac., *A.*, i, 54.  
 116, 31. accustomed. Tac., *ib.*  
 116, 32. Drusus. Dio, lvii, 14.  
 116, 38. place. Tac., *A.*, i, 77.  
 116, 39. 22. Dio, lvii, 21.  
 116, 39. 23. Tac., *A.*, iv, 14.  
 116, 41. crimes. Cf. vol. i, p. 247.  
 117, 1. recall. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 37.

- 117, 1. Caligula. Dio, lix, 2.  
 117, 6. theatre. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 24.  
 117, 11. head. *Id. ib.*, xiii, 24 sq.; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 26; Dio, lxi, 8.  
 117, 15. Senate. Tac., *ib.* and c. 28; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 16 sq.  
 117, 16. allowed. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 21.  
 117, 18. day. Sueton., *Titus*, c. 7.  
 117, 19. pantomimes. *Id.*, *Domitian*, c. 7.  
 117, 21. forbade it. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 46: neque enim a te minore concentu ut tolleress pantomimos quam a patre tuo ut restitueret exactum est.  
 117, 22. triumph. Dio, lxxviii, 10.  
 117, 24. service. *Hadrian.*, c. 19: histriones aulicos publicavit. So *Alexand. Sever.*, c. 34: pantomimos populo donavit.  
 117, 33. Rome. Aemilius Paullus gave Greek spectacles at Ampipolis in 169, ad quae rudes tum Romani erant. Livy, xlv, 22.  
 117, 36. contests. On musical contests cf. vol. ii, p. 351 ff.  
 117, 39. Greece. Livy, xxxix, 22.  
 118, 1. contests. Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i, 99 (Ol. 175).  
 118, 3. Valerius. Valer. Maxim., ii, 4, 7.  
 118, 5. Curio. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 120.  
 118, 6. theatre. Dio, xxxix, 38; Plutarch, *Pomp.*, c. 52.  
 118, 10. vain. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, vii, 1, 3.  
 118, 12. Martius. Plutarch, *Caes.*, c. 39.  
 118, 13. exhibitions. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 45.  
 118, 16. nephew's. Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, c. 22 (p. 90); Suet., c. 43; Dio, liii, 1.  
 118, 21. years. Strabo, vii, 325 C.; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 18; Dio, li, 1. Cf. Franz, *CIG*, iii, p. 730 and the article *Actium* by Bursian in the *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 146.  
 118, 23. Nicopolis. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 6.  
 118, 23. Augustus. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 98.  
 118, 25. Greece. Franz, *CIG*, iii, p. 730 a. Cf. 4472, 10: *Αυγούστου ἐν Νικοπόλει τῆς περιόδου*.  
 118, 27. Olympiads. Joseph., *B. J.*, i, 20, 4.  
 118, 28. Julian, *Panegg.*, x, c. 9, 1.  
 118, 32. Delphi. Cf. Appendix xli.  
 118, 33. Herod. Joseph., *A. J.*, xvi, 5, 1; cf. *B. J.*, i, 21, 8.  
 118, 35. games. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 59; Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 42, 1. Caligula's prohibition (Sueton., *Cal.*, c. 23: Actiaecas Siculasque victorias . . . vetuit sollemnibus feriis celebrari, cannot have remained in force after his death. On Poppaea's delivery in 63 a 'certamen ad exemplar Actiacae religionis' was ordered in Rome, Tac., *A.*, xv, 23. Among the victories of T. Flavius Archibius, *CIG*, 5804 is in l. 24: τὸν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἱερὸν πενταετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα] Ἀκτιακῶν παίδων παγκράτιον (89 A.D.) and in l. 27: καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἱερὸν πενταετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα Ἀκ[τιακῶν παίδων] (90 A.D.). Cf. p. 732. But here we must probably understand with Mie, *Quaest. agonist.* (Rostochii, 1885), p. 54, the *Olympia* celebrated in Alexandria (*CIG*, 5913), and by Ἀκτιακοὶ παῖδες, those whose age was fixed by the rules of the *Actia* at Nicopolis. The *Olympia* are also referred to in Gruter, 499, 6 = *CIL*, ii,

- 4136 (Tarracone) : cohorti I Breucor. trib. mil. proc. divi Titi Alexandriae agnothetae certaminis penetaeterici bis. On the other hand *CIA*, iii, 129 (third cent.) : "Ἀκτια ἐν Τύρῳ and *CIL*, xiv, 474 : Actia apud Bostram.
- 118, 38. victory. Dio, li, 19.
- 118, 39. Agrippa. *Id.*, liii, 2 ; cf. Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 41 sq.
- 118, 41. Actium. Augustus himself calls them *θεαὶ ἐκ τῶν εὐχῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας* ; a coin of the year 738 shows a sacrificing priest with the inscription : pro valetudine Caesaris s. p. q. R. On the obverse is a sacrificing Apollo with : Apollini Actio. Mommsen has rightly concluded from this that the 'ludi pro salute divi Augusti votivi' (762) in Pliny, *N. h.*, vii, 158 belong to this period.
- 119, 2. alternately. Dio, liii, 1 ; liv, 19, cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*
- 119, 3. 9 A.D. Pliny, *N. h.*, vii, 158.
- 119, 8. Agrippa. Dio, liii, 1.
- 119, 12. hour. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 44 ; cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.* (730, 746 or 762).
- 119, 15. officials. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 21 : nec perinde magistratus rem familiarem exhausturos aut populo efflagitandi Graeca certamina a magistratibus causam fore, quum eo sumptu respublica fungatur.
- 119, 17. Caligula. Dio, lix, 9.
- 119, 19. birthday. *Id.*, lix, 13.
- 119, 19. Claudius. *Id.*, lx, 23.
- 119, 26. exchequer. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 20 ; Dio, lxi, 21 ; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12 ; Eckhel, *D. N.*, v, 264. The reverse of a coin, struck in this year with the inscription CER. QVINQ. ROM. CON. S.C. shows a table on which are an urn and a wreath, and below it a *discus* and griffins holding a shield. *CIL*, iv, 1745 : Roma va(le) ; Neroneis Augusta(libus feliciter ?).
- 119, 28. Apollo. This is what Suetonius means, *loc. cit.* : instituit quinquennale certamen primus omnium Romae more Graeco triplex, he does not, as Nipperdey thinks, allude to the periodical return of the games, nor, as Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 117, 4, supposes, to the institution of contests for amateurs, for this was already the case with the chariot-races in the periodic games under Augustus.
- 119, 32. wreathed. Cf. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 4 ; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 21 ; *Vit. Luciani* and Haackh in the *StRE*, v, 584.
- 119, 37. oil. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12 ; Dio, lxi, 21 ; Tac., *A.*, xiv, 47.
- 119, 41. arms. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 20.
- 120, 1. Sura. Schol. Juv., 4, 53 (apparently from Marius Maximus), see Valla. Cf. on Sura Appendix xi.
- 120, 5. dress. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 21 : Graeci amictus quis per eos dies plerique incessant, tum exoleverant. Nipperdey explains 'exoleverant' as 'were no longer a novelty and no longer caused a sensation'.
- 120, 6. 65. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 4. Euseb., *Chron.* The continuance of the *Neronea* at a later period is not proved either by contorniates (Eckhel, *D. N.*, viii, p. 312, or by the cameo with the inscription : Νέρων Αἰγούστε (Nero in a *quadriga* with sceptre



and *mappa*—Caylus, *Rec.*, i, tab. 86, 2) or again by the inscriptions, Gruter, 116, 3 and 499, 6, cited by Genthe, *De Lucani vita et scriptis*, p. 52 sq. (cf. note on p. 118, 35).

- 120, 10. Neronea. Aurel. Vict., *Caes.*, c. 27.
- 120, 11. Minerva. *Catal. imp.*: agonem Minervae instituit. Perhaps this is the ἀγών 'Αθηνᾶς προμάχου. *CIG*, 1068 (certainly after Hadrian) mentions among other victories in the *agones* also 'Αθηνᾶς Προμάχου ἐν 'Ρώμῃ δ'. (Four victories in twelve years, *CIG*, 5804.) *CIA*, iii, 129 (Anhang 19): inscription of a herald—'Αθηνᾶς Προμάχου ἐν 'Ρώμῃ γ' (between 253 and 257).
- 120, 12. Agon. Morcelli, *Sull' agone Capitolino pubblicato da Labus*, ed. 2, Milano, 1816.
- 120, 13. Olympian. Franz, *CIG*, iii, p. 729. Cf. vol. ii, 2810 C. Add.: 'Ρώμην Καπετώλεια 'Ολύμπια.
- 120, 15. summer. Morcelli, p. 12. The murders of Maximus and Balbinus took place during the Capitoline games in the year 238 (Herodian, viii, 8, 3). Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, p. 252, has collected the different reckonings of the month in which the event occurred, he himself decides for the middle of June; Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, iii, 1, 405, 1, for the 10th of July; Seeck, *Rhein. Mus.*, xli (1886), p. 168, for the 23rd of July. For the length of the period see Censorinus, *De die natali* (written before 238), c. 18, 11; Scaliger, *De emend. temp.*, 243; Eckhel, *D. N.*, iv, 437.
- 120, 18. ceased. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 4. On the separate contests cf. Appendix xlii.
- 120, 21. wreath. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 3, 231: mixta quercus . . . oliva (the latter the crown in the *agon Albanus*). Martial, iv, 1, 6; 54, 1; ix, 23, 5; Juv., 6, 387: Capitolinam . . . quercum. Cf. Nohl, *Quaest. Statian.*, pp. 26, 30.
- 120, 22. hand. Martial, iv, 1, 6: perque manus tantas plurima quercus eat.
- 120, 22. pronouncement. *IRN*, 5252 = *CIL*, ix, 2860 (inscription of Histonium): CORONATVS EST INTER POETAS LATINOS OMNIBVS SENTENTIS IVDICVM.
- 120, 26. Senator. Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance*, p. 202 ff. Cf. vol. iii, p. 46.
- 120, 35. century. Preller, *Die Regionen Roms*, p. 169.
- 121, 3. men. *CIG*, 5804.
- 121, 7. before. Dio, lxxix, 10.
- 121, 11. form. Preller, *op. cit.*, p. 169 f.
- 121, 18. wreaths. Sueton., *Domitian.*, c. 4.
- 121, 22. poet. Herodian, i, 9, 2.
- 121, 23. antiquity. Cf. Appendix xliii.
- 121, 25. emperors. *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1887, p. 186, 1922 (gymnico agone saepius coronatus).
- 121, 25. Hadrian. *CIG*, 3208, mentions the victory of a *citharoedus* in the 'Αδριάνεια 'Ρώμην β', and *ib.*, 246 the victory of a pugilist in the 'Αδριάνεια 'Ρώμην.
- 121, 28. Severus. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 35.
- 121, 28. Gordian. *Catal. imp.*, *CIG*, 1068.
- 121, 30. Aurelian. *Catal. imp.*, p. 648, ed. Mommsen: (Aurelia-

nus) agonem Solis instituit. Euseb., *Chron.*: primus agon Solis ab Aureliano constitutus. Julian, *Or.*, iv, 155 B.: ἀγομεν Ἑλλήω τετραετηρικοῦς ἀγῶνας.

- 121, 34. all. *CIG*, 5923.  
 121, 35. Arab. Euseb., *Chron.*: agon mille annorum actus.  
 121, 39. fame. Cyprian, *Epp.*, 58, 8.  
 121, 41. *agon*. *Philogelos*, ed. Eberhard, 62. The inscription *CIL*, vi, 488: Praesentiae matris deum P. Septimius Felix ob coronam millesimi urbis anni, which Mommsen refers to the theatral games of the millennial Secular Festival, may equally well refer to the gymnastic *agon* on the same occasion. From the inscription of a herald (*CIA*, iii, 129; cf. Anhang 19) who also won τὸν χειλιετῆ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, it must be assumed that all the contests usual in Greek *agones* took place then.  
 122, 6. Empire. Herodian, iii, 8, 9.  
 122, 7. medals. Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, iii, p. 274.  
 122, 8. Circus. *Ibid.*, iv, p. 148, no. 189.  
 122, 9. Barcelona. Huebner, *AdI*, 1864, p. 158.  
 122, 10. Carinus. *Carinus*, c. 18.  
 122, 14. gladiators. Claudian, *De cons. Fl. M.Th.*, 287. Cf. on this time Orelli, 2588; *CIG*, 5924; Cassiodor., *Var. epp.*, v, 42.  
 122, 18. men. Firm. Matern., vii, 22: Gladiatorum vel athletarum geniturae. Palaestritae, palaestritis praepositi: iii, 8, 4, 5; iii, 13, 5-10; v, 15 in f.; aut athletis hominibus (hominis?) potentis alicujus erunt honore praepositi.  
 122, 23. Rome. Marquardt, iii<sup>2</sup>, 525.  
 122, 23. Etruria. Livy, i, 35: pugiles . . . ex Etruria acciti.  
 122, 24. Latium. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 45 (pugiles Latini).  
 122, 24. Africa. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 18 (Afri Campanique pugiles).  
 122, 26. boxers. *IRN*, 2378 = *CIL*, x, 1074: pugiles catervarios et pycas.  
 122, 29. matches. Terence, *Hecyr.*, *prol.*, 25.  
 122, 32. taste. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 185.  
 122, 36. Ennius. Cic., *Tusc.*, iv, 33, 70.  
 122, 41. Greece. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*<sup>2</sup>, 117 f. and especially Plutarch, *Qu. R.*, 40.  
 123, 2. Varro. Varro, *R. r.*, ii, 1, 1.  
 123, 7. income. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxix, 4.  
 123, 8. Blaesus. Junius Blaesus cons. suff. 10 A.D. Cf. vol. ii, p. 47, and Nipperdey on Tac., *A.*, iii, 35.  
 123, 10. Isidorus. Aelian, ed. Hercher, ii, 240.  
 123, 12. Celsus. Celsus, *De re med.*, i, 1 and 2.  
 123, 15. Trimalchio. Petron., c. 28.  
 123, 21. Naples. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 40.  
 123, 22. athletes. *Id.*, *Galba*, c. 15. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 16, 2. Cf. vol. ii, p. 113.  
 123, 23. sand. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 168.  
 123, 25. people. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 45.  
 123, 28. body. See especially Seneca, *Epp.*, 15.  
 123, 29. young. This follows from Seneca's polemic, *Epp.*, 88, 18: aequae luctatores et totam oleo ac luto constantem scientiam

expello ex his studiis liberalibus . . . an liberale studium istuc juventuti nostrae credimus . . . ?

123, 35. amours. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 20.

123, 36. Greeks. Pliny, *N. h.*, xv, 19 : usum ejus (olei) ad luxuriam vertere Graeci vitiorum omnium genitores in gymnasiis publicando.

123, 38. immoral. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxix, 26 : illa perdidere imperi mores, quae sani patimur, luctatus, ceromata ceu valetudinis causa instituta, balineae ardentes etc.

123, 39. soul. *Id. ib.*, xxxv, 168 : ceromatis quibus exercendo juvenus nostra corporis viris perdit animorum.

124, 2. war. Lucan, *Pharsal.*, vii, 270.

124, 7. rubber. Martial, vii, 32.

124, 9. vineyard. *Id.*, xiv, 49 : Halteres.

124, 13. gymnast. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 13.

124, 15. interest. Plutarch, *Cato major*, c. 20.

124, 29. extend. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 22.

124, 39. Gaius. *Phot. Cod.*, 79, p. 146 H., p. 43 Bekk. Krause, *Gymnastik*, p. 803.

124, 40. Regulus. Plutarch, *De sanitate praec.*, c. 5, p. 124.

124, 40. Liber. Martial, ix, 72, cf. viii, 77.

125, 3. necks. Juv., 3, 68 : et ceromatico fert niceteria collo.

125, 7. wreath. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 1, 49. Cf. Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 112, 3.

125, 10. athletes. Of course I only speak here of inscriptions, which are the only source of our knowledge of professional athletics among the Romans. A relief of an athlete discovered near Varago in the district of Treviso bears the inscription (*BdI*, 1864, p. 27) :—

Κλαυδιανὸν πύκτην λεντιάριοι ἐνθάδε ἔθηκαν  
τενυῶντες καὶ νῦν εἰκόνι καὶ στεφάνοις.

λεντιάριοι are *lintearii* or *capsarii*, cf. Neubaur, *Comm. epigr.*, p. 76 sq. Perhaps inscriptions of athletes were often composed in Greek in Italy.

125, 13. amateur. This is shown by the complaint of Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 168.

125, 14. welcomed. Seneca, *De brev. vit.*, c. 12, 3.

125, 15. feats. *Id. ib.* : qui in ceromate (nam, proh facinus, ne Romanis quidem vitiis laboramus) sectator puerorum rixantium sedet.

125, 16. athletes. *Id.*, *Epp.*, 15, 3 : accedunt pessimae notae mancipia in magisterium recepta. Martial mentions *palaestritiae* among other slaves, iii, 58, 20 ; 82, 20 ; vi, 39, 9. Perhaps Pers., 4, 39 also refers to slaves.

125, 18. chewing. Seneca, *Epp.*, 15, 9.

125, 20. athletes. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 2.

125, 21. grounds. Martial, vii, 32.

125, 23. Glaucias. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 1, 110. The meaning of 'infantes gymnici', *CIL*, vi, 10, 158–10, 160, among whom were children in their second and sixth years, is obscure.

125, 26. wrestling. Quintilian, xii, 2, 12.

125, 26. competitors. Galen, *Περὶ ἱατρ. καὶ γυμναστ.*, c. 46, ed. K.,

- v, p. 894 : ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ τούτων ἀνυχέστατοι καὶ μηδεπώποτε νικήσαντες ἐξαίφνης ἐαυτοὺς ὀνομάζουσι γυμναστές. Omit 'in other branches.'  
 125, 29. performers. Tertullian, *Spect.*, c. 22 : xystici . . . quibus feminae corpora substernunt. Martial, vii, 57 :

Castora de Polluce Gabinia fecit Achillam,  
 Pyxagathos fuerat, nunc erit Hippodamos.

- 125, 29. gifts. Juv., 6, 356.  
 125, 30. diet. *Id.*, 2, 53.  
 125, 32. dumb-bells. *Id.*, 6, 246 ; Martial, vii, 67.  
 125, 35. weapons. *Hadrian.*, c. 14, 26.  
 125, 38. hour. Galen, ed. K., vi, 406.  
 125, 39. running. *M. Antonin.*, c. 4.  
 125, 40. youth. *L. Verus*, c. 2.  
 125, 40. Narcissus. *Commodus*, c. 17 ; *Pescenn. Nig.*, c. 1 ; Dio, lxxii, 22.  
 126, 1. Severus. *Alex. Sev.*, c. 27.  
 126, 10. bravery. *Digg.*, iii, 2, 4 (Ulpianus libro vi ad edictum). It is evidently from ignorance that Tertullian, *Spect.*, c. 22, includes the *xystici* among the *infames*.  
 126, 12. Emperor. Lebas-Waddington, 16,209.  
 126, 14. compete. *Digg.*, ix, 2, 7, 4 (Ulpian, libro xviii ad ed.) : Si quis in colluctatione vel in pancratio vel pugiles dum inter se exercentur, alius alium occiderit, si quidem in publico certamine alius alium occiderit, cessat Aquilia, quia gloriae causa et virtutis, non injuriae gratia videtur damnum datum. Hoc autem in servo non procedit, quoniam ingenui solent certare. Cf. also P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, p. 65 n.  
 126, 14. Severus. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 42.  
 126, 20. *xystarchus*. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xii, 19 ff.  
 126, 22. festivals. The φιλοσέβαστος καὶ φιλορῳμαῖος Ἀλεξανδρέων περιπολιστικὴ εὐσεβὴς σύνοδος *CIG*, 5804 (Rome). Cf. *ad* i, 349 ; ii, 3476b and *ad* no. 3067. The ἱερὰ ξυστικὴ σύνοδος, Dittenberger, *Inscripfen aus Olympia*, in *Denkmäler u. Forsch.*, 1876, p. 14. Lebas-Waddington, 1620a.  
 126, 28. baths. Cf. *CIG*, 5906-5913 and Franz's notes, p. 780. Lüders, *Die dionysischen Künstler*, p. 34 f. Foucart in Lebas-Waddington, ii, no. 16 (ἡ ἱερὰ σύνοδος τῶν Ἡρακλείστῶν).  
 126, 31. Titus. *CIG*, 5907. An 'archiater porticus Xysti' already before 368. Cf. vol. i, p. 169.  
 126, 39. assented. Orelli, 2588 = *CIL*, vi, 10,154, cf. the note.  
 127, 2. Johannes. *CIG*, 5924 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,153, probably the *Johannes Nicas* on a contorniate, Eckhel, *D. N.*, vii, 293.  
 127, 3. spectacles. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, v, 87.  
 127, 9. city. *CIL*, xiv, 474 (if he is not a musician).  
 127, 14. diet. Read 'dirt'. Seneca, *Epp.*, 15, 3 ; 80, 2 ; 88, 18 sq.  
 127, 15. horses. Pliny, *N. h.*, xviii, 63 : *Athletarum* . . . quorum capacitas jumentis similis.  
 127, 18. belly. Cyprian, *Spectac.*, 8. According to Jerome, *Adv. Jov.*, ii, 6, ed. Vall., ii, 332 s., a solid meat diet is needed for 'milites, athletae, nautae, rhetores, metallorumque fossores'.



- 127, 23. stone. Plutarch, *De sanitate praec.*, c. 20, p. 133.
- 127, 24. pancratist. Epictetus., *Diss.*, ii, 18, 22 : χαίρε παράδοξε, οὐχὶ τοὺς σαπροὺς τούτους παίκτας (πύκτας ?) καὶ παγκρατιαστὰς νικήσας οὐδὲ τοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς τοὺς μονομάχους.
- 127, 29. at all. Galen, *περὶ ἱατρ. καὶ γυμναστ.*, c. 46, ed. K., ii, p. 894.
- 127, 31. measure. *Id.*, *προτρεπτ. λογ.*, c. 11, ed. Kuehn, i, p. 28 sq.
- 127, 33. mud. *Id.*, *περὶ ἱατρ. καὶ γυμναστ.*, c. 37, ed. K., v, p. 878 sq.
- 127, 38. wealth. *Id.*, *προτρεπτ. λογ.*, cc. 9-14.
- 127, 41. athletes. *Id.*, *περὶ μικρᾶς σφαίρας*, c. 3, ed. K., v, p. 905.
- 128, 8. Olympiad. *Id.*, *προτρεπτ. λογ.*, c. 13 ; cf. Haupt, *Hermes*, iv, 27.
- 128, 12. popularity. *Id.*, *προτρεπτ. λογ.*, c. 9.
- 128, 20. Massilia. The treatise of Collignon, *Quid de collegiis ephororum apud Graecos excepta Attica ex titulis epigraphicis commentari liceat* (Paris, 1877) I only know from the review by C. Curtius in Bursian's *Jahresberichte*, xv, 72.
- 128, 23. Trajan. Trajan, in Pliny, *Epp.*, 40 K. : gymnasiis indulgent Graeculi. On this account presents of oil were popular. Lebas-Waddington, 1602 and note, cf. ii, p. 125.
- 128, 25. honour. Tac., *Dial. de orat.*, c. 10.
- 128, 27. times. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxix (Melancomas ii), p. 538, and p. 542 R.
- 128, 28. Games. Cf. vol. i, p. 320, and Philostrat., *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, viii, 18, p. 362.
- 128, 30. use. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 471.
- 128, 31. prize. Galen, *De Platon. et Hippocrat. dogmat.*, v, 5, ed. K., p. 463 says that Chrysippus, who had maintained that perverse likes and dislikes arise from perverse ideas, ought to be asked : διὰ τί τὴν μὲν νίκην τὴν [ἐν] Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἀνάθεσιν ἐπαινούμενά τε καὶ μακαρίζόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ὡς ἀγαθὰ, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡττης καὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας, ὡς κακὰ, ἐτοίμως πειθόμεθα ; Epictetus, it is true, speaks contemptuously of athletes in the passage quoted above (note on p. 127, 24), *Diss.*, ii, 18, 22, but he says, *Man.*, c. 29 (cf. *Diss.*, iii, 15) : θέλεις Ὀλύμπια νικῆσαι ; κἀγὼ, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς· κομψὸν γάρ ἐστι.
- 128, 32. life. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxi, p. 316 and 344 M.
- 128, 33. athlete. Philostrat., *Vitt. sophist.*, ii, 25, 6. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxviii, p. 291 M. ; xxix, p. 292 M. (the γένος λαμπρὸν of Melankomas, whose father was an Olympian victor).
- 128, 34. bribed. Philostrat., *De gymnast.*, c. 3, ed. Kayser, c. 45, ed. Daremberg.
- 128, 38. bout. Pausanias, v, 21, 6 and 7.
- 128, 40. Prusa. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, lxvi, p. 607 M.
- 128, 41. *paradoxonicae*. Plutarch, *Comp. Cimon. et Lucull.*, c. 2 : τῶν ἀθλητῶν τοὺς ἡμέρα μᾶ πάλῃ καὶ παγκρατίῳ στεφανουμένους ἐθετινὶ παράδοξονικας καλοῦσιν. But the word (like παράδοξος) was soon used in a very much wider sense, e.g. of singers (Boeckh, on *CIG*, ii, 3427). Augustine, *Princip. rhetor.*, 9 : vulgo etiam Olympionicas et ceteros victores sacrorum certaminum paradoxos vocant.
- 129, 4. Hercules. Tac., *Dial. de orat.*, c. 10. Quintilian, ii, 8, 14

- (quem adolescentes senem vidimus). Pausan., v, 21, 5. Krause, *Olympia*, p. 335.
- 129, 5. Games. Cf. on him (especially as to the spelling of his name) Kayser on Philostrat., *De gymnast.*, 8, 22, p. 59; Cass. Dio, lxxix, 16; Philostrat., *Heroic.*, 679.
- 129, 7. Augustus. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 45. Cf. Meier, *Olym. Spiele*, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopädie*, 3, Sect. 3, p. 318.
- 129, 13. bribery. *Cod. Just.*, x, 53.
- 129, 16. cost. Dio, i, 1: οὕτω (ἱερὸς) γὰρ τοὺς τὴν σίτησιν ἔχοντας ἀγῶνας ὀνομάζουσιν. Pliny, *ad. Tr.*, 119 sq. (obsonia certaminum iselastichorum). Mommsen, *RG*, v, 265, 1.
- 129, 19. councillor. Cf. e.g. *CIG*, 5913; Lebas-Waddington, 1620 A, 1620 B, 1839 (Laodicea Syriae 214 and 221 A.D.); Tertulian, *Scorpiace*, c. 6; Philostrat., *Heroic.*, 678, ed. K., p. 292 (statues). On the bestowal of honorary citizenship cf. Kuhn, *Verfassung*, i, 28, 122.
- 129, 22. 178-9. Barnabei, *Di un' epigr. onorar. Notizie degli scavi*. Decembre, 1887.
- 129, 23. field. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 372.
- 129, 35. part. Dio, lxxiv, 14.
- 129, 31. family. *CIG*, 5910. Cf. Kiesling, *BdI*, 1862, p. 157.
- 129, 34. Germanicus. Africanus' statement (Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 59 n.) that it was a team of Tiberius is refuted by the following inscription: Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα αὐτοκράτορος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν νικήσαντα Ὀλύμπια τεθρίππῳ κ.τ.λ. Dittenberger, *Inscr. aus Olympia*, in *Denkm. u. Forsch.*, xxxv (1877), p. 36. The reason of Africanus' mistake was that Tiberius (before his adoption by Augustus, not later than Ol. 195 = 1 A.D.) had really won a victory there with a *quadriga*, as the following inscription shows: Τιβερίον Κλαύδιον Τιβερίου υἱὸν Νέρωνα νικήσαντα Ὀλύμπια τεθρίππῳ τελείῳ κ.τ.λ. (Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, xxxviii [1878], p. 53).
- 129, 36. consul. *Ibid.*, xxxvi (1878), p. 119.
- 129, 38. Roman. Pausan., v, 20, 4; cf. Krause, *Gymnastik und Agonistik*, p. 803.
- 130, 3. Caracalla. Secchi, *Il mosaico Antoniniano rappresentante la scuola degli atleti*, Roma, 1843, p. 4: si trovò per l'appunto ne' due semicircoli opposti fra quali era compresa la cella solcare, che perciò dal Piranesi fu definita camera della palestra. Undoubtedly the mosaic is of the time of Caracalla (p. 7 s.). Of the considerable number of Roman representations of athletes it is only possible in very rare cases to determine the period with any certainty. F. Pinder's opinion that the athletic mosaic of Tusculum (*Mon. d. I.*, vi and vii, 1, 82) belongs to the time of Hadrian (*BdI*, 1862, p. 179 ss.), is rightly declared by H. Hirzel (*AdI*, 1863, p. 412) to be quite uncertain. To the closing age of the Antonines is conjecturally assigned an athletic mosaic of the former Villa Casalia on the Caelian (*Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, pp. 49-51). On the spread of athletic shows in the western provinces cf. Appendix xlv.

## II. ROMAN LUXURY.

- 131, 5. prevalent. Roscher, *Ansichten der Volkswirtschaft*, i, p. 450 (the most grandiose example of senseless and immoral luxury is offered by imperial Rome). Goethe (vol. 39, p. 53) compares Roman luxury with that of uneducated men, who, grown rich, make a ridiculous use of their fortune, and describes it as absurd and exaggerated. Gibbon on the other hand (*History of the Decline and Fall*, chap. ii, near the end) has a good opinion of the luxury in the time before Commodus.
- 130, 17. Zumpt. Zumpt, *Stand der Bevölkerung*, p. 70 f.
- 130, 19. Becker. Becker, *Gallus*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 284 (omitted in Göll's edition).
- 132, 5. Austin. Alfred Austin, *Rich Men's Dwellings*, in *National Review*, December 1883, p. 466 f. This author also believes that Roman luxury was the greatest in history and hardly to be beaten.
- 132, 20. emperors. Meierotto makes the same remark about the manners and customs of the Romans, 3rd edition (1814), preface, p. xxx f.; he also has a just opinion of Meursius's book.
- 132, 27. limitless. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 37: nihil tam efficere concupiscebatur, quam quod posse effici negaretur.
- 132, 28. insanity. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 3; *H.*, iv, 48; Seneca, *Cons. ad Polyb.*, c. 36; Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 50; Niebuhr, *Vorträge über römische Geschichte*, iii, p. 178. So also the physician Wiedemeister, *Der Cæsarenwahnsinn*, p. 87 ff., but on the other side Schiller, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserthums*, i, 306.
- 132, 31. provinces. Perhaps Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 298, 3.
- 132, 32. day. Sueton., *l. c.*; Seneca, *Cons. ad Helv.*, 10, 4.
- 132, 34. palaces. Tac., *A.*, xv, 42: Nero tamen, ut erat incredibilium cupitor effodere proxima Averno juga conisus est.
- 133, 3. opera. Devrient, *Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst*, ii, 306 (the opera *Suleiman* at Dresden in 1753).
- 133, 4. Mühlberg. Keyssler, *Reisen durch Deutschland*, ed. 3, 1776, p. 1326.
- 133, 4. Charles. Vehse, *Gesch. der deutschen Höfe*, vol. 25, pp. 247-290. Not all the statements of Vehse are trustworthy, but they certainly deserve as much credit as most of the notices in Roman authors about luxury, and perhaps more. Cf. also Devrient, *op. cit.*, ii, 301 on the cost of the ballet and of the opera at the time of Karl Eugen. 15,000 florins' worth of gifts were distributed after the opera *Semiramis*.
- 133, 13. province. Cf. Appendix xlv.
- 133, 13. Saxony. K. Reichard, *Graf Brühl*, in *Im Neuen Reich*, 1887, no. 35, p. 327.
- 133, 14. Württemberg. Perthes, *Polit. Zustände und Personen in Deutschland unter französ. Herrschaft*, i, 506. A. v. Haller (Diaries of his travels in 1723 and 1727, edited by L. Hirzel, 1883, p. 8) estimates the revenues of the duchy under Eberhard Ludwig at about 12 million florins.
- 133, 27. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Lucull.*, 39, 2.

- 133, 29. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 113.
- 133, 34. Asia. On the gold treasures of Cyrus see Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 51. The treasures which Alexander the Great acquired at the captures of Susa and Persepolis, and deposited at Ecbatana, amounted to 180,000 talents, chiefly in ingots. Grote, *History of Greece*, xii, 245.
- 133, 36. Atahualpa. P. Chaix, *Histoire de l'Amérique mérid. au xvi. siècle*, ii, 67 s.
- 134, 4. price. Clive's fortune was estimated at £1,200,000 at his return in 1760, Vehse, vol. 19, p. 220. Sir John Malcolm estimates his yearly income at £40,000, which Macaulay considers too low.
- 134, 7. Aristobulus. Josephus, *A. J.*, xiv, 3, 1 sq.
- 134, 12. Mennaeus. *Ibid.*, 3, 2.
- 134, 15. Ariobarzanes. Drumann, *RG*, iv, 22, 65.
- 134, 16. Gabinius. Cass. Dio, xxxix, 55.
- 134, 19. Auletes. Cic., *Pro Rabir.*, c. 8.
- 134, 20. Caesar. Sueton., *Caesar*, c. 54.
- 134, 21. Crassus. Josephus, *A. J.*, xiv, 7, 1.
- 134, 23. proverbial. Manil., *Astron.*, iv, 693: Gallia per census, Hispania maxima belli; 793: Gallia dives. Josephus, *B. J.*, 16, 4: τί οὐ; ὑμεῖς πλουσιώτεροι Γαλατῶν κ.τ.λ. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 97, 1.
- 134, 24. gold. Diodor., v, 27.
- 134, 26. Posidonius. Strabo, iv, 188.
- 134, 28. coins. Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 678, cf. p. 683 (gold coins of the Britons). Theobert, King of the Franks, still coined the gold of the native mines. Procop., *B. Goth.*, iii, 33. Cf. King, *Natural History of Precious Stones and Precious Metals*, pp. 183–187. Gold and silver mines in Britain, *CIL*, vii, p. 220. Gold and silver booty of Decebalus, Die-rauer, *Geschichte Trajans*, in Büdinger's *Untersuchungen*, i, 102 f. Gold washing in the Alpine streams, Planta, *Das alte Rätien*, p. 14.
- 134, 31. depreciation. Hultsch, *Metrologie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 301, 3.
- 134, 40. Scaurus. Ascon., *Argum. orat. pro Scauro*. Cf. for the debts of other prominent Romans, Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 517.
- 135, 3. Crassus. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 134.
- 135, 6. talents. Drumann, *RG*, iv, 110, 78.
- 135, 7. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xiii, 92.
- 135, 14. peoples. Vol. i, p. 304 f.
- 135, 19. freedman. Vol. i, p. 44.
- 135, 26. poor. Alfred Austin, *Rich Men's Dwellings*, in *National Review*, December 1883, p. 467.
- 135, 30. 6 per cent. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 60–62. A bequest at Auzia (Mauretania) *CIL*, viii, 9052 (cf. Mommsen's note) brought in 6 per cent. per annum. The same rate (ἐπὶ τῷ συνήθει τόκῳ τριοβολῷ ἀργυρικῷ) in the case of temple money at Arsinoë in the third cent. and that only in return for mortgage and security (U. Wilcken, *Arsinoitische Tempelrechnungen*, in *Hermes*, xx (1885), p. 448). 'A rate of interest perhaps only usual for temple money', Hartel, *Papyrus Erz. Rainer*,



- p. 33). If at the date of the inscription *CIL*, xi, 1, 1236 (Placentia :—litteratus Graecis et Latinis, librarius, partes dixit CCC) 4 per cent. ( $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. monthly) was a usual rate of interest (Hultsch, *Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des volksthümlichen Rechnens bei den Römern. Neue Jahrb.*, 1889, p. 342 f.), it can only have been in cases of great hypothecary security.
- 135, 34. a year. Marquardt, *Hdbch.*, ii, 2 n., 215; *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 56. For the reduction I follow, as elsewhere, Hultsch, *Metrol.*<sup>2</sup>, 348. The Gothic king Theodahad desired to sell the dominion of Italy for an income of 1200 pounds of gold. Procop, *B. G.*, i, 6.
- 135, 40. Hashimid. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte d. Orients*, ii, 190.
- 136, 1. Lorenzo. Burckhardt, *Cultur. d. Renaissance*, p. 64 f. According to his statement the coin value of the *ducato, zecchino, fiorino d'oro, scudo d'oro* is about the same, viz. 11–12 francs of modern money. Vast, *Le cardinal Bessarion*, p. 368, 3, says the same (à peu près 12 fcs.), but he thinks the purchasing power was four to five times as great.
- 136, 2. J. Coeur. P. Clément, *Jacques Coeur et Charles VII ou la France au xv. siècle* (1853), v, 1, p. 1 s.; ii, pp. 1–46. Cf. i, p. lxi ss. (notice sur la valeur relative des anciennes monnaies françaises).
- 136, 12. Chigi. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom.*, viii, 113 ff.
- 135, 16. Fuggers. Kleinschmidt, *Augsburg, Nürnberg und ihre Handelsfürsten im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (1881), p. 122. W. Jacob, *Production und Consumtion der edeln Metalle* translated by Kleinschrod, ii, 19: 'Capito writes to Zwingli 29 Jan. 1526 that 16 gold gulden will maintain a man for a year. Apparently, therefore, the gold gulden was worth about 10 gulden (florins)'. Hagen, *Deutsch. liter. und relig. Verhältnisse im Reformat. Zeitalter* (1844), iii, 195, 6. The expenses of a young nobleman (*Junker*) and his tutor at Erfurt, for food, lodging, washing, university fees, etc. amounted to 26 gulden for the whole year 1451/52. A boarder of U. Zasius, professor at Freiburg, paid 16 gulden for lodging and board at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Janssen, *Gesch. d. deutschen Volkes seit dem Mittelalter*, i, 23. Consequently the value of the gold gulden was certainly much more than 10 florins of the South German standard. In the time from 1500 to 1560 money was depreciated to about 50 per cent.; Schmoller, *Tübinger Zeitschrift f. Staatswissenschaft*, xvi, p. 511.
- 136, 20. Mazarin. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ch. 6.
- 136, 22. Bernard. Lacroix, *XVIII. siècle*, p. 197.
- 136, 22. Bretonvilliers. Baudrillart, iv, 69. Baudrillart estimates the income of the Duke of Lerma, the favourite of Philip III of Spain (his son's income included) at 700,000 écus (?), 'sans compter la garderobe et les richesses du luxe mobilier, qui montaient à plus de 6 mill. d'or'.
- 136, 24. Menshikóv. From Eugen Karnovich's book (in Russian), *Remarkable Private Fortunes in Russia* (only known to me through an extract by Konstantin Jürgens in the *Rigaer Zeitung*, 1885).

- 136, 30. Potemkin. Sybel, *Kleine hist. Schriften*, i<sup>2</sup>, 170 f. His immovable estate was estimated by Karnovich at 50 million roubles.
- 136, 34. Kutaisov. *Ibid.*
- 136, 35. Brühl. Vehse, *Gesch. d. Höfe*, pt. 33, p. 332.
- 136, 36. Rohan. Carlyle, *Collected Works*, 1869, v, 30.
- 136, 38. grandes. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Spaniens zur Zeit. d. franz. Revolution*, p. 185.
- 137, 7. Potocki. E. v. d. Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 193.
- 137, 10. Czartoryskis. *Ibid.*, pp. 136 and 213.
- 137, 12. Radziwill. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
- 137, 19. owner. According to Karnovich. For 'owner . . . 128,000' read 'owner of serfs (more than 160,000). Others are said to have owned 200,000 or 128,000'. For these cf. Vehse, pt. 21, pp. 31 and 380.
- 137, 21. Yusupov. Bernhardi, *Gesch. Russlands*, iii, 677.
- 137, 26. Yusupovs. Haxthausen, *Studien über die inneren Zustände Russlands* (1847), ii, 226; iii, 76.
- 137, 29. affected. Busch, *Graf Bismarck und seine Leute*, i, 217. For 'them' read 'from them'.
- 137, 35. £15,000 000. Vehse and Haxthausen, *opp. cit.*
- 137, 39. Rémusat. *Mém. de Mme. de Rémusat*, iii, 346: Le prince de Neufchâtel, comblé des dons de l'empereur, jouissait d'un immense revenu (il a en jusqu'à un million de revenu).
- 137, 40. Johnson's. For 'no man . . . a year' read 'a man of high rank could live on £5000 a year'. Boswell, *Life of Johnson*. Lady John Manners, *A Sequel to Rich Men's Dwellings*, in *National Review*, March, 1884, p. 16. See the same article for the budget of the wife of Philip Francis.
- 138, 4. quadruple. A. Austin, *op. cit.* (note on 132, 5), p. 466.
- 138, 5. New York. C. M. de Varigny, *Les grandes fortunes aux États-unis*, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, 1 May 1888, p. 166 f.
- 138, 8. Astor. F. Kapp, *Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung in Amerika*, p. 358.
- 138, 10. Stewart. *Nationalzeitung* for 23 Aug. 1866.
- 138, 12. Vanderbilt. De Varigny, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
- 138, 16-18. Gould, Mackay. *Ibid.*, p. 161 f.
- 138, 21. 700. *Id.*, *Les grandes femmes en Angleterre*, *Rev. des deux mondes*, 1 Sept. 1888, p. 74.
- 138, 23. 144. *Ibid.*, 76.
- 138, 23. list. *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 1 May, p. 162. I add a few statements (certainly not at all trustworthy) published by newspapers after the deaths of millionaires. Baron James Rothschild (d. November, 1868) 2000 million francs (!) Baron Sina (d. 1876) 80 million florins. Baron Alex. v. Stieglitz (d. November 1884) 100 million roubles. Prince Alexander Torlonia (d. Feb. 1886) 100, or according to others, 250 million *livre*. Baron Mayer Karl v. Rothschild (d. at Frankfort, 16 October, 1886) 500 million marks.
- 138, 38. Rodbertus. Rodbertus, *Zur Frage des Sachwerths des Geldes im Alterthum*, in Hildebrandt's *Zeitschr. f. Nationalökonomie*, xv (1870), p. 341 ff., xvi, 182 ff.; cf. esp. pp. 198 and 232 f.

- My opinion expressed in the same periodical, 1869, pp. 306–308 (on the price of corn and the purchasing power of money in the time from Nero to Hadrian) is completely refuted by this inquiry.
- 139, 19. arbitrary. In this paragraph I have used some suggestions, for which I am obliged to Geheimrat W. Roscher of Leipzig, and also a letter by Rodbertus, mentioned in Appendix xlvii.
- 139, 22. Apicius. Teuffel, *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 1241; Nipperdey, on Tac., *A.*, iv, 1.
- 139, 27. pleasure. Seneca, *Ad Helv.*, 10, 9; Dio, lvii, 19. Seneca says that he squandered 100 millions, Martial (iii, 22) 60.
- 139, 29. Apio. Athen., vii, 294 F.
- 139, 31. Elagabalus. *Vit. Elagabal.*, c. 18.
- 139, 35. crabs. Athen., i, p. 7 C.; Suid. s. 'Απικιος.
- 139, 41. Rohan. Vehse, 47, 212; on Count Brühl, 33, 332.
- 140, 11. Beaucaire. Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours*, p. 297, after Bouquet, vol. xii, 444.
- 140, 18. Belkow. Buchholtz, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Kurmark Brandenburg*, iii, 349.
- 140, 23. Russia. Tolstoi, *Anna Karenina*.
- 140, 25. sailors. R. Werner, *Seebilder* (1876), p. 252.
- 140, 26. Creole. *Id.*, *Erinnerungen und Bilder a. d. Seeleben*<sup>2</sup> (1881) p. 374 ff.
- 140, 32. Rome. Valer. Max., i, 2; Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 122; x, 141; Horace, *Satt.*, ii, 3, 239–246.
- 141, 7. pearl. *E.g.* by Baudrillart, i, 131.
- 141, 8. solecisms. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 31.
- 141, 10. Eros. Plutarch, *Apophthegm. Rom. Caesar August.*, 4.
- 141, 13. Mentor. Martial, xi, 11, 5/9. For 'of Mentor . . . Cellini' read 'by Mentor, a Cellini of that day'.
- 141, 15. Trimalchio's. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 31.
- 141, 18. wool. *Ib.*, c. 54.
- 141, 20. Conti. La pincée de poudre coûtait 4 ou 5000 livres; Taine, *Origines de la France contemp.*, p. 170.
- 141, 21. Tepper. E. v. d. Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 306. Troels Lund, *Das häusliche Leben in Skandinavien im 16. Jahrhundert*, p. 143 s. To burn fragrant wood in the grate was considered as healthy and as a sign of wealth. 'The old story does not sound so incredible that Ole Bager had the room heated by burning cinnamon, when Frederick II was his guest at Odense in 1580, just as Anton Fugger had done at Augsburg forty years earlier to honour the emperor Charles V'. This was certainly deliberate extravagance in the eighteenth century.
- 141, 30. indispensable. Roscher, *Ansichten* (on luxury), p. 408.
- 141, 35. unnatural. Seneca, *Epp.*, 122, 5: omnia vitia contra naturam pugnant . . . hoc est luxuriae propositum, gaudere perversis, nec tantum discedere a recto, sed quam longissime abire, deinde etiam e contrario stare. Similarly *Epp.*, 90, 19. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 55: nihil utique homini sic quomodo rerum naturae placet.
- 142, 2. contemporaries. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 5, 10 (of his uncle): cibum . . . interdiu levem et facilem veterum more sumebat.

- 142, 11. death. Seneca, *Epp.*, 108, 13-17; Tac., *A.*, xv, 63; *ib.*, xv, 45.
- 142, 14. Nature. Cf. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 402 (Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii 3).
- 142, 14. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 5 sq.
- 142, 17. Varro. Gell., vi (vii), 16.
- 142, 19. asparagus. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 54; *heu prodigia ventris!* (cf. xix, 150).
- 142, 21. luxury. *Id. ibid.*, xix, 55; Seneca, *N. Q.*, iv, 13; *Epp.*, 78, 23 and elsewhere.
- 142, 22. Addison. Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1700-1703), London, 5th edition (1736), p. 145. According to Gallio, *Annali di Messina*, iii, 3 (in Hartwig, *Aus Sicilien* [1867], i, 12), the eating of ices was not reintroduced into Sicily till after the middle of the sixteenth century. In Spain ice was eaten as early as the time of the Moors.
- 142, 26. Galen. Galen, *Περὶ συνθέσεως φαρμάκων τ. κατὰ τὸς τοῦτοι* ed. K., vii, 508: καὶ γὰρ εὐπορία ψυχρῶν πηγῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὴ καὶ χιόνος (he is speaking of the composition of a cooling medicine).
- 142, 27. Sicily. Roscher, *Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie* (4th ed.), p. 184, § 102, 2.
- 142, 30. French. Dairemberg, *Oeuvres d' Oribase*, i, 625 ss. remarks that only snow was used, and not ice: on ne paraît pas avoir connu nos véritables glaces, qui font aujourd'hui les délices des gourmets du monde entier. Cf. Backmann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. der Erfindungen*, iv, 201. Apparently Abraham a Sancta Clara (d. 1709) knew ices. He speaks in '*Das Wunderwürdige ganz neu ausgeheckte Narvennest*' of 'cooled *Frescade* or frozen juice, which they use at the carnival after their excessive exertions'. At Frankfort on the Main ices were still something extraordinary in 1759. Goethe's mother threw away the ices sent to her children from the table of Count Thorane. 'She thought it was not possible that the stomach could bear real ice, however sweetened'. *Goethes Werke*, 20, 101.
- 142, 35. ice. Neumann-Spallart, *Rückblicke auf die Pariser Weltausstellung*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, January 1879, p. 88 f.
- 142, 41. feather-cushions. Pliny, *N. h.*, x, 53 s.
- 142, 41. Cicero. Cic., *Tusc.*, iv, 19, 46: culcita plumea.
- 143, 2. climate. Hehn, *Culturpflanzen und Hausthiere*<sup>4</sup>, p. 303.
- 143, 5. pillows. The passages concerning feather cushions in Herzberg on Propert., iii, 57; Juv., i, 159; vi, 88; Martial, ix, 92, 4; xx, 13, 6; xii, 17, 8; xiv, 146, 159, 161.
- 143, 10. Frankfort. Beckmann, *Vorbereitung zur Warenkunde* (1794), i, 277, 1, who supposes that the trade in eider-down began in the middle of the seventeenth century.
- 143, 17. Goethe. Goethe, *Geschichte der Farbenlehre* (39, 54) 1: 'One has only to consider these things [the stupid and exaggerated luxury of the Romans], and one will understand how Seneca, who led so distinguished a life, could be angry because people enjoyed a good dinner, cooled their drinks with snow, made use of a favourable wind in a naval battle, and what not'.
- 143, 19. Seneca. Seneca, *De benef.*, i, 10.



- 143, 33. unknown. Ulrich von Hutten takes essentially the same standpoint as Pliny in condemning the luxury of his age (especially the importation of foreign goods): *De Guajaci medicina*, c. xix, ed. Boecking, v, 459 sq.; also Luther: *Von Kaufhandlung, Werke*, Ausg. Jena, 1572, Theil ii, p. 465 ff. (465<sup>b</sup>) (M. Allihn in *Grenzboten*, 1873, 18 April, p. 111 and Schmoller, *Zur Geschichte d. nationalökonom. Ansichten in Deutschl. während der Reformationsperiode*, in *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Staatswiss.*, xvi, p. 663 ff.) and Abraham a Sancta Clara: Loesch-Wien, p. 40 f. (Karajan, *Abraham a Sancta Clara*, p. 192). On street-paving and lighting see Klemm, *Allgem. Culturgesch.*, 9, 157 (the former in Paris under Philip Augustus, Baudrillart, iii, 163, in German towns not before the fourteenth cent., the latter very much later; Dresden was paved in 1559, and lighted in 1705, while Nuremberg was not even lighted in 1781. *Neues Gemälde von Dresden*, 1817, p. 7 f. Nicolai, *Beschreib. einer Reise durch Deutschland*, i, 227). In Bremen street lighting began in 1698, and proceeded very slowly. Kohl, *Alte und neue Zeit*, p. 22 ff. In Scandinavia paving was introduced about 1500 from Holland. Glass windows, not generally used in Europe till the fifteenth century (Falke, *Die Kunst im Hause*, p. 65 ff.; Wachsmuth, *Culturgesch.*, 2, 302, 7), were introduced into Scandinavia only in the sixteenth century (in which period also the habit of washing in the morning was introduced there. Troels Lund, *op. cit.*, p. 45; 116 f.; 174-176. On the use of forks see Beckmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, 5, 294; Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 308 f.; Baudrillart, iii, 232.
- 144, 4. wooden ones. Baudrillart, i, 36 s. Roscher, *Ansichten*, p. 408 f. Straw beds (even for the Kings of France) in the fourteenth century. Baudrillart, iii, p. 149 s.
- 144, 9. William. Th. Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, p. 358.
- 144, 13. Germany. Kohl, *Alte und neue Zeit*, p. 193.
- 144, 19. Nikon. Brückner, *Beiträge zur Culturgesch. Russlands im 17. Jahrh.* (1887), pp. 80-84.
- 144, 36. interest. Cf. the excellent description in Baudrillart, iv, 208-241.
- 144, 37. de Brosses. Reumont, *Die Gräfin v. Albany*, i, 158 f.
- 145, 4. Venetian. Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, p. 539 s.
- 145, 15. latter. One of the classes of Roman luxury on which we are insufficiently informed to compare them with the corresponding modern luxuries, is that of sport, especially racing and hunting (cf. Lady J. Manners, in *Nat. Rev.*, 1884, p. 13 f.).
- 145, 17. Lucullus. Cf. Cic., *De off.*, i, 39; Nicol. Damasc., in Athenaeus, vi, 274; xii, 543; Vellei., ii, 33, 4 and Drumann, *RG*, 4, 168 ff.
- 145, 24. Tacitus. Tac., *A.*, iii, 55, it is true, only speaks of the 'luxus mensae', but it is obvious from the preceding chapters that he is thinking of luxury in general.
- 146, 3. drinkers. Galen, ed. K., xv, 699: οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ὑγιαίνοντων πίνουσιν οἶνον ὑδατωμένον.
- 146, 6. Epicurus. Diog. Laert., *Epicur.*, 11; Seneca, *Epp.*, 18, 25, 4; Stob., *Serm.*, 17, 30 and 34.

- 146, 19. cooks. Livy, xxxix, 6.  
 146, 23. baked. Pliny, *N. h.*, xviii, 107.  
 146, 27. cocks. Pliny, *N. h.*, x, 139: Gallinas saginare Deliaci coepere, unde pestis exorta opimas avis et suo pte corpore unctas devorandi etc.  
 146, 29. ordinance. *Id. ib.*, viii, 223; cf. Becker-Göll, iii, 55 f. Gibbon, *History*, ch. xxxi, 45: 'it is reported that they (*glires*) are still esteemed in modern Rome and are frequently sent as a present by the Colonna princes'.  
 146, 30. wine. Varro in Pliny, *N. h.*, xiv, 96.  
 146, 33. Posidonius. Athen., vi, 275 A.  
 147, 10. Varro. Gell., vi (vii), 16. But cf. Varro, *R. r.*, ii, 6.  
 147, 12. Germany. Schmoller, *Tübinger Zeitschr. für Staatswiss.*, xvi, p. 635 and 681.  
 147, 14. Thuc. Thucyd., ii, 38.  
 147, 19. lists. Cf. Appendix xlviii.  
 147, 20. Brillat. Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie du goût (Classiques de la table*, Nouv. éd., Didot, 1855, i, p. 252).  
 147, 27. luxury. Roscher, *Ansichten*, p. 428, 54.  
 147, 27. Gulliver. Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, iv, 6.  
 147, 39. commerce. Apparently Varro himself had no objection to Italian victuals (delicacies excepted). Macrobi., *Sat.*, iii, 16, 12: M. Varro pisci Tiberino palmam tribuit his verbis in libro rerum humanarum xi: ad victum optima fert ager Campanus frumentum, Falernus vinum, Cassinas oleum, Tusculanus ficum, mel Tarentinus, piscem Tiberis.  
 148, 10. demand. Springer, *Paris im 13. Jahrh.*, pp. 32 and 34. Lacroix, *Moeurs usages et costumes au moyen âge*, p. 111 ss. *Nourriture et cuisine* (on foreign cheeses, p. 147; on foreign wines, p. 165) cf. the *carte gastronomique de la France*, in Lacroix, *Directoire Consulat et Empire*, p. 151.  
 148, 12. Nicolai. Nicolai, *Leben des Seb. Nothanker*, v, 54.  
 148, 18. sandar. Read 'sander.'  
 148, 26. writers. Varro in Gell., *l. c.* Sallust, *Catilina*, c. 13: Vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere. Seneca, *Ad Helv.*, 10, 3: epulas quas toto orbe requirunt; *Epp.*, 89, 22: vos . . . quorum profunda et insatiabilis gula hinc maria scrutatur, hinc terras. Juv., 11, 14: gustus elementa per omnia quaerunt; cf. Mayor's note. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxvi, 43: hujus (ventris) gratia praecipue avaritia expetit, huic luxuria condit, huic navigatur ad Phasim, huic profundi vada exquiruntur. Drepan., *Paneg. in Theodos.*, c. 14: cibus . . . quos . . . famosa naufragiis maria misissent, quos invitae quodammodo reluctantique naturae hominum pericla rapuissent.  
 148, 31. Vitellius. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 13.  
 148, 34, 41. milk. Read 'milt'.  
 148, 36. Elagabalus. *Vit. Elagabali*, c. 18: cum ipse privatus diceret se Apicium, imperator vero Othonem et Vitellium imitari.  
 149, 1. écus. Lacroix, *XVIII. siècle*, p. 390. A dish of fish tongues at an entertainment of the Khalif Rashid for 1000 *dirhems* francs); Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, 290 f.

149, 3. countries. Vol. i, p. 12 ff.

149, 4. sale. Cassiodor., *Variar.*, xii, 4, enumerates the fishes ordered for the table of Theodoric : Destinēt carpam Danubius, a Rheno veniat anchorago, exormiston (cf. xii, 1) Sicula (?) quibuslibet laboribus offeratur, Brutiorum mare dulces mittat avernias (?). Sic decet regem pascere ut a legatis gentium credatur paene omnia possidere. *Ibidem*, xii, 12 : Cum apud rerum Dominum solemni more pranderemus et diversae provinciae de suis deliciis laudarentur, ad vina Brutiorum et Silani—casei suavitatem—perventum est.

149, 6. birds. Varro, *R. r.*, iii, 9, 18 : Gallinae Africanæ—quas *μελεαγρίδας* appellant Graeci. Hæ novissimæ in triclinium ganearium introierunt e culina propter fastidium hominum. Veneunt propter penuriam magno. He does not mention the pheasant or the flamingo. *Meleagris* is the guinea-fowl. Horace, *Epod.*, 2, 53 : non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum, non attagen Ionicus (together with Lucrine oysters, *rhombus* and *scari*). Manil., v, 370 (guinea-fowls and pheasants). Columella, viii, 8, 10 : illos qui Ponticum Phasin et Scythica stagna Maeotidis eluunt. Jam nunc Gangeticas et Aegyptias aves temulenter eructant. Petron., c. 93 (guinea-fowls, pheasants, *scari*). *Id.*, c. 119, 33 (*scari*, oysters, pheasants). Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 52 : avis ultra Phasidem amnem peti . . . alias in Numidiam atque Aethiopiae sepulcra. Martial, iii, 67, 4 : Nec Libye mittit, nec tibi Phasis aves. *Id.*, xiii, 71 (*phoenicopteri*—apparently introduced by Apicius, Pliny, *N. h.*, x, 133 : ph. linguam praecipui esse saporis A. docuit) 72 (*phasiani*) 73 (*Numidicae*). *Id. ib.*, 45 : Si Libycae nobis volucres et Phasidis essent, Acciperes, Tu nunc accipe chortis aves. In Stat., *Silv.*, I, 6, 77 a verse is missing, as is shown by Wachsmuth, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1888, pp. 26–28 :—

17 quas Nilus sacer horridusque Phasis,  
[quas Ganges lavat (alit), quas palus Scytharum],  
18 quas udo Numidae legunt sub austro.

Juv., II, 139 : Et Scythicae volucres et phoenicopterus ingens. Lucian, *Navig.*, 23 : ὄρνις ἐκ Φάσιδος καὶ ταῦς ἐξ Ἰνδίας καὶ ἀλεκτρυνὼν ὁ Νομαδικός. Clemens Alex., *Paedog.*, ii, 1, 3 : ὄρνεις . . . ἀπὸ Φάσιδος, ἀτταγᾶς Αἰγυπτίων, Μῆδων ταῦνα.

149, 8. Italy. Martial, iii, 58, 12 :—

Vagatur omnis turba sordidae chortis,  
argutus anser gemmeique pavones,  
nomenque debet quae rubentibus pinnis,  
et picta perdix Numidicaeque guttatae  
et impiorum phasiana Colchorum ;  
Rhodias superbi feminas premunt galli.

149, 9. Diocletian. Mommsen, *Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch.*, 1851, p. 12 : fasianus pastus *den.* 250 fasianus agrestis *den.* 225 fasiana pasta *den.* 200 fasiana non pasta *den.* 100 anser pastus *den.* 200 anser non pastus *den.* 100 pullorum par *den.* 60 lepus *den.* 150 (100 *den.* about 2s. 5½*d.*, Hultsch, *Metrol.*<sup>2</sup>, 348).

- 149, 12-15. Severus, Tacitus. *Alexander Sever.*, c. 37. *Tacit.*, c. 11.  
 149, 22. inauguration. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 243, 4.  
 149, 34. lost. Macrobi., *Sat.*, iii, 13: cenam quae scripta est in Indice iv. Metelli illius pontificis maximi in haec verba. Cf. Böttiger, *Kl. Schr.*, iii, 217 ff.  
 149, 38. priesthoods. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 231, 7.  
 150, 2. luxury. Cf. pp. 154-164.  
 150, 7. satire. In particular *Sat.*, ii, 4.  
 150, 10. Epicurus. Hor., *S.*, ii, 6, 114: Inde domum me Ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum. Cf. *S.*, ii, 6, 13; *C.*, i, 31, 16.  
 150, 17. at hand. Cf. vol. i, p. 12 ff.  
 150, 19. table. Table luxury spread from Italy, according to the treatise *De vita contemplativa*, which, as Lucius, *Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Askese* (1880), has proved, cannot be the work of Philo, but should be assigned to the third century. *D. v. c.*, 896 c. (*op. cit.*, p. 117): ἵσως δὲ ἂν τις ἀποδέξαιτο τὴν ἐπιπολάζουσαν νυνὶ πανταχοῦ τῶν συμποσίων διάθεσιν, κατὰ πόθον τῆς Ἱταλικῆς πολυτελείας καὶ τρυφῆς, ἣν ἐξήλωσαν Ἕλληνες τε καὶ βάρβαροι.  
 150, 26. swallow. Pliny, *N. h.*, xv, 105. The practice of laying a menu before the host, ἐφ' ᾧ εἰδέναι ὅτι μέλλοι ὄψον φέρειν ὁ μάγειρος (Athen., ii, 33, p. 49d) seems to be a Greek one, and not, as Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 326, 9, believes, Roman.  
 150, 39. banquets. According to a communication by Roscher, from a treatise by Mangold, to which I had no access.  
 151, 3. Metellus. Valer. Max., ix, 1, 5; Macrobi., *Sat.*, iii, 13.  
 151, 5. Nero's. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 27.  
 151, 8. flowers. Cf. *e.g. Ael. Ver.*, c. 5.  
 151, 9. Condé. Baudrillart, iv, 152.  
 151, 17. upwards. Lady J. Manners, *A Sequel to 'Rich Men's Dwellings'*, in *National Review*, March, 1884, pp. 10, 13, 15, 17.  
 151, 20. raffles. *Vit. Elagab.*, c. 22.  
 151, 23. Martial's. My edition of Martial, ii, p. 295 ff.  
 151, 32. Verus. *H. A.*, *L. Ver.*, c. 5.  
 151, 37. Lucullus. Plutarch, *Lucull.*, c. 41; cf. c. 40: τὰ δεῖπνα τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν οὐ μόνον στρωμαῖς ἀλουργέσι καὶ διαλίθοις ἐκπώμασι καὶ χοροῖς καὶ ἀκροάμασιν ἐπεισοδίοις κ.τ.λ.  
 151, 38. Arvales. Marini, *Atti*, tab. xli<sup>b</sup> and xlii. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 45.  
 151, 39. how much. Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 6: Vides enim et centenarias cenas, a centenis jam sestertiis dicendas. In Seneca, *Epp.*, 95, 41: et totiens tamen \*sestertio aditiales cenae frugalissimis viris constiterunt—the number has dropped out, it was probably C.  
 151, 41. decorations. Lucret., iv, 1131: eximia veste et victu convivia, lychni, pocula crebra, unguenta, coronae, sarta parantur etc.  
 152, 6. Mazarin. Baudrillart, iv, 70 and 76. Lacroix, *XVIII. siècle. Lettres et sciences*, p. 534.  
 152, 15. Seneca. Seneca, *Epp.*, 122, 14.  
 152, 23. Tucca. Martial, xii, 41.



- 152, 25. *mulli*. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 434, 9.
- 152, 27. Octavius. Either the Prefect of Egypt under Augustus or his son, the Proconsul of Crete and Cyrenaica. Dittenberger, *De titulis Atticis*, in *Ephem. epigr.*, i, p. 112 sq.
- 152, 30. Apicius. Seneca, *Epp.*, 95, 42.
- 152, 32. purchaser. Roscher, *Grundlagen* (4th edit.), p. 131, 1.
- 152, 32. Juvenal. *Juv.*, 11, 14.
- 152, 39. *garum*. 2 *congi* (6,566 litres) of *garum sociorum* cost 'singulis milibus nummum', Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxi, 94, i.e. 1000 s. (£10 12s. 5d.), not 1000 *denarii*, as Marquardt says, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 440, 9.
- 153, 3. *écus*. Baudrillart, iv, 14 and 71.
- 153, 5. Potemkin. According to Karnovich (see note on p. 136, 24).
- 153, 9. pounds. Brückner, *Potemkins Glück und Ende*, in *Baltische Monatsschrift*, N. F., i, p. 518. Haxthausen (*Studien über die innern Zustände Russlands*, iii, 160) gives the price of a sturgeon as 400 roubles banco, even on the Ural.
- 153, 10. Geneva. *Grenzboten*, 1852, p. 151.
- 153, 11. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 67.
- 153, 14. Carême. Vaerst, *Gastrosophie*, ii, 111. Carême himself relates that King George IV of England offered him in vain a salary of £500 and a fortnight's holiday a month. Carême, *L'art de la cuisine franç. au 19. siècle*, 1893, p. ix.
- 153, 1. letters. *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iii, 401.
- 153, 19. Seneca. Seneca, *Epp.*, 95, 26 sqq.
- 153, 27. boars. Pliny, *N. h.*, viii, 210.
- 153, 28. Regency. Vol. ii, p. 160.
- 153, 31. swine. Pliny, *N. h.*, viii, 209. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 429 f. The price of pork was certainly not high enough to explain the statement that 'in later Roman times it was the most fashionable dish' (Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 133, 8); but it was by no means the cheapest meat, as Preller, *Reg.*, 139, believes. Cf. Rodbertus, *Zur Frage des Sachwerthes des Geldes*, ii, in Hildebrand's *Zeitschr. f. Nationalökonomie*, 1870, p. 226.
- 153, 33. dish. *Tetrapharmacum seu potius pentapharmacum: Ael. Ver.*, c. 5; *Hadrian*, c. 21.
- 153, 34. gourmet. Hadrianus . . . prandiorum opimorum esor optimus. Fronto, *Fer. Als.*, 3, p. 226 Naber.
- 153, 34. Severus. *Alexander Sev.*, c. 30.
- 153, 3. Caesar. Sueton., *Caesar*, c. 53; Plutarch, *Caesar*, c. 17; Drumann, *RG*, iii, 739.
- 153, 40. Cicero. *Cic.*, *Ad Attic.*, xiii, 52. Suetonius says even of the very temperate Augustus, c. 77: quotiens largissime se invitaret, senos sextantes (0.54 of a litre) non excessit, aut si excessisset, reiciebat. Becker-Göll, iii, p. 552 f.
- 154, 2. dietetic. In the annotations to Oribasius, vol. ii, p. 829 ss., Daremberg speaks only about the dietetic use of emetics by the ancients, from which instructive work I extract the following passages. I think it appears from them that it was not merely, as Marquardt thinks, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 330, 5, 'as an antidote to the effects of gluttony' that the use of emetics was considered

necessary by physicians. Baudrillart, ii, 396, has completely misunderstood me. He says: Comment ne pas sourire, en voyant M. Fr. dépassant trop cette fois les bornes; aller à justifier presque au nom de l'hygiène l'usage ignominieux des vomissements pendant le repas! What I have said in the text shows, I hope, clearly enough, that, far from excusing the misuse of emetics, I only maintain that their use by the ancients does not necessarily presuppose intemperance.

- 154, 8. emetics. Herodot., ii, 77; Diodor., i, 82.
- 154, 9. Hippocrates. Daremberg, *op. cit.*, p. 380: Du temps d'Hippocrate les vomissements après le repas paraissent avoir été plus usités que les vomissements à jeun.
- 154, 13. Celsus. Celsus, i, 3, p. 27 sq. On Asclepiades cf. also Pliny, *N. h.*, xxvi, 17.
- 154, 16. Archigenes. Oribas., *Coll. med.*, viii, 23 (ed. D., iii, p. 202): Περὶ ἐμέτου ἀπὸ σιτίων ἐκ τῶν Ἀρχιγένοῦς. Ἐμέτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀπὸ σιτίων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης μὲν μὴ διεθίσῃ· ὀνησις δὲ θαυμαστὴ δις ἢ τρίς ὡς ἀν παρήκῃ κατὰ μῆνα παραλαμβάνειν· καὶ γὰρ τῷ δι' ἀνάγκην ἐπιμετρὸς τις ἀκολουθεῖ ραστῶν, ἀπὸ ἧς προήχθησαν ἤδη τινὲς καὶ εἰς ἔθως ἐνδελεχοῦς ἀποφορτισμοῦ τῶν σιτίων, οἱ μὲν ἀκριβοῦς οἱ δὲ ὀλοσχεροῦς καταστῆναι.
- 154, 18. Galen. Daremberg, *op. cit.*, p. 381 s.
- 154, 18. Pliny. *N. h.*, xxviii, 54 vomitione rara sibi mederi utile homini. The dietetic use he considers injurious: xi, 282; xxix, 27.
- 154, 19. Plutarch. Plutarch, *De sanit. praec.*, c. 22, p. 134: Ἐμέτους δὲ καὶ κοιλίας καθάρσεις ὑπὸ φαρμάκων, μαιρὰ παραμύθια πλησμονῆς, ἀνευ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης οὐ κινήτεον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ κενώσεως ἔνεκα, πληροῦντες τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάλιν πληρώσεως κενοῦντες παρὰ φύσιν ταῖς πλησμοναῖς οὐχ ἥττον ἢ ταῖς ἐνδείαις ἀνιώμενοι μάλλον δὲ ὅλως τὴν μὲν πλήρωσιν ὡς κώλυσιν ἀπολαύσεως βαρυνόμενοι, τὴν δὲ ἐνδειαν ὡς χῶραν αἰεὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς παρασκευάζοντες.
- 154, 21. seven. Juv., i, 94.
- 154, 22. dishes. *Id.*, 14, 6 s.
- 154, 23. oyster. *Id.*, 4, 136 sq.
- 154, 26. Seneca. Seneca, *Ad Helv.*, 10, 3.
- 154, 30. circles. This is Marquardt's opinion, *op. cit.*, p. 330, where the Romans whom Pliny and Galen describe are pictured as 'a race with pale faces, hanging cheeks, swollen eyes, trembling hands, fat paunches, with feeble intelligence and no memory, etc.'. The consequences of excesses, described by Pliny, *N. h.*, xiv, 142; Seneca, *Epp.*, 95, 15 sqq. and Martial, xii, 48, 10 (sulphureusque color carnificesque pedes) were very likely too frequent in his time—but I do not believe it possible that they were general in wider circles. (Galen, *De meth. med.*, vol. x, p. 3 sq., ed. K., speaks only of excesses, not of their consequences).
- 154, 34. emetics. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 33; *Vitell.*, c. 13. Julian, *Misopog.*, p. 340 c, says about himself: οὐδὲ ἐπιτρέπω πολλῶν ἐμπίμπλασθαι σιτίων αὐτῇ. ὀλιγάκις οὖν ἐμοὶ τῶν πάντων (?) ἐμέσαι συνέβη, καὶ μέμνημαι αὐτὸ παθῶν ἐξ ὅτου Καῖσαρ ἐγενόμην ἀπαξ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος, οὗ πλησμονῆς. Martial associates the use of emetics with the most infamous vices: ix, 92, 11: Quod nec mane

- vomis nec cunnum, Condyle, lingis etc. ; ii, 89, 5, : Quod vomis, Antoni, of a *fellator*, with reference to Cic., *In Anton. or. Philipp.*, 2, 25, 63.
- 155, 15. juice. Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 180.
- 155, 20. honour. *Ibid.*, ii, 84 f.
- 155, 20. Spain. *Ibid.*, ii, 318 ff.
- 155, 30. Peter. Weinhold, *Die Deutschen Frauen im Mittelalter*, p. 321 ff. Volz, *Beitr. z. Culturgeschichte*, p. 205 ff., 412 ff., 471 ff.
- 155, 33. table. Alwin Schultz, *Höf. Leben z. Zeit. der Minnesinger*, p. 332 f. Baudrillart, iii, 453 ss.
- 155, 35. guests. *Id.*, p. 459.
- 155, 37. century. Also the fattening of fowls in darkened cages was very usual, as well as the fattening of snails. Baudrillart, pp. 459 and 461.
- 156, 1. peacocks. Lacroix, *Moeurs usages et costumes au moyen âge*, pp. 110-190. Alw. Schultz, *op. cit.*, 284 f.
- 156, 5. Geizkoller. Adam Wolf Lucas Geizkoller, *Eine Selbstbiographie*, p. 149. For other weddings in the same family see p. 150. At festivities of this kind luxury only consisted in superfluity (cf. Janssen, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Volkes*, i, 373 f.).
- 156, 7. Spain. Fernan Caballero, *Ausgew. Werke* (Paderborn, 1865), vii, 68 f. ; viii, 67.
- 156, 15. Neville. Th. Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, pp. 360 and 267.
- 156, 20. Salutati. Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, ii, 423-426.
- 157, 36. banquets. Molmenti, *La vie privée de Venise*, pp. 287-298.
- 158, 12. Scuppi. Hübner, *Sixtus V*, ii, 138 ff.
- 158, 26. Tunis. Montaigne, *Essais*, i, 56. In the seventeenth century Spanish cookery was unpalatable for foreigners, because of the excess of sharp seasoning and of saffron. Cf. the description of a great banquet of 700 covers in Baudrillart, iv, 218.
- 158, 33. Montaigne. Montaigne, *Essais*, i, 51.
- 159, 8. cooking. Cf. the notices in the *Mémoire pour faire un écrieteau pour un banquet* : Baudrillart, iii, 500 s.
- 159, 13. Louvois. Lacroix, *XVIII. siècle (Institutions etc.)*, pp. 383 ss.
- 159, 19. Fouquet. Vol. ii, p. 152.
- 159, 21. Vatel. Baudrillart, iv, 76.
- 159, 28. Condé. Vol. ii, p. 150 f.
- 159, 29. fireworks. Fireworks, introduced into France under Henri II, and greatly perfected by the Italians, were an essential element in great festivities from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Baudrillart, iii, 523.
- 159, 31. Vatel. *Lettres de Mme. de Sévigné*, Paris, Hachette, 1862, ii, 186. Baudrillart, iv, 152 s.
- 159, 40. 1873. Read '1783.'
- 160, 30. day. *Ibid.*, 266 s.
- 161, 4. cover. (G. Freytag ?) *Die Entwicklung der französischen Kochkunst*, in *Grenzboten*, 1852, i, pp. 141-155.

- 161, 6. Montague. *Letters of Lady M. Wortley Montague*, letter 7.
- 161, 12. writer. v. Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremonialwissenschaft der Privatpersonen*, p. 435, in Biedermann, *Deutschland im 18<sup>ten</sup> Jahrh.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 530\*\*\*). In the house of the Minister Brühl the usual number of courses was 30, exceptionally 50, or even 80. Waldmüller, *Minister Brühl in Schlafrock und Pantoffeln*, in *Grenzboten*, 17 June, 1886. On public banquets in Bremen cf. Kohl, *Alte und neue Zeit*, 354 ff.
- 161, 16. Vienna. Scheube, *Aus den Tagen unsrer Grossväter* (after [Risbeck,] *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen in Deutschland*), p. 387.
- 161, 20. Deyling. Taken from the archives of the council of the Enge at Leipsic by Bitter, *J. S. Bach*, i, 163 f.
- 161, 31. lady superintendent. Read 'Superintendent's wife'.
- 162, 4. writer. Risbeck in Scheube, *op. cit.*, p. 394 f.
- 162, 4. Voss. J. H. Voss, *Sämmtliche Gedichte* (1825), ii, 109-125.
- 162, 11. *azia*. Preserved Indian herbs and roots, in particular young shoots of bamboo in cocoanut and palm vinegar. J. H. Voss.
- 162, 20. Hamburg. Risbeck in Scheube, *op. cit.*
- 162, 30. Radziwill. E. v. d. Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 303.
- 163, 1. Catharine. A. Brückner, *Potemkins Glück und Ende*, in *Baltische Monatschrift*, N. F., i, 518-522.
- 163, 16. Philadelphia. Fr. Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika* (1876), i, 16 f.
- 163, 20. Grimod. *Almanac des Gourmands ou Calendrier nutritif . . . par un vieux amateur*. Paris, *An. xi*, 1803, 18<sup>mo</sup> (2 and 3 ed. 1803 and 1804, the 7 following annual sets till 1812). Cf. Rumohr, *Geist der Kochkunst* (1822), p. 14.
- 163, 28. Carême. A. Carême, *L'art de la cuisine française au 19. siècle* (1833), xii ss. Cf. vol. ii, p. 153.
- 163, 34. Cussy. *Grenzboten*, *loc. cit.*
- 163, 39. Morgan. Lady Morgan [Sydney Owenson], *France in 1829-30*, 1830, ii, 411 ff.
- 164, 7. Macaulay. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 1908, p. 243 f.
- 164, 13. Roman. Columella, xii, 4, 2: M. Ambivius et Menas Licinius, tum etiam C. Matius, quibus studium fuit pistoris et coci nec minus cellarii diligentiam sui praeceptis instituere. *Id.*, xii, 44, 1: (C. Matius) illi enim propositum fuit urbanas mensas et lauta convivia instruere, libros tres edidit, quos inscripsit nominibus Coci et Cellarii et Salmagarii. That Apicius was an author does not follow from what Teuffel mentions, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 283, 4; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 42: Asellio Sabino sestertia ducenta donavit pro dialogo, in quo b.leti et ficedulae et ostreae et turdi certamen induxerat.
- 164, 18. Berlin. *Nationalzeitung*, 7 February, 1877.
- 164, 29. Hong Kong. Lady Brassey, *Voyage in the Sunbeam*<sup>4</sup>, 1878, p. 403.
- 165, 5. civilization. I had already dealt with this subject in a lengthy essay, chiefly with the aid of the valuable book of K. W. Volz (*Beiträge zur Culturgeschichte. Der Einfluss des Menschen auf die Verbreitung der Hausthiere und der Culturpflanzen*, 1852),



when an admirable work throwing quite new light on the subject appeared, Victor Hehn's *Culturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Uebergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie das übrige Europa* (1870). As all the questions were here treated with unparalleled knowledge of the facts and sources, thoroughness and acumen, my only course was to throw aside my essay, and reproduce, in the order that suited my purpose, the results of this new investigation, chiefly in Hehn's own words. I have abstained from referring to Volz and the old authors, as Hehn gives full references, only here and there I have made some unimportant additions. The quotations are made from the 4th edition of Hehn's work (1883).

- 165, 12. Pliny's. Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 62 sq.
- 165, 17. Varro. Dureau de la Malle, *Economie polit. des Romains*, ii, 175 ss. Varro, *R. r.*, iii, 10, 18; 12, 5 sqq.; 14, 4.
- 165, 22. Orata. Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 108. Otherwise Valer. Max., ix, 1, 2.
- 165, 24. Aristotle. Aristot., *De gener. animal.*, iii, 11 (Weinland, *Der zoolog. Garten*, iv, 178).
- 165, 28. Bordeaux. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 443, 7 and 8.
- 165, 34. Coste. Molin, *Die rationelle Zucht der Süßwasserfische* (Vienna, 1864), p. 229 ff.
- 166, 5. peacocks. Hehn, *Culturpflanzen und Hausthiere*, p. 292.
- 166, 8. yards. Hehn, p. 297. Cf. vol. ii, p. 149 and notes.
- 166, 15. flamingoes. Cf. vol. ii, p. 149, 7, note.
- 166, 20. Romance. Hehn, p. 300.
- 166, 33. Russia. *Ibid.*, p. 304.
- 166, 40. Italy. There is no doubt that the vine existed in the lake-dwellings of Emilia. Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene*, p. 109 f.
- 167, 2. Sophocles. Hehn, p. 66.
- 167, 5. Tarquins. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
- 167, 6. Varro's. Varro, *R. r.*, i, 41.
- 167, 8. Tiberius. Hehn, p. 81.
- 167, 13, 14. chestnuts, walnuts. *Ibid.*, p. 321 f.
- 167, 14. *amygdalum*. Ovid, *A. a.*, iii, 183; *Priap.*, 51, 13.
- 167, 16. Pliny. Hehn, p. 310.
- 167, 19. pomegranates. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
- 167, 20. quinces. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
- 167, 27. Po. Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- 167, 31. produced. Hehn, p. 326 ff.
- 167, 33. as well. *Ibid.*, p. 204 ff.
- 167, 39. found. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
- 167, 41. century. *Ibid.*, p. 331.
- 168, 15. stock. *Ibid.*, p. 349.
- 168, 17. Columella. *Ibid.*, p. 394.
- 169, 20. lotus. Pliny, *N. h.*, xiii, 103: Eadem Africa . . . arborum loton gignit, quam vocant celtim et ipsam Italiae familiarem, sed terra mutatam. Cf. Appendix i.
- 168, 20. shalots. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 107. Volz, *Beitr. z. Cultur-gesch.*, p. 110.
- 168, 22. Papirius. *Ibid.*, xv, 47: Aequae peregrina sicut zizipha

- et tubures. The translation after Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 98. S. Papirius . . . primus utraque attulit . . . aggeribus praecipue decora, quoniam et in tecta jam silvae scandunt.
- 168, 23. Egypt. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 107; cf. Volz, p. 110.
- 168, 23. radishes. *Ibid.*, xxi, 87.
- 168, 24. Pliny. *Ibid.*, xix, 81, also Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 328.
- 168, 28. plums. Hehn, p. 346.
- 168, 30. Vitellius. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
- 168, 35. melones. *Ibid.*, p. 256.
- 168, 35. carob. *Ibid.*, p. 369 f.
- 169, 6. investigator. *Ibid.*, p. 362.
- 169, 13. China. *Ibid.*, p. 360 ff.
- 169, 15. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xv, 57.
- 169, 19. India. *Ibid.*, xix, 59: pars eorum (pot-herbs) ad condimenta pertinens fatetur domi versuram fieri solitam, atque non Indicum piper quaesitum, quaeque trans maria petimus. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 28, 12; ii, 783, 1. Pepper, it is true, grew also in Italy, but the berries were not sharp enough (xii, 29; xvi, 136).
- 169, 20. diet. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 52: ex horto plebei macellum, quanto innocentiore victu!
- 169, 40. Restoration. *Almanac des gourmands*, iv. année (1806), pp. 78-89.
- 170, 5. animals. Pliny, *N. h.*, xvi, 1.
- 170, 7. grafting. *Ibid.*, xvii, 8.
- 170, 18. gluttony. *Ibid.*, xix, 52-54.
- 170, 25. day. *Ibid.*, xix, 152 sq.
- 170, 27. London. *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iv, 390.
- 170, 30. Rothschild. *Ibid.*, iv, 37.
- 170, 32. unknown. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 325, 14.
- 170, 34. diamond. J. E. Planchon, *La truffe et les truffières artistielles*, in *Revue des deux mondes*, 1 Avril 1875, p. 633 ss. On the effect of truffles on the cultivation of woods see p. 653.
- 170, 36. Carpentras. *Ausland*, 1870, no. 24, p. 576.
- 170, 40. army. Bähr, *Eine deutsche Stadt vor 60 Jahren*, p. 58, from *Statistik d. deutschen Reiches*, xlii, 102 f.; cf. p. 24. The amount spent on beer amounted in Germany to 922 million marks per annum.
- 170, 40. cigars. Lady John Manners, in *Nat. Rev.*, 1884, March, p. 17.
- 171, 9. treatises. Galen, ed. K., vii, 227.
- 171, 15. time. Pliny, *N. h.*, xv, 102.
- 171, 16. Flaccus. *Ibid.*, xv, 191.
- 171, 18. Provence. Hehn, p. 347.
- 171, 18. casia. Pliny, *N. h.*, xii, 98.
- 171, 23. maple. Hehn, p. 240.
- 171, 25. France. *Ibid.*, p. 352 f.
- 171, 28. wine. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
- 171, 31. olive. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
- 171, 38. civilization. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
- 172, 7. profitable. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
- 172, 9. Cato. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

- 172, 10. Africa. *Ibid.*, p. 74.  
 172, 13. east. Varro, *R. r.*, i, 8, 13; Pliny, *N. h.*, xiv, 71 etc.  
 172, 14. inhabitants. Hehn, p. 119.  
 172, 16. port. Strabo, iii, 416, p. 164 C.  
 172, 19. Falernian. *CIL*, ii, 2029 = Wilmanns, 1279 (cf. 1280):  
 proc. Aug. per Baetic. ad. Fal(ernas) veget(andas).  
 172, 23. oil. Hehn, p. 70.  
 172, 25. beer. Diodor., v. 26.  
 172, 25. Strabo. Strabo, iv, 1, p. 178.  
 172, 32. Moselle. The Neumagen monuments, of about the beginning of the third century, indicate that the cultivation of the vine and the wine trade were very flourishing on the Moselle. F. Hettner, *Zur Kultur von Germania und Gallia Belgica*, in *Westdeutsche Ztschr.*, ii, 22 f.  
 172, 34. St. Prex. Mommsen, *Die Schweiz in röm. Zeit*, p. 23 n. (inscription of *Liber pater Coeliensis* the 'Father of Cully'). J. J. Müller, *Nyon zur Römerzeit*, in *Züricher Antiq. Mittheil.*, xviii, 214.  
 172, 36. Probus. Hehn, p. 73.  
 172, 40. vintage. Volz, p. 142.  
 172, 41. Claudian. Claudian, *De laud. Stilich.*, ii, ed. Gessner, xxii, 199.  
 173, 4. wine. Hehn, p. 77.  
 173, 20. handkerchiefs. *Ibid.*, p. 146.  
 173, 21. century. Marquardt, *Pyl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 485-487. In Juv., 3, 150: *vel si consuto volnere crassum atque recens linum ostendit non una cicatrix*, apparently the mended tunic is meant. As a rule the *tunica* was woollen. Cf. Petron., c. 56; Martial, xiv, 143, 211.  
 173, 24. muslin. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 488.  
 173, 31. Elagabalus. *Ibid.*, p. 493 ff.  
 173, 34. Saracen. Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 339. According to Alwin Schultz, *D. höfische Leben z. Z. der Minnesänger*, p. 259, samite (ἐξάμιτος) does not mean velvet, but 'a very strong close silk tissue, generally figured with gold and silver threads, thus corresponding to what was later called brocade', in different colours, usually green and red. Cf. Heyd, *Gesch. des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, ii, 689. (Hüllmann, *Gesch. des byz. Handels*, p. 69: *purpura quae vulgariter dicitur samyt*.)  
 173, 35. extravagance. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 535.  
 173, 38. clothes. *Ibid.*, p. 542 ff.  
 173, 40. Agrippina. Vol. i, p. 245. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 536, 2. A robe of silver cloth worn by Herod Agrippa, Joseph., *A. J.*, xviii, 6, 7. *H. A., Vit. Elagab.*, 24: *usus est aurea omni tunica, usus et purpurea, usus et de gemmis Persica*. An *auri netrix CIL*, vi, 9213; *Ib.*, 9214: *Sellia Epyre de sacra via auri vestrix* (?).  
 174, 1. Charles. Falke, *Deutsche Trachten und Modenwelt* (1858), i, 262; cf. for cloth of gold and silver in the beginning of the sixteenth century, ii, 76 ff. A dress of Mme. de Montespan 'd'or sur or, rebrodée d'or et par dessus un or frisé, rebrochée

d'un or mêlé avec un certain or, qui fait la plus divine étoffe qui ait été jamais imaginée' (Madame de Sévigné in Baudrillart, iv, 130).

- 174, 4. Italy. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 587.  
 174, 6. South. Paulinus of Périgueux (born between 367 and 371) says (*Eucharisticon*, 147 sq.) that in his youth he strove to get new and beautiful clothes, quaeque Arabi muris leni fragraret odore. Cf. Jerome, *Epist.*, 127, 3: Illae enim solent purpurissa et cerussa ora depingere etc. . . . fragrare mure. *Adv. Jovin.*, ii, 8, examples of odoris suavis: peregrina muris pellicula. The opinion of my colleague, Prof. Zaddach (d. 1881) was that an animal was meant of the genus *Myogale*, the musk-smelling desmans, and more probably the desman (*M. moschata*) of southern Russia which is 9 in. long, than the smaller *M. pyrenaica*. Even to-day the skins of the desman serve to garnish caps and other clothes.  
 174, 15. prices. Lacroix, *Moeurs usages et costumes au moyen âge*, p. 575 s. Cf. also on the same luxury Abraham a Sancta Clara in Karajan, p. 193.  
 174, 20. costly. Falke, *op. cit.*, ii, 47 (on trunk-hose).  
 174, 22. £150. *Id.*, ii, 253 f.  
 174, 24. centuries. Cf. Falke, i, 192 f., on the remarkably rapid change of fashions about the middle of the fourteenth century; ii, 115, on the fickleness of German fashions in the sixteenth century.  
 174, 29. ducats. Polack, *Persien*, i, 151. A hat of King Amadeus VI of Savoy cost 1000 ducats (20,666 francs). Baudrillart, iii, 214.  
 174, 30. Panama. Lady Brassey, *Voyage in the Sunbeam*<sup>4</sup>, 1878, p. 184.  
 174, 34. Juvenal. Juv., i, 28 sq.  
 174, 38. Persia. Polack, *op. cit.*  
 175, 1. wool. Martial, ii, 46.  
 175, 6. wardrobe. *Id.*, v, 79.  
 175, 11. Meinhard. Falke, ii, 149.  
 175, 14. Clive. Macaulay, *Essay on Clive*, ad fin.  
 175, 16. Brühl. Vehse, *Gesch. d. H.*, 33, 331.  
 175, 19. wigs. Falke, ii, 312 f.  
 175, 20. dandy. *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (1826-28), iv, 39.  
 175, 26. Persius. *Pers.*, i, 32.  
 175, 27. moralist. Martial, i, 96. Read 'To M. any one who . . . effeminate, was a hypocrite'.  
 175, 33. Atedius. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 1, 128 sqq.  
 175, 34. scarlet. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 204, mentions *coccum* among precious natural products.  
 175, 36. wool. Cornel. Nepos in Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 137. For the best quality 100 sest. must be deducted for the wool; the best quality from the Padus is the same price, *N. h.*, viii, 190. Lower qualities were hardly dyed with Tyrian purple.  
 175, 39. cloak. Martial, viii, 10; iv, 61, 4.  
 176, 3. shawls. Polack, *Persien*, i, 153. (A single shawl costs there sometimes 200 ducats.)



- 176, 5. cloaks. W. A. Schmidt, *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete des Alterthums*, p. 157 f.
- 176, 7. Caesar. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 43.
- 176, 8. Augustus. Dio, xlix, 16. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 409 ff.
- 176, 10. Tiberius. Dio, lvii, 13.
- 176, 11. Nero. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 32.
- 176, 12. Domitian. As appears from Martial, *loc. cit.*
- 176, 15. auction. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 175. *M. Anton.*, 17; *Pertinax*, c. 8.
- 176, 17. dress. On luxury in dress in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries cf. Alwin Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, p. 202 ff., in particular p. 235 f. Girdles for ladies cost 1000 marks (£2,000); the coronation robes of King Wenceslaus II of Bohemia are said to have cost 4000 marks (£8000), p. 236.
- 176, 25. placed. Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, p. 236 f.
- 176, 29. Giuliano. Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, i, 267 f.
- 176, 34. Pollajuolo. *Ibid.*, ii, 423.
- 176, 41. ducats. Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
- 177, 7. Lucrezia. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
- 177, 9. Geiler. Janssen, *Gesch. d. deutschen Volkes*, i, 366 ff. On the value of the *gulden* (florin) cf. note on vol. ii, p. 136, 1.
- 177, 12. England. Falke, *op. cit.*, ii, 109.
- 177, 20. Bassompierre. *Ibid.*, 149 and 152.
- 177, 23. Christina. Grauert, *Christine Königin von Schweden und ihr Hof*, ii, 87, 19. At the time of Louis XIV a certain Madame de Puysieux wore Genoese lace worth 50,000 *écus*. Baudrillart, iv, 153. On the extravagance in lace of Gabrielle d'Estrées, and of the court of Louis XIII, see Lacroix, *XVII. siècle. Lettres et sciences*, p. 514.
- 177, 31. so forth. Lacroix, *XVIII. siècle*, p. 486.
- 177, 35. year. Baudrillart, iv, 291.
- 177, 38. cuffs. Lacroix, *XVIII. s.*, *Lettres etc.*, p. 544 ss.
- 177, 39. alb. Vehse, *G. d. H.*, 46, 59.
- 178, 2. Rzewuski. E. v. d. Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 316 f.
- 178, 5. sable. Beckmann, *Waarenkunde*, ii, 263.
- 178, 7. Potemkin's. According to Karnovich (see n. on p. 136, 24).
- 178, 10. occasions. The robes of a peer, at the coronation of George IV of England, in 1820, cost £450 (Eberty, *W. Scott*, i, 350); the gala uniform of a Prussian Minister (1879) cost about £100. The value of the national Hungarian costume worn by Prince Nicholas Esterhazy at the coronation of King George IV was estimated at several million florins. Liszt, *Fr. Chopin*, German transl. by La Mara, p. 26 1.
- 178, 12. shawl. *Ausland*, 1865, No. 44, p. 970 (the dearest imitation French long shawls cost 1500 francs).
- 178, 12. veil. The veil worn by Miss Hannah Rothschild at her wedding with the Earl of Rosebery cost 700 guineas.
- 178, 21. paltry. Mme. de Rémusat, *Mém.*, ii, 347, 349, 379. Lady J. Manners in *Nat. Rev.*, March, 1884, p. 2, says that many ladies who are not very rich spend £600 a year on their toilet,

- those who go much into society often £1000; 60 guineas for a court dress is no uncommon price.
- 178, 28. Indian. Pliny, *N. h.*, vi, 101: digna res (?) nullo anno minus HS [DL] imperi nostri (?) exhauriente India et mercis remittente, quae apud nos centuplicato veneant. xii, 84: minumaque computatione miliens centena milia sestertium annis omnibus India et Seres paeninsulaque illa (Arabia) imperio nostro adimunt. Tanti nobis deliciae et feminae constant, quota enim portio ad deos quaeso jam vel ad inferos pertinent? I quote these passages *verbatim*, to show Höck's mistake (*Röm. Gesch.*, i, 2, 288) when he speaks of imports into Rome, instead of the whole empire.
- 178, 31. amours. Read 'our hobbies'.
- 178, 33. luxuries. To which belong also, according to Aelius Marcianus, *Digg.*, xxxix, 4, 16 § 7, spices, gum, laser (*asa dulcis*), opium, eunuchs and wild animals. The last sentence of the passage quoted from Pliny, shows that he was not thinking only of the expenditure on dress and jewels.
- 178, 37. countries. Tac., *A.*, iii, 53: atque illa feminarum propria, quis lapidum causa pecuniae nostrae ad externas aut hostilis gentis transferuntur?
- 178, 41. Asia. Cf. the trade reports for the year 1869 (*Ausland*, 1870, No. 13, p. 200) according to which in the 9 years 1861-69 £122,250,000 sterling were paid to Asia, a yearly average of 13½ millions; by far the greatest part to British India, only about £20,000,000 (in 9 years) to China. Humboldt's estimate of the yearly export of specie from Europe to Asia was £5,318,750; Jacob's for the period 1788-1810 only 1 million; Jacob, *Product. u. Consumt.*, ii, 130-132.
- 179, 2. Horneck. *Bedenken über die Manufacturen in Deutschland*, p. 113 ff. *Oesterreich über alles* (1708), p. 95.
- 179, 8. alone. Raudel, *Annalen der Staatskräfte von Europa* (1792), p. 13.
- 179, 8. 1853. Klöden, *Handbuch d. Erdkunde*, ii, 454 and 457. At the time of Colbert England spent more than 11 million francs per annum on French fancy goods. Baudrillart, iv, 437.
- 179, 19. gold. *H. A.*, *Vit. Aureliani*, c. 45.
- 179, 20. Chinese. See n. on p. 180, 11, below.
- 179, 21. betel. Pliny, *N. h.*, xii, 129: cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 784, 9-12.
- 179, 21. cinnamon. Read 'cinnamon juice'. Pliny, *ib.*, 99: pretia (juris cinnami) quondam fuere in libras denarium milia, auctum id parte dimidia est incensis, ut ferunt, silvis ira barbarorum. St. Mark says that in Jerusalem a *litra* of oil of nard cost 300 *denarii*: *Mark*, xiv, 5; *John*, xii, 5; cf. Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch. der Juden*, p. 100, cf. 191.
- 179, 22. pearls. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 50.
- 179, 30. Galen. Galen, ed. K., x, 492 (ἐχουσι γάρ αἱ πλουσῖαι γυναῖκες αὐτὰ πολλαχόθι τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν μεγάλαις πόλεσιν, ἐν αἷς εἰσὶ πολλὰ τῶν τοιοῦτων γυναικῶν).
- 179, 33. women. *Id.*, ed. K., vi, 440 (*De sanit. tuenda*, vi, 13): τῶν μύρων τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ σκευαζόμενα ταῖς πλουσίαις γυναιξίν, ἃ φουλιὰτά

- τε καὶ σπίκατα προσαγορεύουσιν. *Id.*, xii, 429 : τὸ τῶν πλουσίων γυναικῶν μύρον, ὃ καλοῦσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ φουλιανόν. *Ib.*, 604 : τὸ τε κάλλιστον νάρδιον μύρον—καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ Κομμαγηνὸν καὶ τὸ Σουσινδὸν καὶ τὰ πολυτελῆ μύρα τῶν πλουσίων γυναικῶν ἃ καλοῦσιν αὐταὶ σπίκατα καὶ φουλιανὰ. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 783 f. This does not exclude the probability that perfume merchants (*seplasiarii*) were in all the prosperous places. *Ib. id.*, 782, 16.
- 179, 35. classes. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 498.
- 180, 11. drugs. All the above is from Fr. Hirth, *Zur Geschichte des antiken Orienthandels*, in *Verhandl. der Berliner Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde*, xvi, pp. 46–64. Cf. note on vol. i, p. 308, 11.
- 180, 17. Mithridates. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 12.
- 180, 17. diamonds. *Id. ib.*, xxxvii, 55. Cf. King, *Precious stones and precious metals*, p. 47 sq.
- 180, 20. Trajan. *H. A., Vit. Hadriani*, c. 3.
- 180, 23. Agrippa. Juv., 6, 156 sq. Hübner, *Hermes*, i, 347 = *CIL*, ii, 3386 : on a silver statue of Isis in digito minimo anuli duo gemmis adamant. Martial, v, 11 :—  
Sardonychas smaragdus adamantas iaspidas uno  
versat in articulo Stella, Severe, meus.
- 180, 25. Altai. King, pp. 282–284.
- 180, 29. hierarchy. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 85.
- 180, 36. emerald. King, p. 48 s.
- 180, 41. market. *Ibid.*, p. 304s.
- 181, 8. Egypt. *Ibid.*, p. 297 s.
- 181, 10. sesterces. Hübner, *Hermes*, i, 357.
- 181, 12. filbert. Hehn, *Culturpfl.* etc., p. 321.
- 181, 14. sesterces. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 81 sq. The reading *viginti milibus* gives an impossibly low price ; presumably [xx] was altered by mistake into xx.
- 181, 19. industries. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 197, *ib.*, 83 (imitation opal), 98 (carbuncle), 117 (jasper), 128 (*leucochrysus*). Seneca, *Ep.*, 90, 33. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 151. Beckmann, *Gesch. d. Erfindungen*, i, 373 ff. Sardoniches veri, Martial, ix, 59 ; v, 87.
- 181, 21. way. Julian, *Orat.*, 2, p. 91 β : τοῖς λιθογνώμοσι γὰρ οὐ μία ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἀπόχρη, ἀλλὰ συνιέντες οἶμαι τῶν πανουργεῖν ἐθελόντων ποικίλην καὶ πολύτροπον τὴν μοχθηρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτεχνήματα εἰς δύνανμιν ἅπασιν ἀντιτάξαντο, καὶ ἀντέστησαν ἐλέγχους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τέχνης.
- 181, 25. jewellers. King, p. 291.
- 181, 28. pearls. Pliny, *N. h.*, xiii, 91 : mensarum insania, quas feminae viris contra margaritas regerunt. Pliny, *Ep.*, v, 16 mentions 'vestes margaritas gemmas' as things to be bought by the bride's father.
- 181, 29. jewels. King, p. 266.
- 181, 29. pearls. Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 123. Romae in promiscuum ac frequentem usum venisse Alexandria in dicionem redacta, primum autem coepisse circa Sullana tempora minutas et vilis Fenestella tradit, manifesto errore, cum Aelius Stilo Jugurthino bello nomen unionum imponi cum maxime grandibus margaritis prodit. Fenestella was only mistaken in the second part of his statement, and only this was refuted by Pliny.

- 181, 36. exploited. Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, p. 94.
- 181, 37. *Pompe*. Yriarte, *Vie d'un patricien de Venise au xvi. siècle*, p. 50. Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, p. 255 (the jewels of 25 young ladies who called (in the fifteenth century) on an aristocratic lady in childbed, were estimated at 100,000 ducats).
- 182, 4. necklaces. Haxthausen, *Studien über die inneren Zustände Russlands*, i, 87 and 309.
- 182, 4. Nero. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 17.
- 182, 10. slippers. *Id. ib.*, ix, 114. Caligula wore similar shoes, xxxvii, 17. Margaritarum, sacculi, xxxiii, 14. For *Indjy tchip-ship* (pearl-embroidered slippers, worn by women only in the house) £10-20 are often paid, but there are some at 200 piastres, and gold and silver embroidered ones at £30 and £40; C. White, *Three Years in Constantinople*, 1845, ii, 95.
- 182, 13. ears. Seneca, *Remed. fort.*, 16, 7; *De benef.*, vii, 9, 4.
- 182, 16. Servilia. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 50.
- 182, 27. Gaius. Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 117: margaritisque opertam, alterno textu fulgentibus toto capite crinibus [spira] auribus collo [monilibus] digitisque. The words enclosed in brackets are glosses; cf. my *programm*, *Acad. Alb.*, 1867, iv. Cf. *CIL*, ii, 3386.
- 182, 37. Algiers. King, *Precious Stones*, p. 299 s. For luxury of Spanish women in trinkets and jewels in the seventeenth century see Baudrillart, iv, 222 s.
- 182, 37. Nadir. Cf. e.g. Barthold, *Die geschichtl. Persönlichkeiten in Casanovas Mem.*, ii, 48.
- 183, 1. Madras. Macaulay, *Sir John Malcolm's Life of Lord Clive* ('He invested great sums in jewels, then a very common mode of remittance from India').
- 183, 2. wife. Vehse, *G. d. H.*, 19, 220.
- 183, 5. thalers. Schubert, *Jubelfeier der Stadt Königsberg 1855*, p. 76, 1.
- 183, 6. necklace. King, p. 116. Augustus the Strong wore on his person more than 2 million thalers' worth of jewels (Vehse, *G. der Höfe*, 32, 38); Louis XIV at the festivities in honour of the Persian ambassador 12½ million livres' worth (Baudrillart, iv, 86).
- 183, 12. ducats. Polack, *Persien*, i, 146, 157, 162. The diamonds of Mme. de Durac, who owned more than any other lady at the court of Napoleon I, were valued at more than 500,000 francs. *Mém. de Mme. de Remusat*, iii, 18.
- 183, 14. Shah. Baudrillart, i, 331 (after Gobineau, *Hist. des Perses*).
- 183, 17. clothes. Baudrillart, iii, 289.
- 183, 21. ornaments. Falke, *op. cit.*, i, 262 f. Cf. the description of his hat, p. 269, and King, pp. 63-66.
- 183, 25. worn. Lacroix, *XVII. siècle. Lettres et sciences*, p. 531.
- 183, 28. florins. Falke, *op. cit.*, i, 153.
- 183, 30. export. King, p. 267 s.
- 183, 34. back. Every Tuscan *zitella* aspires to a necklace of many strings of pearls (even if irregular in shape and of bad colour); this generally forms her dowry. King, p. 268. The jacket of a rich peasant woman in the Government of Vologda,



- made of good white silk and embroidered with gold, costs 500 silver roubles. Haxthausen, i, 229, cf. 236. The dresses of the Moorish women in Algeria are often worth more than £150. Klöden, *Handbuch der Erdkunde*, i, 461. The Arabian merchants always carry a good part of their fortunes in valuables on their persons. Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im N.-W. v. Africa*, iii, 55. Diamonds (rough or very simply cut) are the ambition of even the poorest women in Tunisia. *Id.*, *Sittenbilder aus Tunis und Algerien*, 1869, p. 21 f.
- 183, 35. barmaids. Juv., 6, 583, where Madvig (*Opusc.*, ii, 198) erroneously interprets of a rich woman.
- 183, 37. Italy. Gregorovius, *Figuren*, p. 330.
- 183, 38. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 44.
- 183, 41. East. It came through Oriental influence to the Greeks of Homer. Helbig, *Das homer. Epos*<sup>2</sup>, p. 257 f.
- 184, 2. perfumes. Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orientis*, ii, 208.
- 184, 8. womb. *Esther*, ii, 12.
- 184, 9. Talmud. Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch. d. Juden*, p. 100 f.
- 184, 11. Graecia. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 785.
- 184, 12. cities. Cf. note above on p. 179, 33.
- 184, 16. Arabian. (Emilie Rüte) *Memoiren einer arabischen Prinzessin*, ii, 18: 'Anybody may follow our track, because our abundant perfume persistently pervades the streets we pass along.'
- 184, 16. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xiii, 20.
- 184, 19. balsam. Martial, xiv, 59:  
 Balsama me capiunt: haec sunt unguenta virorum.  
 Delicias Cosmi vos redolet nurus.
- Cf. Juv., 2, 41.
- 184, 19. cinnamon. *Id.*, 3, 63, 4: Balsama qui semper, cinnama semper olet.
- 184, 19. Crispinus. Juv., 4, 108.
- 184, 21. Alfonso. Reumont, *Vittoria Colonna*, p. 40 f. (from Brantôme).
- 184, 25. Martial. Martial, xii, 95; cf. xi, 27, 9: At mea me libram foliati poscat amica.
- 184, 29. Lormes. Falke, ii, 204 f.
- 185, 2. civet. Kremer, *op. cit.*, ii, 208 f.
- 185, 5. Spain. *Id.*, ii, 316 ff.
- 185, 6. Arabian. *Memoiren einer arabischen Prinzessin*, ii, 37.
- 185, 20. floors. Jordan, *Catonis quae exstant*, fr. 55.
- 185, 22. Sulla. Plutarch, Sulla, c. 1. On Vellei., ii, 10 cf. Mommsen, *RG*, ii<sup>5</sup>, 408\*.
- 185, 26. Travertine. O. Richter, *Topogr. v. Rom*, Iwan Müller's *Hdbch.*, iii, 745; 769. The first building entirely made of travertine was the theatre of Marcellus.
- 185, 28. unknown. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 493.
- 185, 30. building. Pliny, *N. h.*, xvii, 6: tam recens est opulentia. Here Pliny forgot at least the temple built by Metellus Macedonicus (vol. i, p. 1).
- 185, 36. Venus. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 7. In this passage Pliny mentions six columns, in the other four. Valer. Max., ix, 1, 4 mentions ten, which cost together 100,000 S.

- 186, 2. Rome. Pliny, *ib.*, xvii, 1, 2.  
 186, 3. Lepidus. *Ibid.*, xxxvi, 100.  
 186, 7. Pliny. *Ibid.*, 110.  
 186, 11. world. Vol. i, p. 1 ff.  
 186, 11. Macaulay. Macaulay, *History of England*, chap. iii. (on Bath and London).  
 186, 21. Demetrius. Plutarch, *Pompei.*, c. 2.  
 186, 27. Palatine. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 5, 6.  
 186, 28. Lucullus. *Ibid.*, xxxvi, 49.  
 186, 36. incrustation. *Ibid.*, xxxvi, 48. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 493.  
 186, 37. towns. Sallust, *Bell. Catilin.*, c. 12.  
 186, 39. Caesar. Drumann, *RG*, iii, 318 and 617. Pöhlmann, *op. cit.*, p. 87.  
 186, 41. much. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 38. Drumann, *RG*, iii, 616, 52 (remission of rents in the year 46); Dio, xlviii, 9 (remission in 41). Vol. i, p. 18. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, i, 6: Domum Rabirianam Neapoli quam tu jam dimensam et exaedificatam animo habebas, M'. Fontejus emit H. S. CCCIOOXXX.  
 187, 3. Clodius. Cic., *Pro Caelio*, 7, 17.  
 187, 4. Crassus. Drumann, *RG*, ii, 309.  
 187, 8. sum. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, iv, 2, 5: Nobis superficiem aedium consules de consilii sententia aestimarunt HS. viciens; caetera valde illiberaliter. Pöhlmann, *op. cit.*, p. 82, 2. In Pliny's statement, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 103, that Clodius bought of Scaurus a house on the Palatine for 14,800,000 S., Drumann assumes a mistake, *RG*, ii, 367, 31; Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 54, 6, believes the amount is right. Northumberland House was sold for £500,000, to be demolished to make the Avenue. Rodenberg, *Ferien in England*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Feb. 1876, p. 231.  
 187, 9. Actium. Vol. i, p. 2.  
 187, 15. Vitruvius. Vitruv., ii, 7. But the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (dedicated 28 B.C.) was already built of squared stones of Carrara marble. Cf. Bruzza, *Iscr. dei marmi grezzi*, *AdI*, 1870, p. 166 ss. Jordan, *Topographie*, i, 16 ff. O. Richter, *Topogr.*, p. 827. Fasti qui videntur collegi lapicidarum (16-22 A.D.) found in the quarries of Carrara in 1810, *CIL*, i, 1356.  
 187, 18. Rome. Strabo, v, 222.  
 187, 19. Horace. Horace published the first three books of the *Odes* between 29 and 24 B.C., the *Epistles* a little later.  
 187, 31. Taenarum. Horace, *Carm.*, iii, 1, 41-46; Tibullus, ii, 3, 43; Propert., vi, 1, 49.  
 187, 31. soffits. Horace, *Carm.*, ii, 18, 1-5, 17-19; cf. Lucret., ii, 28 with Munro's note. Marquardt, *PrL.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 721 f. Gilded ceilings and floors in Scandinavia in the sixteenth century. Troels Lund, pp. 209, 217 f.  
 187, 32. Carthage. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 57. Manil., *Astron.*, ii, 287. Cf. also Varro, *R. r.*, iii, 1 sq.  
 187, 34. trees. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 10, 22: nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas. *Carm.*, iii, 10, 5: nemus Inter pulchra satum tecta. Tibull., iii, 3, 15; Propert., iv, 1, 51. Statues

in the *silva* in the house of Verres, Cic., *In Verrem*, ii, 1, 19, 51 ; *silva* in the *domus Tamphiliana*, Nepos, *Atticus*, 13, 2.

- 187, 34. fountains. I only know one mention of a fountain in the courtyard, at that time. Sueton. *Aug.*, c. 82 : *æstate—saepe in peristylo saliente aqua—cubabat*. But on the analogy of the Pompeian houses, one may readily admit the existence of fountains in Roman houses, considering that it was easy to construct them there.
- 187, 36. moss. Ovid, *Metam.*, x, 595 sq ; Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 25.
- 187, 37. Sulla. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 627, 4.
- 187, 38. tent. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 46.
- 187, 41. Tibullus. Vitruv., iv, 8, 2, ed. Rose and Mueller-Struebing.
- 188, 6. Livia. Vol. i, p. 11.
- 188, 9. small. Nissen, *Pompejan. Studien*, p. 605.
- 188, 11. vied. Tac., *A.*, iii, 56.
- 188, 16. small. Valer. Max., iv, 4.
- 188, 19. senator. Vellei. Paterc., ii, 10, 1.
- 188, 23. nobles. Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, p. 247. Cf. note on vol. ii, p. 136, 1.
- 188, 26. greater. Yriarte, *Vie d'un patricien de Venise au XVI siècle*, p. 106 s. Money certainly had a higher purchasing power than to-day, if in this household 2 francs each were assigned for the daily rations of valet, majordomo and secretary. Mme. de Maintenon estimated the household expenses of her brother the Comte d'Aubigné, at 12,000 livres, and 1000 of them were rent for the house near the Louvre. Baudrillart, iv, 162.
- 188, 26. Vienna. Poschinger, *Preussen im Bundestag 1851-1859*, iv, 76.
- 188, 31. Paris. For '1863' read '1883'. De Varigny, *Les grandes fortunes en Angleterre*, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, 1 Sept. 1888, p. 76.
- 188, 35. towns. Seneca, *Epp.*, 90, 43.
- 188, 35. estates. *Ibid.*, 114, 9.
- 189, 2. scant. Martial, xii, 50 ; cf. Olympiodorus in Phot., *Bibliothek.*, ed. Bekker, p. 63 A.
- 189, 5. hill. Vol. i, p. 114.
- 189, 8. winter. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 2, 152 sqq.
- 189, 10. Martial. Martial, xii, 66.
- 189, 12. double. *Id.*, iii, 52.
- 189, 13. more. Juv., 7, 178 sq. For 'covered drive' read 'colonnade'.
- 189, 14. Fronto. Gell., xix, 10, 1.
- 189, 21. Augustus. Semper, *Der Stil.*, i, 495 f.
- 189, 24. Numidian. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 6.
- 189, 29. Nero. Helbig, *Beitr. z. Erklärung d. campan. Wandbilder*, in *N. Rhein. Mus.*, xxv (1870), p. 397. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 2 sq.
- 189, 36. Balbus. Pliny, *ib.*, xxxvi, 60.
- 190, 1. alabaster. Stephan, *Aegypten*, p. 43 f.
- 190, 2. Claudius. Letronne, *Recueil*, i, 136 ss. (on porphyry).

- Bruzza, *AdI*, 1870, p. 169 (on the *granito bigio* in the *mons Claudianus*).
- 190, 4. Aurelius. *Novae lapicidinae Aurelianae*, Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 262, 8.
- 190, 5. forty. Bruzza, *op. cit.*
- 190, 8. alabaster. If. Martial says in the description of the same baths, vi, 42, 14, 15 :—  
 Siccos pinguis onyx anhelat aestus  
 et flamma tenui calent ophitae ;
- Stat., *Silv.*, i, 5, 36 certainly intentionally corrects this mistake of his rival with the words : *moeret onyx longe, queriturque exclusus ophites*.
- 190, 17. beneath. Vol. i, p. 45.
- 190, 21. sea. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 2, 147 sqq.
- 190, 23. marble. Martial, ix, 75, 6.
- 190, 35. Carrara. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 83 ff.
- 190, 36. 200 A.D. The dates on marble blocks begin with a very few exceptions in the year 64 and continue till 206. The numbers, which show how many blocks were hewn in a particular part of a quarry, or in the whole year, range to 1095 at Porta Santa. Bruzza, *op. cit.*
- 190, 37. periods. Bruzza, *op. cit.* Lists of the principal species in Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 620 ff. Reumont, *G. d. St. Rom*, i, 272. Layers of ivory, of sea-sand and pumice-stone for grinding and polishing the marble have been found there : *Not. d. scavi*, 1885, p. 224 ; 251. Richter, *Topogr.*, 853, 2.
- 190, 38. palaces. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 87, 4.
- 191, 3. well. Keller, *Römische Ansiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*, ii, in *Züricher antiquar. Mittheilungen*, xv, 50. Cf. the will of Langres (Wilmanns, *EI*, 315) in the section on luxury in funerals (ii, 216).
- 191, 6. Narbo. Stark, *Städteleben im südl. Frankreich*, p. 144 ff., 155 f.
- 191, 6. Vienne. *Ibid.*, pp. 576-579.
- 191, 10. glass. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 6.
- 191, 16. glass. Quoted from Semper, *op. cit.*, i, 504 ; for the first discovery no authority is mentioned, for the second Bartoldi, *Memorie*, 101, 102, 118. The emperor Charles IV, wishing to imitate the splendour of the castle of the Holy Grail, lined the walls of two chapels in the castle on the Karlstein (1348-57) with immense slabs of jasper, amethyst, onyx and cornelian, and had the joints between the stones heavily gilt ; he similarly adorned the chapel of Wenceslaus in the cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague. Schnaase, *G. d. K. d. M.-A.*, vi<sup>2</sup>, 281 ; Alwin Schultz, *Höf. Leben z. Zeit. d. Minnesinger*, ii, 424.
- 191, 17. ceilings. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 189.
- 191, 18. gold. *Ibid.*, xxxv, 2.
- 191, 24. set. Semper, *op. cit.*
- 191, 27. course. Seneca, *Epp.*, 90, 5.
- 191, 29. simple. Becker-Göll, i, 115.
- 191, 32. city. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 111.
- 191, 33. known. Richter, *Topogr.*, 831.



- 191, 33. House. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 31; cf. Becker, *Topogr.*, 431 ff.; Richter, 832.
- 192, 2. built. Martial, *Sp.*, 25 sq.
- 192, 6. pearls. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 17; cf. vol. ii, p. 182.
- 192, 7. decorate. *Ibid.*, xxxiv, 84.
- 192, 8. Fabullus. *Ibid.*, xxxv, 120. According to Mau, *Gesch. d. dekorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* (1882), p. 454, the rooms of the Golden House still preserved below the Baths of Titus (Richter, 909) are painted in the latest Pompeian style.
- 192, 16. shut. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 163.
- 192, 19. axis. Cf. Varro, *R. r.*, iii, 5.
- 192, 22. Otho. Sueton., *Otho*, c. 7. Louis XIV's expenditure on Versailles (1664-1690) is estimated at 107 millions in the currency of that time, corresponding to more than 400 millions at the present day. Saint-Simon reproached the King, *de s'être plu à tyranniser la nature*. Everything had to be created here, even earth had to be brought to take the place of swamp and drifting sand. From 1684 to 1685 22,000 soldiers and 6000 horses laboured there, and multitudes perished because of the unhealthy exhalations from the soil. Baudrillart, iv, 96-105.
- 192, 24. Vitellius. Cass. Dio, lxxv, 4.
- 192, 28. Esquiline. Martial, *Spect.*, 2.
- 192, 29. extant. Becker, *Topogr.*, 220, n. 341.
- 192, 30. Domitian. *Ibid.*, 433 f. Cf. on his buildings (palace, gardens [*Adonaea*] and stadium) Richter, 832.
- 192, 35. Midas. Plutarch, *Poplic.*, c. 15.
- 193, 2. soffits. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 2, 18-31. On *impetus* (23, *effusaeque impetus aulae Liberio campo*) in the sense of 'span of an arch', cf. Nohl, *Anal. Vitruv.*, p. 14.
- 193, 10. limitation. Tac., *A.*, iii, 32: *villarum infinita spatia*.
- 193, 13. residences. Vol. i, pp. 113, 329.
- 193, 17. improvements. Plutarch, *Marius*, c. 34. Cic., *Ad Att.*, iv, 2, 5 *consules . . . aestimarunt . . . (valde illiberaliter): Tusculanam villam quingentis milibus: Formianum HS. ducentis quinquaginta milibus*.
- 193, 25. wind. Horace, *Carm.*, ii, 15.
- 193, 27. land. Vol. i, p. 113.
- 193, 35. them. *Ibid.*
- 193, 38. Laurentum. *Ibid.*
- 193, 39. sesterces. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 20.
- 193, 41. Tibur. Martial, vii, 31, 9 and i, 12, 82.
- 194, 3. plateaus. Sallust, *Catilina*, 20, 11.
- 194, 9. Nereids. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 52 sqq. and 98 sqq.
- 194, 18. Baiae. Seneca, *Epp.*, 55, 6.
- 194, 21. waves. Ovid, *Am.*, iii, 126.
- 194, 22. Horace. Horace, *Carm.*, iii, 24, 3; the interpolation C., lii, 1, 33. *Epp.*, i, 1, 83. Manil., *Astr.*, iv, 262.
- 194, 23. Seneca. Seneca, *Epp.*, 89, 21.
- 194, 31. trees. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 23, 3.
- 194, 33. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17; v, 6.
- 195, 3. fountain. The fact that fountains were universal in gar-

dens is shown by Quintilian, viii, 3, 8: An ego fundum cultiorem putem, in quo mihi quis ostenderit lilia et violas et anemonas, [et] fontes surgentes, quam ubi plena messis aut graves fructu vites erunt? Sterilem platanum tonsasque myrtos quam maritam ulmum et uberes oleas praeoptaverim? Habebant illa divites.

- 195, 14. Sorrento. Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 269 ff.; Atlas, Pl. x; vol. i of this work, p. 334 and n.
- 195, 23. generals. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2.
- 195, 26. Puolo. Beloch, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
- 195, 27. Tibur. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3.
- 195, 36. veins. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3, 34: Picturata lucentia marmora vena; obviously the painting described in vol. ii, p. 189 is meant, and Bentley's conjecture *Luna* instead of *vena* is wrong.
- 196, 2. villa. *Ibid.*, 13.
- 196, 4. Italy. Niebuhr, *Vorlr. über R. G.*, iii, 209. Delete 'and . . . Italy'.
- 196, 10. villa. Brick marks in the walls of that place range from 123 to 137. Nibby, *Contorni di Roma*, iii, 651 in Gregorovius, *Kaiser Hadrian*<sup>2</sup>, 486, 4.
- 196, 14. Hades. *H. A.*, V. *Hadr.*, c. 26.
- 196, 18. Labyrinth. Vol. i, p. 354.
- 196, 18. Galen. Galen, *De simpl. medic. temperam. et facult.*, iv, 20, ed. K., xi, 692.
- 196, 25. scale. *H. A.*, Gordian. *tert.*, c. 32.
- 196, 38. ducats. Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, pp. 247, 254, 261 s.
- 197, 1. francs. Clément, *J. Coeur*, ii, 5 ss. and 261 ss.
- 197, 7. Rouen. Burckhardt in Kugler, *Gesch. der Baukunst*, iv, 2 (Lübke, *Die Renaissance in Frankreich*), p. 44. The price is given at 153,600 livres. According to Baudrillart, iii, 422 n. the *livre tournois* had the value of 12 francs in 1550 (*Ibid.*, p. 175, note 1, for the middle of the thirteenth century the *valeur intrinsèque* is stated to have been 19 francs 97 centimes, and the *puissance de l'argent* is estimated at five times as great as at present).
- 197, 7. Richelieu. Baudrillart, iv, 54.
- 197, 16. Vaux. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ch. 24.
- 197, 17. million. Baudrillart, iv, 75.
- 197, 25. Friendship. Lacroix, *XVIII siècle (institutions)*, p. 463.
- 197, 29. fairyland. H. Fechner, *Friedrich d. Gr. in Landeck*, in *Grenzboten*, 1878, no. 25, p. 451 f.
- 197, 29. Pulavy. v. d. Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 211.
- 197, 31. Tulczyn. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
- 197, 35. nothing. *Ibid.*, p. 198 f.
- 19, 37. Woburn. *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iii, 213, 216 ff.; v. Ompteda, *Woburn Abbey, Bilder aus dem Leben Englands* (1881), p. 78 ff.
- 198, 13. year. *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iii, 208 ff.
- 198, 14. Warwick. *Ibid.*, iii, 223 ff.
- 198, 24. ready. De Varigny, *Les grandes fortunes en Angleterre*, i, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, 15 Juin, 1888, p. 876.
- 198, 41. Alupka. Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, ii, 443.

- 199, 9. wilderness. E. M. de Vogué, *En Crimée*, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, 1 Décembre, 1886, p. 503.
- 199, 23. Caesar. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 46.
- 199, 25. Marius. Dio, lviii, 22.
- 199, 30. Horace. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 83-87.
- 199, 33. Strabo. Vol. i, p. 155.
- 199, 37. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Cupid. divitiar.*, c. 2. Cf. also Martial, iii, 48.
- 199, 38. Cetronius. Juv., 14, 86-95.
- 200, 4. Horace. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 3, 307 sqq.
- 200, 4. Martial. Martial, x, 79.
- 200, 16. Macaulay. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 1908, p. 360. A notice by H. Gurlitt on the rediscovery of the ancient quarries in Laconia by H. Siegel (d. 1883 in Athens) in *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 1886, p. 1555. [The marble of Pentelicus is now extensively quarried by an English company. TRL.]
- 200, 39. domain. De Varigny, *Les grandes fortunes en Angleterre*, i, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, 15 Juin, 1888, pp. 872 and 875.
- 201, 6. roses. Also in the Middle Ages roses and lilies were the most popular flowers (Alwin Schultz, *Höfisches Leben z. Z. d. Minnesinger*, i, 43); they were strewn at festivities (like mint and columbine) (*ibid.*, i, 65).
- 201, 6. violets. Cf. Appendix xxiii.
- 201, 8. Nero's. Vol. ii, p. 151.
- 201, 9. Verus. *Aelius Verus*, c. 5. Hehn<sup>4</sup>, p. 206.
- 201, 10. Varro's. Varro, *R. r.*, i, 16, 3. Cf. Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 219 f.
- 201, 12. city. Rodbertus, *Z. Gesch. d. agrar. Entwicklung Roms*, in Hildebrand's *Jahrb. d. Nationalökonomie*, 1864, p. 216.
- 201, 15. glass. Hehn, *loc. cit.*
- 201, 18. imported. Martial, vi, 80.
- 201, 32. addition. Hehn, pp. 419-424.
- 201, 37. England. Volz, *Beiträge zur Culturgesch.*, p. 505.
- 201, 39. Pegli. Peschel, *Abhandl. z. Erd- und Völkerkunde*, N. F., (ii), 478. Read 'specimen'.
- 202, 3. species. L. v. Ompteda, *Bilder aus dem Leben Englands*, p. 72.
- 202, 14. ideas. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 723.
- 202, 25. candelabra. If, as we may well assume, the pay of a tribune amounted already at that time to such a sum (vol. i, p. 138). Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 11: nec pudet tribunorum militarium salariis emere.
- 202, 29. agate. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 767 from King, *Hist. of Precious Stones*, p. 239. The boiling or heating of *murrea pocula* mentioned by Propert., v, 5, 26, was perhaps done to bring out or enhance the colours of the agate, a process still in use. Gergens in Fabricius, *Periplus d. Erythräischen Meeres*, p. 121.
- 202, 30. Nero. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 18 sq.
- 202, 33. Brühl. Vehse, p. 33, 326.
- 202, 34. Saxon. Lacroix, *XVIII siècle (Lettres etc.)*, p. 485.

- 202, 35. £750. Buss, *In Sachen unseres Kunstgewerbes, in Im neuen Reich*, 1870, no. 41, p. 532.
- 202, 36. Pliny. Pliny, *ib.*, 29 (alius et in his furor).
- 202, 39. goblets. *Ibid.*, xxvi, 195. A goblet for 200,000 S. (without mention of the material), Dio, lxxi, 5.
- 203, 2. material. Pliny, *ib.*, xxxiii, 147 (nec copia argenti tantum furit vita, sed valdius paene manipretiis). In English silver plate the artistic value is often ten times the bullion value; *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iv, 322.
- 203, 3. sum. Martial, iii, 62, 4: libra quod argenti milia quinque rapit.
- 203, 4. more. Pliny, *l. c.* In Martial's time just this sort of luxury was in favour. This was still the case in the fourth century. Paullin. Petrocord., *Eucharistic.*, 209, mentions as part of his house furniture: Argentumque magis pretio quam pondere praestans.
- 203, 7. Nero. Pliny, *N. h.*, viii, 196. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 537. A piece of tapestry worked with the needle after Carlo Dolce fetched 3000 guineas: *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iv, 125.
- 203, 18. Seneca. Pliny, *N. h.*, xiii, 91; Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 723.
- 203, 23. Martial's. Martial, iii, 62.
- 203, 29. palace. The house of the wife of Marshal Ney (une des plus somptueusement meublées) cost d'achat et d'ameublement 1,100,000 francs. *Mém. de Mme. de Rémusat*, ii, 383.
- 203, 35. value. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 19.
- 203, 38. bronzes. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 12, 2.
- 203, 39. heller. Roscher, *Grundlagen*, § 100, 7.
- 203, 40. Decameron. Vehse, *G. d. H.*, 21, 148.
- 204, 2. talent. Lucian, *Adv. indoctum*, 13 sq.
- 204, 16. ivory. Falke, *Die Kunst im Hause*, p. 120. Cf. also the description of the furniture of houses of well-to-do bourgeois in Paris in the fourteenth century: Baudrillart, iii, p. 226 ss.
- 204, 23. zecchini. Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, p. 260.
- 204, 25. week. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Karls V*, i (1885), p. 180.
- 204, 31. porcelain. Lacroix, *XVII siècle (Lettres etc.)*, p. 556. *XVIII siècle (Lettres etc.)*, p. 450.
- 205, 1. Paris. *Ibid.*, p. 459 s. The description (pp. 454-460) of all the rooms of a rich house (given in a novel *La petite maison*) is a true picture of the luxurious furnishing at the time of Louis XV.
- 205, 5. Barry. *Ibid.*, p. 471 ss.
- 205, 8. inside. *Ibid.*, p. 474.
- 205, 11. Bonaparte. Lacroix, *Directoire Consulat et Empire*, p. 516.
- 205, 15. Paris. Keyssler, *Reise*, i, 60.
- 205, 16. Pillnitz. Vehse, 32, 152. Cf. on the furnishing of the Esterhazy palace 42, 165; on the treasures of Clement Augustus, Elector of Cologne 45, 319. On the furnishing of elegant middle-class houses in Germany, Biedermann, *Deutschland im 18. Jahrh.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 533 f.
- 205, 19. bookcases. Baudrillart, iv, 604.
- 205, 32. masters. *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iii, 229 f.
- 205, 40. law. Vol. i, p. 97.



- 205, 41. plate. Manilius, v, 293 (perhaps before the prohibition): *jam vescimur auro*. Seneca, *Epp.*, 87, 7: *aurea supellex etiam in via sequitur*. Cf. also Appendix xlix.
- 206, 1. times. Golden service of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, murdered 1476: J. Burckhardt in Kugler, *Gesch. d. Baukunst*, iv, 314; of the Duke of Newcastle, Vehse, 22, 280.
- 206, 2. plate. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 696 ff.; Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 139 sqq.
- 206, 3. workmanship. Marquardt, *ibid.*, 680 f.
- 206, 11. obtained. Strabo, iii, 2, pp. 147-149. Cf. Marquardt, *ibid.*, 671, 4.
- 206, 13. abundance. Marquardt, *Hdb. d. v. A.*, iii<sup>1</sup>, 2, 160 f.
- 206, 15. 1700. For '1700' read '1600', and for '1800' read '1700'. Cf. Wm. Jacob, *Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of Metals*, 1831, ii, 131.
- 206, 21. used. Reumont, *L. de' Medici*, ii, 421 f.
- 206, 29. jewels. J. Burckhardt in Kugler, *Gesch. d. Baukunst*, iv, p. 315.
- 206, 31. gold. Baudrillart, iii, 395 ss.
- 206, 37. them. Janssen, *Gesch. d. deutschen Volks*, i, 347 f.
- 206, 40. spoons. W. Jacob, *op. cit.*, ii, 66.
- 206, 41. ducats. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Karls V*, i, 180.
- 207, 3. enormous. Vol. ii, p. 144.
- 207, 9. Peru. Baudrillart (from the memoirs of the Comtesse d'Aulnoy), iv, 215-217.
- 207, 12. plate. *Ibid.*, ii, 84.
- 207, 14. hidden. Read 'dented'.
- 207, 15. black. Lacroix, *XVIII siècle (Lettres et sciences)*, p. 532 s.
- 207, 21. millions. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ii, ch. 28.
- 207, 25. hands. Lacroix, *XVIII siècle (Lettres etc.)*, p. 500 s.
- 207, 28. silver. Baudrillart, iv, 266 s.
- 207, 28. cellars. W. Jacob, *op. cit.*, ii, 202 ff.
- 207, 35. gold. *Ibid.*
- 207, 37. gates. Sybel, *Gesch. d. franz. Revolution*, ii, 55.
- 207, 37. Sell. Justi, *Winckelmann*, i, 82.
- 207, 40. Wartenberg. Droysen, *Gesch. d. preuss. Politik*, iv, 1, 363 f.
- 208, 4. Golitzin. Brückner, *Beitr. zur Kulturgesch. Russlands im 17. Jahrh.*, p. 306 f.
- 208, 10. gold. From Karnovich (see n. on p. 136, 24).
- 208, 13. gold. E. v. d. Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 141.
- 208, 17. articles. W. Jacob, *op. cit.*, ii, 206.
- 208, 22. stationary. Baudrillart, iv, 655.
- 208, 28. Rotundus. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 696, 9. Of the 15 great silver dishes of Mummolus one was 470 lb. in weight. Gregor. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, viii, 3.
- 208, 36. East. Springer, *Paris*, p. 28 f. Also Alwin Schultz, *Das höf. Leben u. Z. der Minnesinger*, p. 315, believes that the gold and silver vessels of the noblemen in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were partly kept as reserve-funds.
- 208, 40. Sweden. Sam. Kiechels *Reisen* (1585-1589), in *Bibl. d. litt. Vereins in Stuttgart*. It is therefore very striking that

- at the wedding of Gustavus Adolphus tin vessels had to be borrowed. Grauert, *Christine, Königin von Schweden*, i, 531.
- 209, 5. harness. Passarge, *Das Weichseldelta*, p. 28 f. In 1806 wealthy farms there had gilt weather-cocks.
- 209, 7. articles. Baudrillart, iii, 265.
- 209, 14. exile. Moltke, *Briefe a. d. Türkei*, p. 49.
- 209, 16. pearl. *Gospel of St. Matthew*, xiii, 45. Cf. also vol. ii, p. 183.
- 209, 18. Galba. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 8.
- 209, 26. rate. Hultsch, *Metrol.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 312.
- 209, 27. exacted. Martial, xi, 23, 3, with my note.
- 209, 28. weight. *Intpp. ad Petron.*, cc. 31, 33, 59, 67. Wieseler, *Hildesheimer Silberfund*, p. 10 f.; cf. R. Schöne in *Philol.*, xxviii, 369 ff. and *Hermes*, iii, 469 ff. *CIL*, iii, 1, 1769; *ib.*, v, 2, 8242. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, 377. Hübner, *Archäol. Zeitg.*, xxxi (1874), p. 115, table 11.
- 209, 31. feasts. Cf. Appendix xlix.
- 209, 37. medler. Martial, viii, 71. For 'as big as a medler' read 'weighing respectively less than a sixth of a pound and as much as a needle'.
- 209, 39. mother. *Juv.*, ii, 17-20.
- 209, 39. Ambrose. Ambrose, *De Tobia*, 3, 10.
- 210, 7. Paullinus. Pliny, xxxiii, 143; cf. Nipperdey on Tac., *A.*, xiii, 53.
- 210, 14. Severus. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 34.
- 210, 23. anklets. Petron., c. 67. Trimalchio's wife, Fortunata, wears *compedes* 6½ lb. in weight, probably of silver.
- 210, 23. mirrors. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 160.
- 210, 23. Pompeii. Becker-Göll, ii, 375.
- 210, 30. Bernay. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 698, 3.
- 211, 2. dentistry. Also the Talmud speaks of false teeth fastened by gold and silver wire. Delitzsch, *Handwerkerleben z. Z. Jesu* (1868), p. 55.
- 211, 3. funeral. Wherever no references are mentioned cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 340-385.
- 211, 19. Tertulla. Tac., *A.*, iii, 76.
- 211, 28. Claudii. *Ibid.*, iv, 9.
- 211, 33. friends. Plutarch, *Cato m.*, c. 11. Henzen, 7177.
- 211, 34. heaps. Pliny, *N. h.*, xii, 83.
- 211, 38. pounds. Henzen, 7004, 7178 = *CIL*, xiv, 413. Three pounds at the burial of a boy of fourteen at Parentium (Istria), H., 7177. In the case of the expenditure of a mother at Parma for the burial of her daughter; *statua, odoramenta ex HSM M M M*, *CIL*, xi, 1, 1088, the 4000 S. apparently includes the price of both. At the burial of Jesus Christ 100 *litrae* (32.8 kg.) of a mixture of myrrh and aloes were used, *Joh.*, xix, 39. Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch. d. Juden*, p. 101 n.
- 211, 38. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xii, 65.
- 211, 40. fragrances. See note on vol. ii, p. 179, 33.
- 211, 41. Rome. Ten pounds *folei* (apparently *foliati*, *N. h.*, xiii, 15) at the *funus publicum* of a distinguished lady at Puteoli in 187 A.D., *IRN*, 2517 = *CIL*, x, 1784.

- 212, 2. Crispinus. Juv., 4, 109. Cf. also Martial, xi, 54.  
 212, 8. carriages. Plutarch, *Sulla*, c. 38.  
 212, 11. incense. Pliny, *N. h.*, xii, 83.  
 212, 17. perfumes. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 1, 210-214. Cf. ii, 1, 157-162 (Funeral of Glaucias, page of Atedius Melior), ii, 6, 85; (of Philetus, slave of Flavius Ursus), iii, 3, 33-37.  
 212, 22. flames. Herodian, iv, 2.  
 212, 23. pyres. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 49.  
 212, 29. Philetus. Stat., *Silv.*, 6, 62.  
 212, 36. ornaments. Wilmanns, *Ex. Inscr.*, 461.  
 212, 39. glass-work. Overbeck, *Pompeji*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 406 and 626.  
 213, 2. marble. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 50.  
 213, 8. Lucian. Lucian., *Philops.*, 27.  
 213, 14. pyre. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 2.  
 213, 20. fragrances. Plutarch, *Cato m.*, c. 11.  
 213, 24. pyramid. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 216.  
 213, 26. aediles. Mommsen, *StR.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 1, 510, 1.  
 213, 28. Day. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 50.  
 213, 29. purple. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 1, 225.  
 213, 33. obsequies. *CIL*, x, 1019 = *IRN*, 2337.  
 213, 33. *duumvir*. *CIL*, x, 1024 = *IRN*, 2339.  
 213, 36. 500. *CIL*, viii, 3079.  
 213, 39. sesterces. *IRN*, 2123 = *CIL*, x, 688.  
 214, 3. sesterces. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 35. Without doubt Jan is right in reading  $\overline{\text{xi}}$ ;  $\overline{\text{x}}$  (as Sillig reads) would be too small an amount to be mentioned as remarkable.  
 214, 4. Nero's. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 50.  
 214, 9. Tiber. *Id.*, *Vespasian*, c. 19.  
 214, 11. effect. On funereal luxury in the Middle Ages see Bau-drillart, iii, 613 s.  
 214, 15. times. My dissertation on the games in Marquardt's *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 554, 5 and 6.  
 214, 20. Arrius. Horace, *S.*, ii, 3, 243 sqq.  
 214, 25. family. Wilmanns, 2037 = *CIL*, i, 1199.  
 214, 32. Africa. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 34.  
 214, 35. games. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 37.  
 215, 1. classes. Wilmanns, 307 = Orelli, 1368.  
 215, 3. extant. Wilmanns, *Ind.*, ii, p. 695.  
 215, 8. ineffective. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, xii, 35 s.  
 215, 15. storeys. Wilmanns, 293 (aedes—hypogaeum). Brunn, *Monum. degli Aterii*, *AdI*, 1849, p. 388. Petersen, *Sepolcro s. via Latina*, *ib.*, 1860, p. 350.  
 215, 24. Sassina. Wilmanns, 316, 17 = *CIL*, i, 1418: singuleis in fronto p. x in agrum p. x.  
 215, 28. Rome. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 100.  
 215, 28. square. Wilmanns, 1375.  
 215, 30. Pompeii. *Id.*, 1936. Also 708 g (Hadria: tomb 13 x 24 ft. with garden). *Id.*, 557.  
 215, 31. Eutyches. *Memoriolam per ped. viginti in quadrato. Barnabei*, *Mitth. d. archäolog. Institut., Röm. Abtheil.*, ii (1887), p. 206. Cf. vol. i of this work, p. 188.  
 215, 32. 25 by 25. Wilmanns, 242 (Rome).

- 215, 33. Ostia. *Id.*, 282, 293. Information on the dimensions of the tombs at Aquileia from 6 × 6 to 160 × 300 ft., Pichler, *Virunum*, p. 119.
- 215, 34. acre. Fabretti, p. 223, n. 595 (300 × 196 ft.).
- 215, 34. more. Gruter, 399, 1 : huic monumento cedenti agri puri jugera x. *CIL*, xi, i, 3895 (Capena) ; tomb with *rosaria* and *viniole* ; at the end : et collige jug., i.e. one *jugerum* in all. *Ib.*, 3932 = Orelli, 3688 (—jugera agri Cutuleniani p. m. iiii ita uti depalatum est). *CIL*, xiv, 3342 (Praeneste) : [ager ad] aedifici defen[sionem relic]tus—p. m. jug. xi p. dc terrae cultae, praeterea et silvae p. m. jug. v.
- 215, 36. lodge. Petron., c. 71.
- 215, 38. ground. *CIL*, vi, 3, 23, 851. Cf. Appendix 1.
- 216, 7. dust. Martial, vii, 3, 5 ; x, 2, 9.
- 216, 10. foundation. Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*<sup>4</sup>, p. 402 f.
- 216, 11. Gabii. Wilmanns, 307.
- 216, 16. Langres. Kiessling, *Anecd. Basil.*, 1863. Huebner, *Iscr. lat.*, *AdI*, 1854, p. 203 ss. Wilmanns, 315.
- 216, 21. ashes. *CIL*, vi, 2, 13,830 : Caeciliae Sex. f. Justae—ossa—tuto tecta Tiburtino Lunense Lesbio lapillo.
- 216, 31. 1877–8. F. Hettner, *Rhein. Mus.*, xxxvi, 1881, p. 335 ff. ; cf. *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiv, 1887, pp. 257–261, and *Verhandl. der Philologenvers. in Trier*, 1879, p. 24 ff. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 105.
- 216, 34. Pilate. Stark, *Städteleben im südl. Frankreich*, p. 20 f.
- 217, 2. parents. Senz, *Grabmal der Julier zu St. Remy*, and Hübner, *Bildwerke*, in *Jahrb. d. archäol. Instit.*, iii, 1888, pp. 1–36 ; also *Antike Denkmäler*, plates 13–15. The inscription *Sex. L. M. Juliei c. f. parentibus suis*, *CIL*, xii, 1012.
- 217, 4. Augustus. Hübner, *Tarraco*, in *Hermes*, i, 127.
- 217, 6. cots. Lebas-Waddington, *Voy. archéol.*, on 2145 (p. 504) ; cf. 2381, 2412 K., 2474.
- 217, 15. officer. *Rev. archéol.*, vii, 1850, p. 386, p. 140 ; cf. vi, 797.
- 217, 21. Berbers. H. Barth, *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Centralafrika*, i, 39 ; cf. 73–75, 121.
- 217, 29. pyramid. *Ibid.*, pp. 125–133.
- 217, 33. deserts. *Ibid.*, pp. 164–166.
- 217, 36. inscriptions. Cf. Appendix 1.
- 218, 7. Praetorian. *BdI*, 1885, p. 72 (ex den. l. milibus). Cf. Appendix 1.
- 218, 14. borrowed. Gregorovius, *Kaiser Hadrian*<sup>2</sup>, p. 502 ff. Hirschfeld, *Kaiserliche Grabstätten in Rom*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1886, p. 1160, 62. O. Richter, *Topogr. von Rom*, in Iwan Müller's *Hdb. d. Kl. Alterthumsw.*, 1888, iii, 880.
- 218, 17. Procopius. Procop., *Bell. Goth.*, i, 22.
- 218, 25. buried. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 1161.
- 218, 36. preservation. De Rossi, *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, p. 355 s.
- 219, 1. slaves. Strabo, xiv, p. 668 : πλοῦσιοι γενόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ τὴν Καρχηδόνος καὶ Κορίνθου κατασκευὴν οἰκεταῖς ἐχρῶντο πολλαῖς.
- 219, 16. squandered. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 414.
- 219, 20. Moscow. Haxthausen, *Studien über Russland*, i, 59. On the enormous number of servants kept by the Spanish grandees



(the duchess of Ossuña had 500 women and girls in her service) see Baudrillart, iv, 225 s.

- 219, 28. huntsmen. *Land und Leute in Rumänien*, in *Pr. Jahrb.*, 1866, July, p. 65. Ce luxe s'est beaucoup réduit toutefois, depuis l'émancipation des Tsigâines surtout, et il est rare de trouver, aujourd'hui, plus d'une vingtaine de domestiques des deux sexes dans les maisons où ils se comptaient, jadis, par centaines. French translation of this work by Ch. Vogel: *Mœurs Romaines* etc., iii, 139 (note du traducteur). Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, ii, 150: Nos colonies, toute proportion gardée, nous donnent une image de cette multitude d'esclaves dans le service intérieur.
- 219, 32. garments. Henzen-Orelli, iii, Index, p. 180 s.
- 219, 35. hours. Juvenal, io, 216.
- 219, 39. twenty. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 3.
- 219, 39. Secundus. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 43.
- 220, 2. Democritus. Stob., *Florileg.*, lxii, 45.
- 220, 6. one. Mommsen, *RG*, iii<sup>5</sup>, 474.
- 220, 9. emperors. Vol. i, p. 53.
- 220, 16. Seneca. Quintilian, xi, 128.
- 220, 27. down. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 12, 6.
- 220, 32. attendant. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 34.
- 220, 34. Sabinus. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v, 156 s. takes him to be C. Calvisius C. f. Sabinus, cos. 4 B.C.
- 221, 3. slaves. Seneca, *Epp.*, 27, 5-8.
- 221, 10. cupbearers. Marquardt, *Prl. d. R.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 147.
- 221, 11. hair. Petron., 27.
- 221, 14. guests. Seneca, *Ad Seren.*, 11, 3; Stat., *Silv.*, v, 5, 66.
- 221, 15. chatter. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 153, 1. The children whom some people used to lay at night on their abdomens to assist digestion (Galen, xi, 727) were doubtless also slaves.
- 221, 16. Courts. For 'previous centuries' read 'recent periods'. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 455. Cf. e.g. Vehse, *G.d.H.*, 33, 141, on the dwarfs and giants of Augustus the Strong. Lady M. W. Montague writes in 1717 (letter 21): All the (German) princes keep favourite dwarfs.
- 221, 23. cripplings. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 152, 4. Cf. Appendix ii.
- 222, 17. latter. Cf. Appendix v.
- 222, 24. Höck. Höck, *Röm. Gesch.*, i, 2, 288.
- 222, 31. Roscher's. Roscher, *Ansichten*, p. 450 ff.
- 223, 3. all. *Ibid.*, pp. 431-449.
- 223, 18. Severus. *H. A.*, *Alex. Sever.*, c. 17.
- 223, 20. century. Paulinus Petrocord., *Eucharistic.*, 212, numbers coaches among the accessories of his splendidly furnished house at Burdigala (tunc et carpentis evectio tuta decoris).
- 223, 22. cities. Cf. Appendix vi.
- 223, 25. Romans. Nissen, *Pompej. Studien*, p. 534. Cf. *CIL*, i 1166 (Aletrium: semitas—omnis); i, 1231 (Aeclanum—crepidinem). Orelli, 3844 = Henzen, 6614 = *CIL*, v, 1, 2116 (Tarvisii: viam cum crepidinibus). *CIL*, ix, 442 (Venusia) N. N. aed. viam et crepidin. ob honorem str. xiv, 4012 (Ficulae):—clivum stravi—cum marginibus. Petron., c. 9: vidi

- Gitona in crepidine semitae stantem. *CIL*, viii, 7046 (Cirta) :  
viam com(meanti)bus incomm(odam) partim adstruct[is crepi]-  
dinibus. In Sicca Veneria is 'a part of an old street with  
pavements like those in Pompeii'. Barth, *Wanderungen durch  
die Küstenländer des Mittelmeers*, i, 224. *CIG*, 2570 (Lyttus in  
Crete) : the emperor Claudius empowered the proconsul C.  
Paconius Agrippinus to construct τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀνδροβάμους.
- 223, 27. Nature. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 431.
- 223, 29. Southerner. Vol. i, p. 425 f.
- 223, 32. splendour. Vol. i, p. 18.
- 223, 35. veneer. Marquardt, *Prl.*, 722 f. The imitation jewels  
have been discussed above. The art of gilding (Pliny, *N. h.*,  
xxxiii, 61) was still very backward (W. Jacob, *Production and  
Consumption of Metals*, 1831, ii, 143).
- 224, 14. builders. Lanciani, *Acque*, cap. 16, § 14. On the aqueduct  
of Alatri, *CIL*, x, p. 980. Bassel, *AdI*, 1881, p. 204 sqq.
- 224, 16. Canosa. Rein, *Aquaeductus*, *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 1376.
- 224, 17. purse. Mommsen, *Edict Augusti über die Wasserleitungen  
von Venafro*, in *Zeitschr. f. gesch. Rechtsw.*, xv, 305 f.
- 224, 22. poor. *Ibid.*, 316 f.
- 224, 32. drinking. Liban., i, 354 K. in Mommsen, *RG*, v, 458.
- 224, 34. Smyrna. Vol. i, p. 348. Pöhlmann, *Übevölkerung d.  
antiken Grossstädte*, p. 150, 2.
- 225, 4. water. *Ibid.*, *Bell. Alexandrin.*, c. 5.
- 225, 7. say. Cf. my essay *Das römische Afrika*, in *Deutsche Rund-  
schau*, ix, 4, p. 55 f.
- 225, 7. Verecunda. *CIL*, viii, 4205.
- 225, 8. Lambaesis. *Ib.*, 2660, 2572.
- 225, 10. legion. *Ib.*, 2658.
- 225, 13. skill. *Ib.*, 2728.
- 225, 15. conditions. *Ib.*, 51.
- 225, 21. left. Barth, *Wanderungen*, i, 312 f.
- 225, 24. aqueduct. Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im N.-W. von Africa*, iv,  
134.
- 225, 26. elsewhere. Boissière, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la con-  
quête . . . Romaine dans le nord de l'Afrique*, 1878, p. 72.
- 225, 31. course. Vol. i, p. 381.
- 226, 1. people. Auson., *Cl. urb.*, 14.
- 226, 2. Bordeaux. Stark, *Städteleben im südl. Frankreich*, p. 221.
- 226, 5. Nîmes. *Ibid.*, p. 97 ff. and 106.
- 226, 6. *savant*. Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 446 (Marquardt, *Prl.*,  
ii<sup>2</sup>, 716).
- 226, 19. long. Bauer, *Die Wasserwerke Roms im Anf. d. Kaiser-  
zeit*, in *Vierteljahrsschr. f. Volks- und Kulturgesch.*, lii, 1876, p.  
87 ff.
- 226, 26. long. *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxii, 1886, pp. 212-214; v.  
Veith, *Die röm. Wasserleitung von der Eifel zum Rhein*, *ibid.*,  
lxxx, 1885, pp. 2 and 21.
- 226, 29. admired. Reuleaux, *Remagen im Mittelalter u. d. Römer-  
zeit*, *ibid.*, lxxx, p. 176 ff.
- 226, 30. Rome. Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium* (1483), iii, 61 : Non-  
nulli volunt dicere quod non fuerit aquae ductus cum urbs

alias abundet aquis Tiberis, sed per illum ductum de Neapoli intromittebatur olim vinum in urbem et oleum per longum viae spatium.

- 226, 30. Cologne. C. A. Eick, *Die röm. Wasserleitung aus der Eifel nach Cöln* (Bonn, 1867). Cf. Bursian in *Litt. Centralblatt*, 1869, p. 150 and his *Aventicum Helvetiorum*, Heft i, p. 12, n. 1.
- 226, 37. Italy. Gell., x, 3: public baths at Cales, Teanum Sidicinum and Ferentum in a speech of Gracchus.
- 226, 39. fee. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17, 26 of a *vicus* near *Laurentum*: in hoc balnea meritoria tria.
- 227, 3. slaves. Orelli-Henzen, 2287, 6985.
- 227, 12. fat. Huebner and Mommsen, *Lex metalli Vipascensis*, in *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, 165-189.
- 227, 12. Galen. Galen, xiii, 597, prescribes in a certain case to abstain four days from bathing: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπόλωλεν ἐν τῷ νῦν βίῳ ἢ καρτερίᾳ πάντων (τῶν παλαιῶν?) ἀνθρώπων, ἤδη μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς καθ' ἡμέραν εἰωθότων λούεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν μὴ πάνυ τρυφῶντας, εἰεν δ' ἂν οἱ πένητες οὗτοι, πειθομένους ἔχομεν ὥς τὸ πολὺ, τοὺς πλουσίους δὲ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι πολὺ δύνανται ἢ δυσπειθοῦντας ἢ τελείως ἀπειθοῦντας.
- 227, 18. week. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 12.
- 227, 21. Doberan. Roscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-439.
- 227, 23. Romans. Cf. vol. i, p. 384 ff.
- 227, 26. country. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 439.
- 227, 28. year. Vol. i, p. 329 f.
- 227, 30. value. *Ibid.*, p. 386 f.
- 227, 34. literally. Becker-Göll, ii, 286.
- 227, 35. windows. Vol. i, p. 10 f.
- 227, 37. public. *Ibid.*
- 227, 38. gardens. *CIL*, x, 5971: iiiivir. j. d. cruptam et locum ubi crupta est et arcam ubi viridia sunt municipio Signino de sua peq. deder. Also around temples parks and garden-parterres were frequent, if not usual: *CIL*, viii, 10,627 (Tebessa): coronatus cistifer lucum a solo cum signis et ornamentis suis.
- 228, 3. laboriously. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 441.
- 228, 25. duty. Martial, ix, 22.
- 228, 28. frequent. E.g. Gruter, 434, 1; Orelli, 2172, 5323, 6759; *CIL*, ii, 1573, 2782, 4468; *CIA*, iii, 687. Hirschfeld, *Philologus*, xxix (1869), p. 84. Cf. Orelli, 114.
- 228, 31. Augustus. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 142 and 144, Hirschfeld, *VG*, 122, 3; *CIL*, xiv, 350 (Ostia).
- 228, 32. aged. Paul. D., xxx, 122 pr. Hoc amplius, quod in alimenta infirmæ aetatis, puta senioribus, vel pueris puellisque relictum fuerit.
- 228, 32. burial-places. Orelli, 4404, *CIL*, v, 2, 5228.
- 228, 38. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 13.
- 228, 40. enlargement. *Ibid.*, i, 8, 2; *CIL*, xi, 1, 2704 (Volsinii): . . . is bybliotheam a solo . . . mque libris et statuis . . . (t)estamento dedit.
- 229, 9. instead. Pliny, *Ad Tr.*, 116 K.; Cic., *Cluent.*, 60, 160; Apulej., *Apol.*, 539.

- 229, 11. legacy. *D.*, xxxiii, 1, 23; Orelli, 80, 81. *IRN*, 4869 = *CIL*, ix, 2226.  
 229, 14. expressions. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 37.  
 229, 19. 400,000. Petron., c. 45.  
 229, 32. *denarii*. Lebas-Waddington, 674, 648.  
 229, 41. all. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 449.  
 230, 21. Mommsen. Mommsen, *Die röm. Schweiz*, p. 24. *Id.*, *RG*, v, 5: 'If an angel of the Lord were to weigh them in the balances, and determine whether the district ruled by Severus Antoninus was governed with more intelligence and humanity then or now, it is very doubtful whether the decision would be in favour of the present time'.

### III. THE ARTS.

- 231, 20. Rimini. *CIL*, xi, 1, 367.  
 231, 22. countries. On the Roman bridge spanning the giant gorge of the Rummel, which formed the only entrance to Constantine until it fell in 1857, see Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im N.-W. von Africa*, iii, 28 f.  
 231, 23. principle. Goethe, *Werke*, 23, 140.  
 232, 7. existed. Rodbertus in Hildebrand's *Jahrb. f. Nationalökonomie*, v, 268.  
 232, 9. provinces. Cf. Appendix lii.  
 232, 21. spring up. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 19-21; cf. 373 f. (Cappadocia, Armenia Minor) and Mommsen, *RG*, v, 65 f.  
 232, 29. Gallienus. Mommsen, *CIL*, viii, p. 284 (erection of the Capitol) and 423; Hirschfeld, *Oesterreich. Mitth.*, v, 1881, p. 214.  
 232, 41. Algeria. Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 137 f.  
 233, 3. villages. Wilmanns, *Die röm. Lagerstädte*, *Comment. Mommsen*, pp. 190-212. Mommsen, *Die röm. Lagerstädte*, *Hermes*, vii, 299 ff.  
 233, 4. town. Bergk, *Westdeutsche Ztschr.*, i, 498-515.  
 233, 7. rights. Domazewski, *Oesterreich. Mitth.*, x, 1886, p. 14 ff.  
 233, 11. camp. Tac., *H.*, iv, 22: *opera haud procul castris in modum municipii exstructus*, cf. i, 67: *longa pace in modum municipii exstructus locus* (Baden near Zürich).  
 233, 14. town. J. Becker, *Urgeschichte von Castel Mainz u. Heddernheim*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxvii, 1879, p. 1 ff.  
 233, 16. way. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 21.  
 233, 19. East. Aristid., *Or.*, xiv, pp. 223-225 (dated 145 by Waddington, *Vie du rhéteur Aristide*, *Mémoires de l'Inst.*, 1867, p. 255).  
 234, 1. Aelian. Aelian, *V. hist.*, ix, 16.  
 234, 4. Marcus. Höck, *Gesch. Roms*, i, 2, 151.  
 234, 9. Rome. Vol. i, p. 2.  
 234, 10. Empire. Auson., *Cl. urb.*, 6.  
 234, 11. Vibo. Appian, *B. C.*, iv, 3.  
 234, 15. Procopius. Procop., *BG*, ii, 7.  
 234, 18. Naples. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 5, 81 sqq. Vol. i, p. 333.  
 234, 20. Sicily. Pliny, *N. h.*, iii, 88; Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 244.



- 234, 21. Centuripae. Cic., *Verr.*, iv, 23, 50.  
 234, 22. Ausonius. Auson., *Cl. urb.*, II.  
 234, 23. Corsica. Pliny, *ib.*, iii, 80.  
 234, 24. Gaul. Strabo, v, 1, 12, p. 218 C.  
 234, 27. Cremona. Dio, lxxv, 15; Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 33 sq.  
 234, 29. boats. *CIL*, xi, 1, p. 6.  
 234, 31. Procopius. Procop., *B. Goth.*, ii, 7 sq., 21.  
 234, 33. Witichis. Pöhlmann, *Übervölkerung d. antiken Grossstädte*, p. 19, 4.  
 235, 11. Gaul. Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 16. Cf. Appendix v, p. 22. Cf. my essay, *Gallien und seine Cultur unter den Römern*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, iv, 3 and Hirschfeld, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Narbonens. Provinz*, in *Westdeutsche Ztschr.*, 1889, p. 10 ff.  
 235, 14. Mela. Pompon. Mela, ii, 6, 75-77.  
 235, 16. traces. *CIL*, xii, pp. 160 and 511.  
 235, 17. arch. *Ib.*, p. 130 sq.  
 235, 18. Arausio. *Ib.*, p. 152.  
 235, 22. Apollinaris. Apollinar. Sidon., *C.*, 23, 1.  
 235, 23. seen. *CIL*, xii, p. 521<sup>b</sup>.  
 235, 26. Antonines. *Ibid.*, p. 383.  
 235, 30. century. *Ib.*, p. 83 sq.; Auson., *Cl. urb.*, 8. Vol. i of this work, p. 314. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 10.  
 235, 31. 25,000. See Appendix xxxvi.  
 235, 35. walls. Auson., *Cl. urb.*, 12; Ammian., xv, 11, 4; *CIL*, xii, p. 626<sup>a</sup>.  
 235, 39. *porticus*. *CIL*, xii, p. 218<sup>b</sup>; Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alten Geogr.*, p. 439.  
 235, 40. Gaul. Euseb., *H. eccl.*, v, 1.  
 235, 5. itself. O. Hirschfeld, *Lyon in der Römerzeit* (1878).  
 236, 7. recovered. Herodian, iii, 7, 5. Neither Ausonius nor Ammianus names it among the important towns of Gaul.  
 236, 8. Lutetia. Vales., *Gallia christ.*, p. 438 sq.; Julian, *Misopog.*, p. 340.  
 236, 11. Panthéon. Cf. Append. xxxvi, p. 224.  
 236, 13. gateways. Kiepert, *op. cit.*, p. 445, 5.  
 236, 16. 131. Edm. Thomas (d. 1660), *Hist. de l'antique cité d'Autun*, pp. 32, 61, 63, 215.  
 236, 18. Auch. P. Mela, iii, 20.  
 236, 20. Atlantic. Kiepert, *op. cit.*, p. 571.  
 236, 23. regular. Auson., *Cl. urb.*, 14.  
 236, 24. Divona. Cf. vol. ii, p. 225.  
 236, 27. governor. Strabo, iv, 4, 5; Jerome, *Epp.*, 91; Ammian., xv, 11, 1.  
 236, 34. town. Kiepert, p. 526.  
 236, 38. earlier. Hettner, *D. röm. Trier. Verhandlg. der Philologen-versamml.*, 1879, pp. 15-28. Hübner, *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxx, 1885, pp. 117-121, ascribes the *porta Nigra* to the first fortification under Claudius.  
 236, 41. Cologne. Asbach, *Die Anfänge der Ubierstadt*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxvi, 1888, p. 121 ff.  
 237, 1. bank. Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 63.  
 237, 10. city. Cf. note on vol. ii, p. 233, 11.

- 237, 15. spectators. Bursian, *Aventicum Helvetiorum*, in *Mith. d. antiq. Ges. in Zürich*, vol. xvi, i, 1 (1867).
- 237, 18. Antonines. Cf. vol. ii, p. 232.
- 237, 20. prosperity. Hübner, *Tarraco u. s. Denkmäler*, in *Hermes*, i, 77 ff.
- 237, 22. Augustus. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 257, 2.
- 237, 24. sesterces. Strabo, iii, p. 168; p. 173 sq.
- 237, 32. ruins. Kiepert, p. 488.
- 237, 34. century. Cf. my essay, *Das römische Afrika*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, ix, 4 and 5.
- 237, 35. hamlets. Jung, *Roman. Landschaften*, p. 121.
- 237, 41. Africa. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 477 ff.; Pliny, *N. h.*, v, 29.
- 238, 2. cities. Marquardt, 478, 31.
- 238, 7. rights. *Ibid.*, 479, 1 and 2.
- 238, 8. explained. Cf. vol. ii, p. 232.
- 238, 11. century. Marquardt, 479 f.
- 238, 12. statuary. *Explorat. scientif. de l'Algérie. Archéol.*, pl. 18 ss. *Beaux arts*, pl. 46 ss.
- 238, 15. prosperity. *CIL*, viii, p. 173 s.
- 238, 21. Rome. *Id.*, p. 133; Herodian, vii, 6, 1; iv, 3, 7. On Utica (*ἡ δευτέρα μετὰ Καρχηδόνα*, Strabo) *CIL*, viii, p. 149.
- 238, 24. standing. Barth, *Wanderungen*, i, 114 f.; Guérin, *Voy. archéol. dans la régence de Tunis*, ii, 282-284 (Uthina). *Ibid.*, ii, 354 ff. (Seressita). *CIL*, viii, p. 489 (Thubursicum).
- 238, 24. Sufetula. Guérin, i, 324; 369 ss.
- 238, 30. *duwars*. Hesse-Wartegg, *Tunis, Land und Leute*, p. 158 f.
- 238, 35. columns. Barth, *Wanderungen*, pp. 310-312.
- 238, 35. Thamugadi. *CIL*, viii, p. 259.
- 238, 36. Thagaste. *Ibid.*, p. 508.
- 238, 37. Madauri. *Ibid.*, p. 472<sup>b</sup>.
- 239, 2. preserved. Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im Nordwesten v. Africa*, ii, 306-314.
- 239, 5. Zershel. Barth, *Wanderungen*, i, 56.
- 239, 7. hill. Duruy, *Hist. Rom.*, v, 200, 1.
- 239, 10. population. Herodian, vii, 4.
- 239, 10. Vandals. Procop., *Anecd.*, 18.
- 239, 13. 8,500,000. Cf. Appendix xlv, p. 271.
- 239, 17. 1,000,000. Vol. i, p. 355.
- 239, 18. Arsinoe. Wessely, *Kl. Mitth. a. d. Sammlung d. Papyrus Erzhr. Rainer*, ii, iii, 1887, p. 261.
- 239, 20. episcopates. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 439, 12.
- 239, 23. whole. Cf. vol. i, p. 309.
- 239, 25. long. O. Mueller, *Diss. Antiochenae*.
- 239, 26. Libanius. Mommsen, *RG*, ii, 458 f. Cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 224.
- 239, 32. houses. Mommsen, *Obss. epigr.*, in *Eph. epigr.*, iv, 1881, p. 538.
- 240, 5. well. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 469 f.
- 240, 8. East. Julian, *Epp.*, 24, p. 392 C.
- 240, 10. Zeus. Liban., ed. R., i, 594, 14.
- 240, 21. ruins. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 423, 428 f., 441 f.
- 240, 23. houses. Vol. i, p. 5.

- 240, 24. Berytus. Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 18, 9.  
 240, 26. houses. Strabo, xvi, 753, 758.  
 240, 27. 70 A.D. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 121, 2.  
 240, 27. Caesarea. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, i, 255, 283, 5.  
   Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, p. 206 ff.  
 240, 31. century. *Expos. tot. mundi*, 25.  
 240, 38. belong. Lebas-Waddington, p. 491.  
 241, 29. repair. All the above is from Mommsen, *RG*, v, 482-485, for the most part literally.  
 241, 36. necropolis. R. Dörrens, *Das Bab el Amman in Gerasa*, Erbkam's *Ztschr. f. Bauwesen*, xvi (1866), p. 350.  
 242, 1. buildings. Lebas-Wadd., *op. cit.*  
 242, 5. centuries. Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. A. Geogr.*, p. 165.  
 242, 10. dead. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 485.  
 242, 13. mention. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 340, 3. On Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 16, 4 see Appendix v.  
 242, 17. Apamea. Kiepert, pp. 104, 107 f.  
 242, 26. king. Tac., *A.*, iv, 55 (xiv, 27: ex inlustribus Asiae urbibus Laodicea). Strabo, xii, p. 578 C. Gibbon, *History*, ch. ii, 81.  
 242, 28. Pergamus. Galen, v, 49.  
 242, 30. Asia. Pliny, *N. h.*, ii, 120, 125.  
 242, 33. beautiful. Add 'in the province'. Vol. i, p. 348.  
 242, 37. Stratonicea. G. Hirschfeld, *Bericht über eine Reise im südwestlichen Klein-Asien*, in *Zeitschr. f. Erdkunde*, xiv (1879), pp. 311-314.  
 242, 40. Vespasian. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 348 f.  
 243, 2. world. Vol. i, p. 345.  
 243, 6. Asia. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 327.  
 243, 9. Diocletian. *De mortib. persecut.*, c. 7.  
 243, 10. Rome. Ammian., xxii, 9, 3.  
 243, 13. beauty. Liban., iii, p. 339, ed. Reiske.  
 243, 14. Trapezus. Kiepert, pp. 92, 93.  
 243, 17. century. Zonaras, xii, 23, ed. Dindorf, iii, 141.  
 243, 22. Justinian. Procop., *De aedific.*, iii, 4 (ed. Dindorf, iii, p. 254).  
 243, 24. world. The following is taken, for the most part literally, from G. Hirschfeld, *Bericht über eine Reise in Kleinasien*, in *Zeitschr. f. Erdkunde*, vol. xiv, pp. 279-320.  
 245, 27. city. For the most part literally from Mommsen, *RG*, v, 327 f. Benndorf and Niemann, *Reise in Lykien und Karien*, i, 58 ff.  
 245, 34. ruins. Herodian., iii, 1, 6 sq., iii, 6, 9. Dio, lxxiv, 10 ss. Frick, *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 2618 (Byzantium) considers it impossible that the walls extended 40 *stadia*, but by measuring the very numerous salient and re-entrant angles (mentioned by Dio) this figure might well be obtained.  
 245, 37. Goths. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 282.  
 245, 38. Hadrian. Kiepert, *op. cit.*, p. 329; Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 315.  
 245, 39. Lucian. Lucian, *Scytha*, c. 9; cf. *Asin.*, c. 46.  
 246, 12. baptistery. Kiepert, p. 359. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

- 246, 19. besides. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter den Römern*, ii, 438.
- 246, 20. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Sulla*, c. 15, 5.
- 246, 23. Corinth. Vol. i, p. 342.
- 246, 28. populous. Mommsen, p. 271 f.
- 246, 39. slain. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 31-33. Cf. Huebner, *CIL*, vii, pp. 21 and 23 sq.
- 246, 41. Wroxeter. Kiepert, p. 531.
- 247, 3. temples. Huebner, *CIL*, vii, p. 24.
- 247, 4. inscriptions. *Ib.*, p. 332.
- 247, 8. followed. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 20.
- 247, 11. huts. Dio, ix, 33.
- 247, 15. 250 A.D. Herzog, *Die römischen Niederlassungen auf württemberg. Boden, in Jahrb. d. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl.*, lix (1876), p. 48.
- 247, 16. settlements. Stälin, *Gesch. Württembergs*, i, 104-109.
- 247, 21. Belgica. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 145.
- 247, 21. Wiesbaden. Kiepert, p. 522.
- 247, 24. Augusta. Tac., *Germ.*, c. 41.
- 247, 26. Perlach. Cf. Appendix xxxvi, p. 194.
- 247, 37. elements. Kiepert, p. 365; Mommsen, p. 180 f.; Fritz Pichler, *Virunum*, 1888.
- 248, 1. former. Vol. ii, p. 233.
- 248, 10. Hadrian. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 186-188. On the newest excavations in Carnuntum cf. *Bericht des Vereins Carnuntum f. d. Jahre 1887 und 88* (Wien, 1889). On Savaria see Benndorf and Hirschfeld, *Oesterr. Mitt.*, i, 147.
- 248, 18. Servia. Kiepert, p. 331.
- 248, 21. Troesmis. Mommsen, 194 f. and 207.
- 248, 31. Transylvania. Neigebauer, *Dacien*, p. 5.
- 248, 40. cities. Jung, *Römer und Romanen*, pp. 92-97.
- 249, 2. architects. Pliny, *Ad Trajan. Ep.*, 40, ed. K. (cf. 18 and 62).
- 249, 4. armies. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 368; Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 553, 6.
- 249, 5. numerous. *CIL*, vi, 9151-9154. Becker, *Röm. Inschr. am Mittelrhein*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, liii, liv (1873), p. 146 f. A *praefectus architectus* (Concordia), *CIL*, v, 1, 1886. Architectus, cui maxima erat cura publicarum fabricarum, Augustine, *Conf.*, vi, 9, 15. Promis, *Gli architetti e l'architettura presso i Romani*, in *Mem. dell' acad. di Torino*, S. ii, xxvii (1873), pp. 1-187 mentions from inscriptions, p. 86 ss., 29 civil architects (13 Roman citizens, 13 freedmen, 3 slaves) and 13 military architects (adetti agli arsenali ed agli eserciti, tutti soldati e cittadini Romani).
- 249, 14. Hellenic. Herodian, iii, 2, 8.
- 249, 16. capital. Gell., xvi, 13.
- 249, 20. Tuscus. Bormann, *Var. obss. de antiq. Rom. (Ind. Marburg. aestiv. 1883, p. 5)* and *CIL*, xi, 1, p. 76 sq.
- 249, 21. Salerii. *CIL*, xi, 1, 3126.
- 249, 22. Ostia. *Ib.*, xiv, 324 (Campus Martis).
- 249, 24. Vatican. De Rossi, *Nuove osservazioni intorno la topogr.*



- Puteolana*, in *Bull. Nap.*, N. S., ii, p. 156. Henzen-Orelli, vol. iii, index, p. 169 sq.
- 249, 28. colonies. Castan, *Le Capitole de Vesontio et les Capitols provinciaux du monde Romain*, in *Mém. lus à la Sorbonne*, 1869, pp. 47-77 (where 24 Capitols are enumerated), and in his *Les Capitols provinciaux du monde Romain*, 1886 (only known to me from De Rossi and Gatti, *Miscellanea*, in *Bull. comun. di R.*, xv, 1887, pp. 66-68), proves the statement in the text against Kuhfeldt, *De capitoliis imperii Romani* (Regim. 1882), by citing 40 cases of Capitols, to which De Rossi, *loc. cit.*, adds those of Arsinoe, Nicopolis in Lower Moesia and Caralis (church of S. Nicolao in Cap.). Jordan had already written to the same effect, *Die Marsyasstatue auf dem Forum zu Rom* (1882), p. 18 f.: 'Little Rome, the *colonia civium Romanorum* received as a symbol, in the eastern half of the empire Marsyas, in the west and south, as in Italy, the Capitol'. Marsyas in Africa, *Eph. epigr.*, v, pp. 549 and 551 (1264 and 1269). The *signum lupae cum insignibus suis* as a symbol of Roman citizenship, at the end of the second or beginning of the third century, in the village of Aurelia Vina, which was raised to the rank of a *municipium*, *CIL*, viii, 958.
- 249, 29. Trèves. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 36.
- 249, 32. *operum*. Henzen-Orelli, Ind., p. 161. Cf. *AdI*, p. xxiii, p. 15.
- 249, 33. completion. Mommsen, *Stadtrecht v. Salpensa u. Malaca*, in *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Ges. Ph. hist. Classe*, iii, 445 f.
- 249, 35. Plutarch. Plutarch, *An vitiositas etc.*, c. 3.
- 249, 41. erections. Rein, *StRE*, v, 229.
- 250, 4. beautiful. Pliny, *Ad Tr. Epp.*, 23 sq., 70 sq.
- 250, 9. Pliny. *Ibid.*, 37 sq.
- 250, 12. forum. *Ibid.*, 49.
- 250, 22. baths. *Ibid.*, 39.
- 250, 25. amenity. *Ibid.*, 90 sqq.
- 250, 28. city. *Ibid.*, 94 sq.
- 250, 33. Lusitania. Huebner, *CIL*, ii, pp. 89-96.
- 250, 34. money. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 180-183. Cf. *Digg.*, i, 12, 6, § 2.
- 250, 40. Pompeii. *IRN*, 2378 = *CIL*, x, 1074.
- 251, 3. sevirate. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 180-183. and 206.
- 251, 4. Calama. Henzen-Orelli, 6001.
- 251, 8. Justinus. *Ib.*, 7080.
- 251, 13. market. *Ib.*, 7057; cf. 6984.
- 251, 16. *thermae*. Henzen, *BdI*, 1862, p. 185 s.
- 251, 22. law. *Digg.*, i, 10.
- 251, 27. sacrifices. Vol. ii, p. 228.
- 251, 36. amphitheatre. *Digg.*, i, 10, 3.
- 252, 2. measures. Portico for those qu[i] nundinandi gratia cons[is]terent? *CIL*, xi, 1, 3208 (Nepet).
- 252, 3. Nerva's. Rein, *StRE*, v, 228. Cf. e.g. Henzen-Orelli, 6943 = *CIL*, xii, 1357 (Vasio Voc.; cf. p. 161).
- 254, 5. *stadium*. Gai., l. iii. de legatis ad Ed. Praet., *D.*, xxxv, 2, 80, § 1. Cf. e.g. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 31: Iterum censente, ut

- Trebianis legatum in opus novi theatri pecuniam ad munitionem viae conferre concederetur etc. *CIL*, v, 1, 969, 4059.
- 252, 8. Cremona. Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 34.
- 252, 13. gates. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 11.
- 252, 16. games. *CIL*, ii, 3221.
- 252, 18. sesterces. *CIL*, viii, 5146, 5147.
- 252, 21. Naples. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxix, 8 sq.
- 252, 24. expense. Lebas-Waddington, 2735.
- 252, 27. *drachmae*. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xlv, pp. 519-521 M.
- 252, 29. Asia. Lebas-Waddington, p. 713 s.
- 252, 33. everything. Aristid., *Or.*, x, p. 70 J., ed. Dindorf, i, 116 s. On the buildings of a certain Rufinus (perhaps the father of the sophist Claudius Rufinus, probably at Smyrna) Waddington, *Vie du rhéteur Aristide*, in *Mém. de l'instit.*, 1867, p. 257 s. (Aristid., ed. Dindorf, i, 510, 514, 526).
- 253, 1. Cotyaeum. Lehrs, *Qu. Epp.*, p. 9, 7.
- 253, 7. money. Philostrat., *Vitt. sophist.*, ii, 23.
- 253, 8. Herodes. Keil, *Herodes Atticus*, *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 2096 ff.
- 253, 37. in cedar. Read 'roofed with cedar'.
- 254, 4. tribunal. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 1, 8.
- 254, 10. Comum. Vol. i, p. 116.
- 254, 14. banquet. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 1.
- 254, 16. region. Lanciani, *Acque e acquedotti*, p. 303.
- 254, 18. temple. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 24; Orelli, 781; Haakh, *StRE*, v, 743.
- 254, 23. experts. Rudorff, *Testament des D.*, in *Ztschr. f. gesch. Rechtsw.*, xii, 335 ff.
- 254, 27. building. Henzen, 6622.
- 254, 33. cities. Dio, lxxii, 12. Vol. i of this work, p. 46.
- 255, 1. rain. Josephus, *B. J.*, i, 21; Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, p. 206 ff.
- 255, 3. Tiberias. *Ibid.*, p. 234 f.
- 255, 6. speech. Pliny, *Ad Tr. Epp.*, 8. The context shows that *munificentia* here (as also e.g. in Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 30) refers to buildings.
- 255, 8. buildings. In the imperial house there was a special *officium operum publicorum*: *CIL*, vi, 8478 ss. A *redemptor operum Caesar.*, *ib.*, 9034. Imperial *architecti*, 8724-8726.
- 255, 18. need. Pliny, *Ad Tr. Epp.*, 33 sq.
- 255, 20. mats. Henzen-Orelli, *Ind.*, p. 171 sq.; Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 585, 9.
- 255, 21. sails. Kohl, *Alte u. neue Zeit*, pp. 37 and 40 f.
- 255, 25. Lyons. Seneca, *Epp.*, 91. Perhaps Lyons also had *vigiles*: Boissieu, *Inscr. de L.*, p. 4. The reasons for the date given in the text, and against that of Jonas (64/65 A.D.) will be found in Hirschfeld, *Lyon in der Römerzeit*, 1878, p. 26 f.
- 255, 32. Rome. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 13. Burning of Lyons in 197: Herodian, iii, 7, 5.
- 255, 33. Bologna. Tac., *A.*, xii, 58. Cf. also Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 101, 5.
- 255, 39. Tralles. Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 159 sq.
- 255, 39. Vespasian. Sueton., *Vespasian.*, c. 13.

- 256, 2. State. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 27.  
 256, 6. rebuilding. Nipperdey on Tac., *A.*, ii, 27. Jahn, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1851, p. 119.  
 256, 12. Caria. Waddington, *Vie du rhéteur Aristide*, in *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 1867, p. 242 ss.  
 256, 13. Pius. *Vit. Anton. P.*, c. 9; Pausan., viii, 43, 3.  
 256, 14. Stratonicea. *CIG*, 2721.  
 256, 14. Lesbos. Cichorius, *Rom und Mitylene*, p. 50.  
 256, 17. shaken. Waddington, *op. cit.*  
 256, 21. Smyrna. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 371.  
 256, 24. curse. Seneca, *Qu. n.*, vi, 1; Tac., *A.*, xv, 22. Cf. *IRN*, 1356 sq. = *CIL*, ix, 1466 (earthquake in the district of the Ligures Baebiani); 5331 = *CIL*, ix, 3046 (at Interpromium); *Alex. Sev.*, c. 44.  
 256, 26. extent. Jonas, *De ord. libr. Senecae phil.*, p. 53 sq., decides for 62, he believes the names of the Consuls in Seneca, *Qu. nat.*, vi, 1, 2 to be interpolated.  
 256, 29. Tiberius. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 47; but cf. Teuffel, *StRE*, vi, 1940.  
 256, 31. labourers. House servants, freedmen and perhaps knights were employed to superintend the building operations. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 950, 2 and 3.  
 256, 35. lighthouse. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 20.  
 256, 36. Ravenna. Haakh, *StRE*, v, 582.  
 256, 36. Vespasian. Teuffel, *StRE*, vi, 2484.  
 256, 40. Titus'. Buildings of Titus at Naples: *CIG*, iii, 5809.  
 256, 41. Domitian. Imhof, *Domitian*, p. 82 ff.  
 257, 5. undertakings. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 51.  
 257, 6. artisans. Pliny, *Ad Tr.*, *Epp.*, 18.  
 257, 8. waterworks. Great conduit in the Forum Clodii (Bracciano) *impensa fisci*: *CIL*, xi, 1, 3309.  
 257, 9. provinces. Eutrop., viii, 4: orbem terrarum aedificans.  
 257, 11. bridge. Dierauer, *Gesch. Trajans*, in Büdinger, *Untersuchungen zur röm. Kaisergesch.*, i, 96 ff., 127 ff.  
 257, 14. man. Dio, lxviii, 13.  
 257, 15. taxes. *CIL*, vi, 967 = Orelli, 805.  
 257, 18. man. Gregorovius, *Hadrian*<sup>2</sup>, p. 468 ff.  
 257, 24. artisans. *Vit. Hadrian.*, c. 19; Aurel. Vict., *Epit.*, 14, 7.  
 257, 34. Nemausus. Haakh, *StRE*, iii, 1036.  
 257, 39. Palmyra. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 414.  
 258, 16. marble. Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, ii, 305-330; Bursian, *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 1980.  
 258, 19. Epidaurus. Hertzberg, ii, 358-360.  
 258, 25. anew. *Vit. Anton. P.*, c. 8.  
 258, 26. Carthage. Pausan., viii, 43, 3; cf. vol. ii, p. 255 f., and Sievers, *Studien z. röm. Kaisergesch.*, 198.  
 258, 27. Severus. *Sept. Sever.*, c. 23.  
 258, 37. plan. *De mortib. persecutor.*, c. 7.  
 259, 12. decay. Aristid., *Or.*, xli, ed. Jebb, p. 515 (i, 766, Dindorf).  
 259, 13. cities. *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 23.  
 259, 26. Orontes. Vol. ii, p. 239 f.  
 260, 7. mosaics. Stark, *Städteleben in Frankreich*, pp. 224 f. and 609.

- 260, 8. Moselle. Auson., *Mosella*, 18 sqq.; *Epp.*, 24, 90, sqq.
- 260, 15. view. F. Hettner, *D. röm. Trier*, in *Verhandl. d. Philologenvers.*, 1879, p. 27 f., and *Zur Kultur von Germanien und Gallia Belgica*, in *Westd. Zeitschr.*, ii, 1883, p. 14 ff.
- 260, 17. bronzes. Stälin, *Gesch. Württembergs*, i, 104-109.
- 260, 20. paintings. Cf. e.g. Hettner, *Ausgrabungen bei Bonn vor dem Cölner Thor*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxii (1878), p. 64, plates iii-v.
- 260, 22. insipid. F. Keller, *Röm. Ansiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*, ii, *Mitth. der antiquar. Gesellschaft zu Zürich*, xv (1863), pp. 52 and 57.
- 260, 25. empire. Lysons, *Reliquiae Britannico-Romanae*, vol. i, Advertisement.
- 260, 29. camps. *Vit. Hadriani*, c. 10.
- 261, 1. statues. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 533, 4. Statues in the theatre at Tusculum, *CIL*, xiv, 2647 sqq. Henzen-Or., 5128 (Falerii): statuas—ad exornandum theatrum. *Ib.*, 5320 = *CIL*, viii, 7960 (Rusicade): Praeter HS  $\bar{x}$  m. n.—in opus cultumve theatri—statuas duas.
- 261, 3. Victory. Donaldson, *Architectura numismatica*, especially nos. 55-58, 60-66, 73 s., 77, 79-83 s. In the year 405 the senate and people erected for Theodosius and his sons arcum simulacris eorum tropaeisque decoratum: *CIL*, vi, 1196. At Seressita 25,000 sest. for ornamenta arcus, and besides that a quadriga, *CIL*, viii, 937. *Ib.*, 828 (Turca?):—apodyterium—cetera restaurata atque statuis marmoribus tabulis pictis columnis alvibus cellarum cathedrebus ornata sumptu proprio. *Ib.*, 7079 (Cirta): porticum et zothecas. *Ib.*, 7957 (Rusicade): templum cum omnibus ornamentis et pictura.
- 261, 17. marble. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 121. Cf. Jordan, *Topogr.*, 2, 58 ff.
- 261, 19. basins. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 20. *CIL*, ii, 3240 (Ilugo—Tarraconensis): lacus cum suis ornamentis.
- 261, 21. named. Preller, *Regionen*, p. 130 f., 136.
- 261, 21. Domitian. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 13. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 127: attolli super ceteros mortalis—et arcus significant novicio invento.
- 261, 30. building. Donaldson, *Arch. num.*, no. 57; Martial, viii, 65.
- 261, 35. Napoleon. Dierauer, *Gesch. Trajans*, in Büdinger's *Unters. z. röm. Kaisergesch.*, p. 133 ff.; Donaldson, *op. cit.*, nos. 7, 56, 66 s.; Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 467.
- 262, 2. Acratus. Dio, *Or.*, xxxi, p. 355 sqq. M. But, as Pausanias shows, it is a great exaggeration of Dio's that the Acropolis was then robbed of most of its columns. Wachsmuth, *Athen*, i, 681 f.
- 262, 4. lists. Dio, *Or.*, p. 325 M.: δημοσία τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἀπεγράψασθε ὑμεῖς.
- 262, 6. numerous. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 36.
- 262, 8. too low. It is said of Delos in the pseudo-Ovidian *Heroid.*, 21, 100: miror et in cunctis stantia signa locis.
- 262, 14. of old. Liban., ed. R., i, 566: ἀλλὰ ἠρπάζοντο παλαιαί



πόλεις, καὶ κάλλη νενικηκότα χρόνον διὰ θαλάσσης ἤγετο ποιήσονται  
κναφέων νιέσιν οικίας τῶν βασιλείων φαιδροτέρας.

262, 16. Middle Ages. Sathas, *Docum. inéd. relat. à l'hist. de la Grèce au moyen âge*, i série, T. 1 (1880), p. xiv (at the time of Alexius Comnenus monks destroyed the Artemis of Patmos).

262, 21. Temples. Dio, *Or.*, xxxi, p. 337 sq. M.

262, 37. newness. Vitruv., ii, 7, 4.

262, 41. forum. Julian, *Or.*, v, p. 161 AB: τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ιστορίας (of the Punic Wars)—σωζόμενα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ 'Ρώμῃ. The life of St. Melania mentions τοὺς ἐπ' ἀγορᾷ ἀνδρίαντας χαλκοῦς in Rome (*Hist. Lausiaca Bibl. Vet. Patr.*, ed. 1624, t. 2, p. 1031). Lumbroso, vol. i, 1880, p. 136.

263, 5. Lavinia. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, 277 sqq.

263, 6. Otricoli. According to the statement in the *Musée Campana*.

263, 6. Ravenna. For 'and seen . . . part of' read 'and that seen . . . belonged to'. Plutarch, *Mar.*, c. 2.

263, 10. Arles. Apollinar. Sidon., *Epp.*, i, 11.

263, 11. Circa. *CIL*, viii, 7046—aequa[tisque] statuis quae i[ter totius (it[um in area] Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 178, 21) fori angust[abant]. *Ib.*, 8935 (Saldae): statuas equestres propatru sui vetustate conlapsas e foro ad ornandum templum permissu ordinis transtulerunt etc.

263, 15. officials. Cf. Appendix liv.

263, 15. restoration. *Digg.*, xxxv, 1, 14. Concession of the place for the erection: *D.*, xliii, 9, 2.

263, 17. Corduba. Huebner, *Add. ad CIL* ii, 16; *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, p. 37.

263, 20. emperors. *E.g. CIL*, ii, 1956 (Cartima):—signum aereum Martis in foro—porticus ad balineum—cum piscina et signo Cupidinis. *Ib.*, 2098 (Cisimbrium—Baetica): N. N. iivir pontif. perp. forum aedes quinque signa deor. quinque statuas suas sua impensa dedit donavit. *CIL*, viii, 7094–7098 (Circa): gifts of the highest official to the city (210) among them statuam aeream Securitatis saeculi et aediculam tetrastylam cum statua aerea Indulgentiae domini nostri arcum triumphalem cum statua aerea Virtutis domini nostri. Cupids often in Asia minor, Lebas-Waddington, 618 = *CIG*, 3946 (Sardes): πέντε Ἐρωτας τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι. *Ib.*, 1663a (Mastaura): τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι τοὺς ἐπιχρύσους Ἐρωτας ἢ καὶ τὰς β' Νείκας σὺν ταῖς βάσεσιν. 1558 (Stratonicea): τοὺς Ἐρωτας 2925. At Olbia silver Victories were evidently apparently a customary votive offering. *CIG*, 2069–2074 (2078). G. Hirschfeld, *Ztschr. f. Oesterreich. Gymn.*, 1882, p. 502.

263, 24. Aurelian's. Preller, *Reg.*, 141. Cf. *e.g.* Henzen, 5320; *CIL*, ii, 2006. Lebas-Waddington, 1859 (Berytus): genium col. Silver statues of the Genius of the city: *CIL*, ii, 3228 (signum argenteum cum domo sua); 4071 (ex arg. libris xv uncis ii.). *CIL*, v, 1, 2795 (Patavium): Genio domnor. Cereri N. N. laribus publicis dedit imagines argent. duas testamento ex HS MM is understood by Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, vii, 397 s., to mean that the donor gave to the *lares publici* (i.e. to the *Curia*) the two silver figures of the Genius of the emperor and Ceres.

- CIL*, x, 7222 (Lilybaeum) : aedem genio 7223 imaginem gen. municipii Lilybitanorum ex arg. p. v p. s. p. *Id.*, xii, 119 (Carpentorate) : genio coloniae IiiiiIviri. viii, 7990 (Rusicade) : Dextros duos ?
- 263, 31. plate. Cic., *Pro Rosc. Amer.*, 45, 133. *De orat.*, i, 35, 161. Sallust, *Catil.*, 20, 12.
- 263, 33. Ostia. Varro, *R.* v., iii, 2, 8.
- 263, 34. curiosities. Sueton., *August.*, c. 72.
- 264, 8. paintings. Cic., *Ad Att.*, i, 5, 6 (686), 8, 9, 10 (687), 4 (689) ; *Ad Fam.*, vii, 23.
- 264, 15. library. Juv., 3, 215 sqq.
- 264, 15. statues. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 7.
- 264, 17. gardens. Juv., 7, 79.
- 264, 19. Hercules. Martial, vii, 50.
- 264, 22. statues. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 18, 11.
- 264, 22. Silius. *Ibid.*, iii, 7, 8.
- 264, 24. Regulus. *Ibid.*, iv, 5.
- 264, 11. *giallo*. Justi, Winckelmann, i, 2, 186-188. The work of D. Comparetti and G. de Petra, *La villa ercolanese dei Pisoni, i suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca*, Torino, 1883, I only know from the review by Mau in *BdI*, 1883, pp. 87-96, according to which de Petra è riuscito ad identificare tutti gli oggetti che da essi provennero, e ad assegnare ad ognuno il posto che occupava nella villa. On Comparetti's unsuccessful attempt to prove that L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (consul 58 B.C.) was the owner of the villa, and that the so-called bust of Seneca found there is his portrait, see Mommsen, *Aus Herculanum*, in *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1880, p. 32, and Mau, *loc. cit.*
- 265, 15. Frascati. *Ibid.*, i, 277.
- 265, 18. Tivoli. Hübner, *Antiken v. Madrid*, pp. 19-21.
- 265, 31. Museum. Winckelmann, *G. d. K.*, xii, 1, § 7. Information regarding the excavations in Hadrian's villa (1735-1748) by Ficoroni, *Notizie di antichità*, in Fea, *Miscell.*, i, p. cxxxxxiii. Justi, *Winckelmann*, ii, 1, 24 ; R. Förster, *Ueber bildende Kunst unter Hadrian*, in *Grenzboten*, 29 Jan. 1875. Gregorovius, *Hadrian*<sup>2</sup>, 461 f.
- 265, 34. Peace. Josephus, *B. J.*, vii, 5, 7.
- 266, 32. Rome. Paullus, l. xxxiii ad Ed. (*D.*, xviii, 1, 34) : plerasque enim res aliquando propter accessiones emimus, sicuti cum domus propter marmora et statuas et tabulas pictas ematur. Ulpian, l. xviii, ad Sabinum (*D.*, vii, 1, 13, § 7) : Sed si aedium ususfructus legatus sit, Nerva filius et lumina immittere eum posse ait : sed et colores et picturas et marmora poterit, et sigilla, et si quid ad domus ornatum. By *sigilla* are probably to be understood chiefly reliefs (cf. Cic., *In Verr.*, iv, 22, 48 ; cf. also 'vestes sigillatae', stuffs with figured patterns, Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 533, 4 ; 540, 4). The reliefs were chiefly of clay (Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 461) and stucco. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 183 : usus gypsi in albariis, sigillis aedificiorum et coronis gratissimus. *D.*, xxxiii, 7, 12, § 23 : Papinianus quoque l. vii Responsorum ait : sigilla et statucae affixae instrumento domus non continentur sed domus portio sunt. *Ib.*, 36 :

Imagines (probably busts) quoque eae solae legatae videntur, quae in aliquo ornatu villae fuerunt. *Passio IV coronatorum* (*Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Acad.*, x, 119): conchas sigillis ornatas . . . conchas et lacus cum sigillis et cantaris cum magna tenuitate artis. *CIL*, vi, 3, 18,378, l. 9: sarcophago aeterno sigil[lario] cum opere et basibus (Alciati restored *Signino*, which is impossible). Also in *Eph. epigr.*, v, 535, 1214 (aram cum ornamentis et signis suis) *signa* probably mean figures in relief.

- 266, 34. nymphs. Overbeck-Mau, Pompeji<sup>4</sup>, p. 546 ff., Becker-Göll, ii, 266.
- 266, 39. shown. Diodorus, v, 12, says of Malta: *ἔχει . . . τὰς τε οἰκήσεις ἀξιολόγους καὶ κατασκευασμένας φιλοτίμως γέλαιοις καὶ κονιάμασι περιττότερον*.
- 267, 2. beards. Martial, ix, 47; Juv., 2, 4. Where in Martial and Lucian (*Nigrin.*, 2: *πολλὰι εἰκόνες παλαιῶν σοφῶν ἐν κύκλῳ κείμεναι*) the material is not mentioned, the cheapest may be assumed, especially in the last passage. In the house of Julianus the Sophist at Athens *καὶ εἰκόνες τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θαυμασθέντων ἐταίρων ἀνέκειντο*. Eunapius, *Vitt. sophist.*, 121. Prudentius, *Contra Symmach.*, i, 436 speaks of images of the gods on which, *mollis si bractea gypsum Texerat, infido rarescit glutine sensim*.
- 267, 6. represented. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 640, 5.
- 267, 12. stucco. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 450 f. 'Tectorium picturae' combined: *Digg.*, iv, 1, 38. *Ib.*, xv, 3, 3, § 4: Sed si . . . domum dominicam exornavit tectoriis, i.e. wall-paintings, as elsewhere; cf. O. Müller, *Hdb. d. Arch.*, § 319, 5. *CIL*, ii, 4085 (Tarraco): [Q. Attius messor exhedra(m) cum fronte templi Minervae Aug. vestustate] CORRVPITO. PER. | FECTOR. ET PICTOR | [de suo ref. et c. (?) d.] ought to be read: corrupt(am) opere tector(io) et pictor(io). In the *praescriptio* of the *fasti Maffeiiani*, *CIL*, i, 303: expoliendu(m) et pingendum. Pers., 5, 25: pictae tectoria linguae. *CIL*, xiv, 3911, 10 (Aquae Albulae): frontibus et pictis Aelia villa nitet.
- 267, 16. Empire. See Müller, *op. cit.*, § 210, 4 and R. Rochette, *Peintures inéd.*, 198. Cf. also Lysons, *Reliq. Brit. Rom.*, vol. ii, pl. 1. Keller, *Röm. Ansiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*, in *Mitth. d. antiq. Ges. in Zürich*, 1864, pp. 52 and 57. *Pictura porticus* at Sarmizegetusa, *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 74; Tertullian, *De idolol.*, c. 8. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 22; Lucian, *De domo*, 21-31. Plutarch, *Conj. praec.*, 48 calls *γραφὰς οἰκημάτων* superfluous luxury.
- 267, 21. Mythology. Dosith., *Interpr.*, iii, ed. Boecking, p. 64, says in the introduction to the mythological section: *Picturae igitur huius laboris multis locis dant testimonium*.
- 267, 22. Troy. Lucilius (in Rome at the time of Nero) 115 (*Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, 1794, iii, 52, T. ii, p. 341): *γραφτὴν ἐν τοίχῳ Καλοῦρνος ὁ στρατιωτὴς ὧς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἰδὼν τὴν ἐπὶ ναυσὶ μάχην κ.τ.λ.*
- 267, 24. Rome. Brizio, *Pitture e sepolcra sull' Esquilino*, R. 1876. Cf. *BdI*, 1876, p. 5 ss.

- 267, 26. Jewish. Apoll. Sidon., *Carm.*, 22, 201 ss.  
 267, 30. letter. *Ibid.*, 353 ss.  
 267, 30. Greece. For 'had never seen a battle' read 'had no knowledge of war'. Lucian, *Conscr. hist.*, 29. Liban., ed. R., iv, p. 1021: *τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους δειλὸς θεασάμενος πόλεμον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ γεγραμμένον*.  
 267, 34. life. Helbig, *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, p. 383 f.  
 267, 36. Weasels. Phaedrus, *Fabb.*, iv, 6. Also App., 16: Gallus lectica a felibus vectus apparently describes a picture. Dosith., *l. c.*, p. 24, says of Aesop: *per eum enim picturae constant*.  
 268, 3. fixed. Waddington, *Édit de Dioclétien*, p. 18 s.  
 268, 12. gratuitously. *Cod. Theodos.*, xiii, 4, 2 and 4.  
 268, 18. *conchæ*. *CIL*, viii, 8396 (*conchas de suo posuit*).  
 268, 22. ornament. The *Passio sanctorum IV coronatorum*, edited by Wattenbach with a preface by v. Karajan: *Sitzungsb. d. Wiener Acad.* (1853), x, 115-137 and in Büdinger's *Untersuchungen z. röm. Kaisergeschichte*, iii, 323 f. with chronological annotations by Büdinger and archaeological ones by Benndorf. The question of the connexion of the legend of the martyrdom of the five Pannonian masons with that of the four Roman *cornicularii* (*coronati* was a name for higher officials, perhaps after a badge, Hirschfeld in *Öst. Mitth.*, 1885, p. 23 f.), and why the former legend was named *Passio SS. IV coronatorum*, is the subject of inquiries, with varying results, by De Rossi, *I Santi quattro coronati e la loro chiesa sul Celio*, *Bull. crist.*, 1879, p. 45 ss., C. Erbes (*Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, v, 1881/2, p. 466 f.), and Edm. Meyer, *Ueber die Passio SS. IV coronatorum*, *Progr. d. Luisengymnasiums*, Berlin, 1886. De Rossi dates the martyrdom of the Pannonians 305/6, the Roman one earlier (after 288), the writing of the first (by a certain Porphyrius, *censualis a gleba*) in the time of Galerius, for whose name that of Diocletian was afterwards substituted. Meyer dates the Pannonian martyrdom 293, the Roman 303, the legend of the first he says circulated for a time among the people before it was written down. Petschenig (*Zur Kritik und Würdigung der Passio SS. IV coronatorum*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Wiener Acad.*, xcvi, 1880, p. 761) dates the composition on linguistic grounds in the sixth century at the latest, more probably in the fifth.  
 268, 27. Attila. Suidas, s. *Μεδιόλανον* and *κάρυκος*.  
 268, 31. plume. *Inc. paneg. in Maximian. et Constantin.* (306), c. 6.  
 268, 32. lion. Auson., *Epigr.*, 6.  
 268, 36. Cupid. *Id.*, *Idyll.*, 6. Cf. my *Kunstsinn der Römer*, p. 27 f.  
 268, 36. amours. Libanius, ed. Reiske, iv, 1097.  
 268, 41. background. *Ib.*, pp. 1048 and 1056 (*ἐκφράσεις γραφῶν ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ*).  
 269, 7. grip. Apoll. Sidon., *Epp.*, ii, 2; *Kunstsinn der Römer*, p. 31.  
 269, 11. girl. *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese (Baehrens, *Plin.*, i), i, 304, 325, 374 (De Diogene picto, ubi lascivienti meretrix barbam vellit et Cupido mingit in podice ejus). Cf. also Baehrens, *Plin.*, i, 334 (De venatore picto in manibus oculos habente, because he never missed). Sculpture, 312, 347.



- 269, 17. flesh. Paulin. Nolan., *Poem.*, 25, 542 ss.
- 269, 21. Switzerland. H. A. O. Reichard heard at Avenches in 1811 that five or six mosaic pavements had been discovered, but destroyed by the peasants; he himself saw one in a barn, it was at least 60 ft. long, but already half destroyed. The drawing was noble and in a grand style, and the colours very fresh. Uhde, *Reichards Selbstbiographie*, 1877, p. 406.
- 270, 1. centaur. Juv., 3, 203-207. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>a</sup>, 319, 5.
- 270, 5. *sigillaria*. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>a</sup>, 581. Blümner, *Technologie*, ii, 124 f.
- 270, 10. Danaë. Martial, xiv, 170-182.
- 270, 12. Parrhasius. Horace, *Carm.*, iv, 8, 5-8.
- 270, 15. Phidias. Martial, x, 87, 16.
- 270, 18. rich. *Philogelos*, ed. Eberhard, p. 97 mentions a *σοπός* for 5 myriads. Perhaps it was reckoned with the *denarius* of Diocletian's time (cf. Appendix I, p. 283), when the amount would be £62 2s.
- 270, 27. interior. Grave at Tanagra painted inside: Fabricius, *Mitth. d. Archäol. Instituts in Athen*, x, 1885, p. 158 ff.; in Carniola near Thurn on the Hart (Helios in the *quadriga*, Europa on the bull), Hörnes, *Röm. Denkmal in Cilli, Österr. Mitth.*, 1884, p. 237 f.
- 270, 30. painted. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 452. Jerome, it is true, says, *Adv. Vigil.*, no. 9: *sepulcra Pharisaica foris dealbata*.
- 271, 3. so on. O. Jahn, *Die Wandgemälde des Columbariums in der Villa Pamfili*, in *Abhandl. d. bairischen Acad.*, 1857, vol. viii. A curator of a colleg. *funeraticium* had a wall of the *columbarium* painted, 8 A.D., *CIL*, vi, 3, 21,383.
- 271, 22. Glabrio. Livy, xl, 34. Cic., *Philipp.*, ix, 6, 13: *statua . . . inaurata equestris, qualis L. Sullae primum statuta est*—is there mistaken. Perhaps Sulla's statue was the first in the Forum.
- 271, 25. Republic. Detlefsen, *De arte Romanor. antiquissima* (Glueckstadt, 1868), P. ii, pp. 21-26.
- 271, 26. Capitol. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 59 f.
- 271, 34. Octavia. Detlefsen, p. 26; Livy, xl, 51; Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 30 sq.
- 271, 36. discovered. Lanciani, *Scavi nel portico d'Ottavia*, BdI, 1878, p. 209 ss. *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,043 and *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 1881, pp. 284, 816.
- 272, 11. liberty. R. Rochette, *Peint. inéd.*, p. 303 ss.
- 272, 13. Aricia. Appendix xxvi.
- 272, 17. tone. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 292.
- 272, 22. proclamations. Burckhardt, *Zeitalter Constantins*, p. 310.
- 272, 23. Rome. Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 233.
- 272, 24. Rienzi's. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom*, vi, 235 ff.
- 272, 28. purpose. L. Verus writes to Fronto, who wished to write the history of the Parthian war: *quod si picturas quoque quasdam desideravis, poteris a Fulviano accipere*. *Epp. ad L. Ver. Aug.*, 9, 6, ed. Niebuhr, p. 173.
- 272, 41. streets. Josephus, *B. J.*, vii, 5.
- 273, 7. Rhine. Jahn on Pers., 6, 47.

- 273, 9. asp. Plutarch, *Anton.*, c. 86, 2; Drumann, *RG*, i, 501.  
 273, 17. eagle. Herodian, iv, 2.  
 273, 23. crimes. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 314 ff.  
 273, 25. Lucullus. Cic., *Pro Sestio*, 43, 93; Drumann, *RG*, iv, 176.  
 273, 28. tyranny. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 10. Cf. R. Rochette, p. 358, 1.  
 273, 33. won. Quintilian, vi, 3, 72.  
 273, 37. himself. *Id.*, vi, 1, 32.  
 273, 41. sea. R. Rochette, *P. a.*, p. 329, 1; Horace, *A. P.*, 20.  
 274, 2. Isis. Juv., 12, 28.  
 274, 3. ex-votos. Hence Horace, *Sat.*, i, 1, 76; quo fit ut omnis Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella Vita senis. Cf. R. Rochette, *op. cit.*  
 274, 11. marble. Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 74. The alleged picture of the adventures of Daphnis and Chloe in the grove of the nymphs in Lesbos (at the beginning of Longus' novel) seems to have been regarded as a votive picture of the two lovers.  
 274, 13. Pasitales. Read 'Pasiteles'. Cic., *De div.*, i, 36, 79.  
 274, 18. atrium. Apulei., *Metam.*, vi, p. 129.  
 274, 27. threads. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 29.  
 274, 34. gorging. *Ibid.*, c. 71.  
 274, 36. *Augustales*. Joh. Schmidt, *De seviris August.*, p. 82 ss. cf. the table. There were also paintings on sepulchral monuments. Lebas-Waddington, 1164 (Cius): ἐνθάδε τήνδ' ἀνέθηκα γραφήν σημήτορα (*sic*) τύμβου.  
 275, 5. apace. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 105 f. F. Hettner, *Die Neumagener Monumente*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, 1881, p. 435 ff.; *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiv, 1887, p. 257 ff.  
 275, 14. Forum. Herodian, ii, 9, 5 s.  
 275, 19. 183. Dio, lxxii, 7.  
 275, 19. Levena. Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.*, 839.  
 275, 29. required. Burckhardt, *Zeitalter Constantins*, p. 309 f.  
 275, 36. son. *H. A.*, *Vit. Severi*, c. 21.  
 275, 40. fall. Herodian, vii, 2, 8. *Vit. Maximini*, c. 12. Mosaic of Theodoric on a wall in the Forum in Naples, Procop., *BG*, i, 24. Mosaics in the imperial palace in Byzantium, representing achievements of Justinian, *id.*, *De aedif.*, 1, 10.  
 276, 3. Isis. *Vit. Pescenn. Nigri*, c. 6.  
 276, 6. cities. Εἰκὼν γραπτὴ τέλει of an αὐλητῆς ἐν Διονυσίῳ (Teos), *CIG*, 3068 B. Cf. 3085. 2775 c. d. (Aphrodisias): εἰκόνας γραπτὰς ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπιχρῖσσις. 3524 (Cyme). *CIL*, xiv, 2410 = Orelli, 3701 (Bovillae 158 A.D.): quod permiserunt in cluqueo quod ei posuerun[t ante] templum noum (*sic*) pingere effigiem Ma[n]liae Severinae virginis Albanae maxi[mae] soro[r]is suae post excessum vitae eju[s]. Cf. Marquardt, *Pril.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 244, 4. Erection of a statue of a patron cum picturam similitudinis ejus (Aquinum) Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2047 = *CIL*, x, 5426.  
 276, 7. Nero. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 51.  
 276, 9. Caracalla. Herodian, iv, 8, 2.  
 276, 13. Victory. *Id.*, vii, 6, 6 (εἰκόνα μεγίστην γράψας παντὸς ἑαυτοῦ).  
 276, 14. pandar. *Vit. Elagabali*, c. 30.  
 276, 15. Tacitus. *Vit. Floriani*, c. 2.

- 276, 17. pictures. Julian, *Orat.*, i, 7 A.  
 276, 19. walls. *De mortib. persec.*, c. 42.  
 276, 21. Aurelian. *Vita Taciti*, c. 9: ut Aurelianum omnes pictum haberent. A picture of Aurelian and of Ulpian Crinitus in the temple of the sun-god, *Vit. Aurelian.*, c. 10.  
 276, 23. portraits. *Vit. Alex. Severi*, c. 4.  
 276, 25. accession. *Ib.*, c. 13.  
 276, 27. latter. Victor., *Epit.*, 44, 11. Cf. on pictures of the emperors, Gothofredus on *Cod. Theodos.*, xv, 4, 1.  
 276, 29. Claudian. Claudian, *Nupt. Honor. et Mariae*, 23-27.  
 276, 29. East. Regum externorum consuetudine, Tac., *A.*, xvi, 6: according to the custom of Oriental kings.  
 276, 34. Aristobulus. Josephus, *A. J.*, xv, 2, 5 sq.  
 276, 39. Forum. Plutarch, *Pompej.*, c. 2; Becker, *Topogr.*, 299, 9.  
 276, 41. Epicurus. Cic., *Fin.*, v, 1, 3.  
 277, 4. mirror. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 147 sq.  
 277, 13. Pliny. *Ibid.*, xxxv, 11; Nep., *Attic.*, 18, 5; Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 166, 5 and 172, 2 d.  
 277, 17. Martial's. Crusius, in *N. Rhein. Mus.*, xlv, 1889, p. 455.  
 277, 19. Virgil. Martial, xiv, 156.  
 277, 20. beards. *Id.*, ix, 47, 2: Quidquid et hirsutis squalet imaginibus.  
 277, 21. Galen. Galen, ed. Kuehn, iii, 776. (*De usu part. corp. hum.*, x, c. 3.)  
 277, 27. *hermae*. Henzen, 6282: Onesimus Caes. villic. thermar. bybliotheec. Gra., where *hermar.* should be read for *thermar.* Hirschfeld, *VG*, 191, 5.  
 277, 33. artist. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 28.  
 277, 35. commissions. Scribon. Larg., *Ep. ad C. Jul. Callist.*, ed. Rhodius, p. 4: quum interim nemo ne imaginem quidem suam committat pingendam, nisi probato prius artifice per quaedam experimenta atque ita electo.  
 277, 36. Secundus. Martial, vii, 84. Cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 79, n. 1.  
 277, 37. Avitus. Martial, ix, *praef.*  
 277, 41. half-length. *Id.*, xi, 9; ix, 74, 76; vii, 44; x, 32.  
 277, 41. Statius. Stat., *S.*, i, 3, III.  
 278, 3. family. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 10, 6.  
 278, 7. Mantinea. Pausan., viii, 9, 4.  
 278, 7. Marcia. *V. Commodi*, c. 11.  
 278, 10. Eumelus. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 5.  
 278, 11. Varus. *Ibid.*, ii, 6.  
 278, 14. memory. Porphyry, *Vit. Plotini*, c. 1, 1.  
 278, 17. blacker. Lucian, *Quom. hist.*, 13; *Pro imagg.*, 6.  
 278, 19. character. Plutarch, *Alexander*, c. 1, 3.  
 278, 21. girl. Libanius, ed. Reiske, iv, 1097. Cf. Eunap., *Iamblich.*, 33.  
 278, 41. city. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 450, 814. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 36: in suggestu, in quo paulo ante aurea Galbae statua fuerat, medium inter signa Othonem. *Ibid.*, iv, 37: Vitellii tamen imagines in castris et per proximas Belgarum civitates repositae, cum jam Vitellius occidisset. *Vit. Elagabali*, c. 13: misit et

- qui in castris statuarum ejus titulos luto tegeret. Cf. O. Hirschfeld, *Ausgrabungen in Carnuntum*, in *Epigr. archäol. Mitt.*, ii, 179 f. and on *signa castrensia* the note on *CIL*, xii, 3058 (Nemausus): *signa deorum argentea castrensia*.
- 279, 2. Rome. Dio, xlv, 4.
- 279, 4. temples. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 26; Dio, lvii, 9.
- 279, 6. Caligula. Dio, lix, 4.
- 279, 8. gods. Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 10, 3.
- 279, 15. censers. Becker-Marquardt, *Hdb.*, ii<sup>1</sup>, 3, 272 n. 1183. Gothofred., *Cod. Theodos.*, viii, 11, 4 and 5. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, x (cf. 366, 3).
- 279, 15. asylum. Lips., *Exc. ad Tac. A.*, iii, 36.
- 279, 21. shed. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 52.
- 279, 23. Christians. *Id.*, *Epp. ad Tr.*, 96 (97), 5 sq.
- 279, 26. God. *Cod. Theodos.*, xv, 4, 1.
- 279, 33. Augustus. Tac., *A.*, i, 74. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 58 perhaps refers to another case.
- 279, 39. criminal. *Digg.*, xlviii, 4, 4-7.
- 280, 1. rage. The statues of Napoleon and his family were broken to pieces in 1813 at Massa and Carrara: Eggers, *Rauch*, i, 131.
- 280, 4. Palatium. Martial, i, 70, 6.
- 280, 5. weight. Sueton., *Domitian.*, c. 13; Stat., *Silv.*, v, 1, 189.
- 280, 5. Capitol. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 52.
- 280, 6. empire. Dio, lxxvii, 8.
- 280, 10. blotted out. Sueton., *Domitian.*, c. 23. Also the equestrian statue in the forum described by Statius was certainly overthrown. Jordan, *Syll. inscr. fori R.*, in *Eph. epigr.*, iii, 257. A mutilated statue, probably of Domitian, was found in 1878 in the Tiber: Mayor, *XIII Satires of Juvenal*, ii, p. 445 a.
- 280, 16. flames. Pliny, *loc. cit.*
- 280, 22. Justinian. Procop., *Hist. arcana*, 8, p. 55 Dind.
- 280, 23. Commodus. Dio, lxxiii, 2; *Vit. Commodi*, c. 19, 20; *Vit. Pertinac.*, c. 6.
- 280, 24. black. Euseb., *H. e.*, ix, 11. Lips., *Exc. ad Tac. A.*, vi, 2.
- 280, 26. antiquity. Marcellin. Comes, *Chron.*, 512: Areobindam sibi imperatorem fieri clamitant, imaginibusque deinde statuisque Anastasii in terram dejectis etc.
- 280, 31. untouched. Jerome on *Habacuc*, ii.
- 280, 38. Liberty. Herodian, i, 14, 9.
- 280, 41. Commodus. *Vit. Severi*, c. 12, 19; Victor, *Caes.*, 20, 31; Dio, lxxv, 7.
- 281, 6. attire. *Vit. Macrini*, c. 6.
- 281, 9. Vespasian. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 45. O. Hirschfeld, *Götting. g. Anz.*, 1873, p. 747 ff.
- 281, 16. Hadrian. *CIL*, ii, 4230; cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, 1870, p. 1095 (ad *statuas curandas* (not *aurandas*)).
- 281, 20. Trajan. Pliny, *Ad Tr.*, 8 (24). *Negotiator vinarius a VII Caesaribus*, Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2511.
- 281, 25. personages. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 466 f. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 818, 833. (The consecration of Julia Domna apparently took place after 224, perhaps together with that of her sister Maesa.)



- 281, 30. Nerva. Preller, *Reg.*, pp. 178, 232; *Röm. Myth.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 447, 3.  
 281, 35. gods. *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 18.  
 282, 2. towns. Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 7.  
 282, 5. Ravenna. *Ibid.*, iii, 12 sq.  
 282, 9. portent. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 9.  
 282, 15. Greece. Dittenberger, *Inscr. aus Olympia*, *Archäol. Ztg.*, xxxv (1877), p. 36, n. 1. (The inscription of Faustina, *ibid.*, 1876, p. 50, 8).  
 282, 17. Africa. Herodian, vii, 5, 8.  
 282, 18. months. Vol. i, p. xvii, and note.  
 282, 22. emperors. *Vit. Maximin.*, ii, 23 sq.  
 282, 24. empire. *Maxim. et Balbin.*, c. 17.  
 282, 26. colours. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 814 f.  
 282, 28. Caracalla. Dio, lxxvii, 7; cf. Herodian, iv, 8. A. Rein, *Die Stätten der röm. Castelle zu Niederbiber bei Neuwied und auf der Saalburg bei Homburg vor der Höhe*, in *Jahrb. d. Vereins von Alterthumsfr. in Rheinl.*, xxvii (1859), p. 151: 'It is asserted that the fragments of a great statue, which together with very many other bronze objects are to be seen in the castle at Homburg, were found lying in front of the *praetorium* of the Roman permanent camp on the Saalburg, where a large rectangular stone is fixed in the ground. This assertion is all the more interesting, as it affords another illustration of the fact, confirmed in the case of several other permanent camps by remains and tradition, that bronze statues were erected in such positions. Among these may be counted with great probability (?) the statue found last year near Xanten'.  
 282, 34. Tripoli. Apulei., *Apolog.*, c. 59 (hic Sabratae).  
 282, 36. conduct. *Id. ib.*, c. 85.  
 283, 6. Corinth. Keil, *Sylloge Inscr. Boeot.*, no. 31, p. 120, cf. p. 124. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 33 ff.  
 283, 8. cult. Marquardt, *StV*, i<sup>2</sup>, 504 ff.; cf. *e.g.* for the pedestals of statues of emperors at Tarraco, Hübner in *Hermes*, i, 120 f. For such statues and cults in other towns cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 463 f. *Flamines divorum*: Wilmanns, *E. I.*, ii, 487.  
 283, 9. Egypt. U. Wilcken, *Zu den arsinoitischen Tempelrechnungen*, in *Hermes*, xxiii, 1888, p. 630: *ostraca* of the 8th, 16th, and 18th years of Trajan: ὑπ(ἐρ) μερισ(μοῦ) ἀνδριάντ(ος); ὑπ(ἐρ) τιμῆ(ς) καὶ δαπανῆ(ματος) ἀνδριάντος) Τραυ(αοῦ); others of the third year of Marcus and Verus.  
 283, 17. modelled. Fronto, ed. Naber, p. 74. Vol. i of this work, p. 150, 36 and n.  
 283, 26. Coronea. Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, 333 f.  
 283, 26. Samothrace. Erected 132/3. Conze, *Archäol. Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, p. 36.  
 283, 27. Athens. Inscriptions on pedestals, *CIA*, iii, 464-524.  
 283, 31. 126. Benndorf, *Beitr. z. Kenntniss d. Attischen Theaters*, in *Ztschr. f. Österr. Gymn.*, xxvi, p. 15 ff.  
 284, 1. statue. Pausan., i, 18, 6; Hertzberg, ii, 327.  
 284, 3. Demetrius. Köhler, *Verm. Schriften*, vi, 355, 5. Strabo, i, 9, 20, p. 371 sq. (inscription on the pedestal of one of these 360 statues, W. Fischer, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, ix, 387). Still Con-

stantine στρατηγὸς ἐκείνων (the Athenians) ἡξίου καλεῖσθαι καὶ τοιαύτης εἰκόνης τυγχάνων μετ' ἐπιγράμματος ἐγάνυτο πλέον ἢ τῶν μεγίστων τιμῶν ἀξιώθεις, Julian, *Or.*, i, 8 C, D.

- 284, 4. must. Read 'may'.
- 284, 16. founders. Mommsen, *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 97.
- 284, 25. emperor. Hübner, *Augustus' Marmorstatue d. Berl. Mus., Progr. d. Winckelmannsf.*, 1868, p. 7 f.
- 284, 32. Carrara. Eggers, *Leben Rauchs*, i, 120.
- 284, 35. Prusa. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xxxi, p. 324 M.
- 284, 40. Antony. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, vi, 1, 26. Plutarch, *Anton.*, c. 60. Wachsmuth, *Athen*, i, 664, 3; 668, 3.
- 285, 2. Orestes. Pausan., ii, 17, 3.
- 285, 14. emperors. Dio, *ib.*, p. 343 M.
- 285, 27. person. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, § 20, p. 565 M.
- 285, 28. alteration. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 4.
- 285, 32. cases. Müller, *Hdb. d. Arch.*, § 157, 4; Köhler, *Verm. Schr.*, v, 357.
- 285, 33. habit. Dio, *ib.*, p. 312 M.
- 285, 37. free. *Ibid.*, p. 342 M., 348 M.
- 285, 40. rôle. *Ibid.*, p. 357 M.
- 286, 4. images. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 13.
- 286, 6. Nîmes. On the relations of Nemausus to Agrippa and his house (whence the erection of a temple to Gaius and Lucius Caesar after their death, the *maison carrée*) see Hirschfeld, *Zur Gesch. d. röm. Kaisercultus*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Acad.*, xxxv, 1888, p. 845, 58.
- 286, 7. house. Statues of the family of Augustus in Athens, *CIA*, iii, 439-453.
- 286, 12. both. Orelli, 643 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 1421.
- 286, 13. Hadrian. *H. A.*, *Ael. Ver.*, c. 7.
- 286, 21. Dio. Dio, lviii, 2.
- 286, 24. Pompey. *Id.*, lvii, 21; Tac., *A.*, iii, 72; iv, 7.
- 286, 25. side. Dio, lviii, 4; Tac., *A.*, iv, 74.
- 286, 26. Syria. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 48.
- 286, 28. theatres. Tac., *A.*, v, 2. Cf. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 450.
- 286, 37. chamber-pots. Juv., 10, 56-64.
- 287, 2. Empire. Dio, lxxvii, 14 and 16. *H. A.*, *Sever.*, c. 14.
- 287, 9. temples. Sueton., *August.*, c. 52.
- 287, 9. Cicero. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, v, 21, 5.
- 287, 15. away. Cic., *In Verr.*, ii, 2, cc. 63, 67; iv, cc. 41, 62.
- 287, 18. Rome. *Ibid.*, ii, 2, cc. 59, 69.
- 287, 25. power. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xxxi, p. 317 sq. M., 323 M.
- 287, 29. plight. *Ibid.*, p. 344 sq. M.
- 287, 33. Athens. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 68, 22<sup>b</sup>; *CIA*, iii, 561-641: tituli nobil. Romanorum, 865-884: mulierum Romanarum (875-77: 3 Vestals).
- 287, 36. Marcelli. Cic., *In Verr.*, ii, 4, c. 40 (86).
- 287, 41. bronze. Apulei., *Metam.*, iii, 11, ed. Eyssenhardt.
- 288, 5. inscriptions. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 1.
- 288, 8. provinces. *Id.*, *Titus*, c. 4.
- 288, 12. councils. *CIL*, ii, 4536-4548.
- 288, 15. Strabo. Henzen, *Acta frat. Arval.*, p. clxxi.

- 288, 17. statue. Apulei., *Florida*, iii, 16.  
 288, 25. tombs. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 17.  
 288, 29. capital. Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*, ii<sup>4</sup>, 559.  
 289, 2. Cirta. Vol. ii, p. 263 and note.  
 289, 2. stolen. *CIL*, viii, 7063.  
 289, 10. time. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xxxi, p. 344 sq.  
 289, 17. temple. *Id.*, *Or.*, xlv, p. 509 M.  
 289, 24. themselves. *CIL*, xii, 6038. Hirschfeld, *Z. Gesch. d. röm. Kaisercultus*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Acad.*, xxxv, 1888, p. 859 f.  
 289, 25. Tarraco. *CIG*, ii, 4248: statuam inter flaminales viros positam.  
 289, 29. diet. *CIL*, ii, p. 541.  
 289, 30. dignity. *Ib.*, *Ind.*, p. 751.  
 290, 8. calendar. Sueton., *Ill. gr.*, 9, 17.  
 290, 14. Menander. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xxxi, p. 346 M. *CIA*, iii, 769 (after Kumanudes). Wachsmuth, *Athen*, i, 679 n.  
 290, 23. place. Lebas-Waddington, 1618, 1619.  
 290, 24. statue. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 881 = *CIG*, 3672.  
 290, 29. town. *CIL*, xiv, 474.  
 290, 31. town. *Ib.*, 2977.  
 290, 34. parents. Cf. e.g. Mommsen, *CIL*, ii, 3251. Borghesi, *BdI*, 1853, p. 185.  
 290, 37. father. Orelli, 4051 = *CIL*, v, 1, 4441.  
 290, 39. age. Cic., *Philipp.*, 9, 6, 13.  
 290, 40. chariot. Statues in *bigae*, e.g. *IRN*, 4059 = x, 1, 6090 (Minturnae); cf. *CIL*, ii, 1086.  
 291, 3. statue. *CIL*, xiv, 2991.  
 291, 8. statues. *Id.*, x, 7295.  
 291, 14. Themistocles. Keil, *N. Rh. Mus.*, xviii (1863), pp. 58–62. *CIA*, iii, 1, 642–644.  
 291, 16. gilded. Orelli, 3882 = *CIL*, xiv, 375 sq. Mommsen, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1849, p. 295. *Id.*, *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, 317 ss.  
 291, 20. Artemis. Lebas-Waddington, 1572 bis.  
 291, 23. select. *Ibid.*, 1594. Cf. the inscription of Colossae, 1697.  
 291, 24. priestess. Henzen, 6001 = *CIL*, viii, 5365/66. Cf. vol. ii, p. 251.  
 291, 27. Priscus. Borghesi, *BdI*, 1853, p. 185. *CIL*, viii, 7066; *ib.*, xiv, 353 (Ostia): in foro ante statuas filii.  
 291, 30. African. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 100, 2.  
 291, 34. services. *CIL*, viii, 5276.  
 291, 35. towns. J. Schmidt, *Add. ad CIL viii*; *Eph. ep.*, v, p. 289, nos. 313, 314 (Abbir Cella), p. 568, 1322 (Sufetula).  
 291, 36. Troas. *CIL*, iii, 384, 386. Of the statues there of one Sex. Quinctilius and of one C. Antoninus Rufus some of the pedestals are left, viz. those which were set up to the former by *vic(us) dec(imus)*, and to the latter by *vici ii, vii, viii, ix*.  
 291, 39. Sulla. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 132.  
 291, 41. Aventicum. Mommsen, *Inscr. Helvet.*, 192. *Id.*, *Röm. Schweiz*, p. 18; *Schweizer Nachstudien*, iv, in *Hermes*, xvi, 1881, p. 456 f.

- 292, 5. Hadrian. Dittenberger, *Familie des Herodes Atticus*, in *Hermes*, xiii, 72 f.
- 292, 12. reimbursed. Orelli, 3807 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 3258 (Sutrium); *CIL*, ii, 1971.
- 292, 15. modesty. Orelli, 4039.
- 292, 16. Greece. Lebas-Waddington, ii, 244, 245a, 294a.
- 292, 21. Delta. Bähr and Westermann, *Aristides*, *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 340.
- 292, 23. disappeared. Dio Chr., *Or.*, 37, p. 104 R. Statue of Proaeresius in Rome: Eunap., *Vitt. sophist.*, 157.
- 292, 27. forthcoming. Apulei., *Florid.*, iii, 16. Augustine, *Epp.*, 138, 19: (Apuleius) qui . . . pro statua sibi apud Oeenenses locanda . . . adversus contradictionem quorundam civium litigaret. quod posteros ne lateret, ejusdem litis orationem scriptam memoriae commendavit.
- 292, 31. Antisthenes. Lucian, *Demon.*, 58.
- 292, 32. Tyana. Aurelian, c. 24.
- 292, 33. Archippus. Pliny, *Epp. ad Tr.*, 58-60.
- 292, 36. Severus. Tertull., *Apol.*, c. 46.
- 293, 2. artists. *CIG*, ii, 4315<sup>n</sup>. (Add. p. 1188): τῶ τῆς παιδείας ἀνδράντι.
- 293, 6. Senate. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 451, 4. From the time of Diocletian the Senate proposed it to the emperor. *Ibid.*, iii, 2, 1186, 4. The permission of the senate was not required in the cases of statues of generals who celebrated triumphs (before Hadrian), and, in the earlier period, of statues of those who erected the buildings which they adorned.
- 293, 9. Tacitus. Tac., *A.*, iv, 15.
- 293, 10. Caligula's. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 34.
- 293, 19. Claudius. Dio, lx, 25.
- 293, 21. Musa. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 59.
- 293, 26. Dio. Dio, lvii, 21.
- 293, 28. living. Mommsen, *StR*, i<sup>3</sup>, 451, 1.
- 293, 31. Cottius. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 7.
- 293, 34. Trajan. *H. A.*, *Vit. M. Anton.*, c. 13 and 22.
- 293, 39. Drusus. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 9.
- 294, 2. dead. *Vit. Anton. P.*, c. 5.
- 294, 2. Marcus. *Vit. M. Anton.*, c. 29.
- 294, 5. wife. *Vit. Severi*, c. 14; where after *rumore belli Parthici* there is a lacuna, after which read perhaps, [*propinquis*] *extinctis patri matri* etc.
- 294, 8. Celsus. Dio, lxxviii, 16. See Appendix xi. Pedestal of the statue of Palma in the forum of Augustus, *CIL*, vi, 1386.
- 294, 11. lifetime. *M. Anton.*, cc. 2, 3.
- 294, 15. Mars. Henzen-Orelli, 372 (Orelli, 3574).
- 294, 16. rewards. *CIL*, ii, 3272.
- 294, 19. Edessa. Ammian., xix, 6, 12.
- 294, 21. Forum. Statues in *rostris* in the last centuries; Jordan, in Bursian's *Jahresber.*, 1875, p. 751.
- 294, 24. Martius. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 34.
- 294, 29. pedestals. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 282<sup>a</sup>. Preller, *Regionen*, p. 232. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 465 f.
- 294, 33. Claudius. Sueton., *Otho*, c. 1.



- 294, 35. Tigellinus. Tac., *A.*, xv, 72.  
 294, 39. Julia. Schol. Juv., 4, 81.  
 295, 11. A.D. Jordan, *Tempel der Vesta und Haus der Vestalinnen* (1886), pp. 44-47. *CIL*, vi, 2131-2145.  
 295, 15. patrons. Bronze statue of a *patrona collegii* with that of her husband in schola collegii fabrum civitatis Volsiniensium: *CIL*, xi, 1, 2702. *CIL*, xii, 4393 = Henzen, 7215 (the *signa collegiorum* used to decorate the town of Augustodunum at the entrance of Constantine, *Paneg.*, vii, 8, 4, were probably images of gods). Portraits of the *cosmetae* erected by the *ephebi* (Neubauer, *Hermes*, xi, 140; *CIA*, iii, 735 ss.), of the officials of the *θιασοι* erected by the latter (Lüders, *Die dionys. Künstler*, p. 40).  
 295, 15. commanders. Orelli, 748 = *CIL*, v, 2, 7007 (Aug. Taurin.) *primipilari*—*decuriones alae Getulorum quibus praefuit bello Judaico*.  
 295, 16. Palmyra. Lebas-Waddington, 2589 (142 A.D.), 2590 (155), 2596 (193), 2599 (247), 2603 (—ἀρχέμπορον ἀνακομισαντα τὴν συνοδίαν προῖκα ἐξ ἰδίων, 257/8). Cf. 2606a.  
 295, 23. stranger. Cf. vol. ii, pp. 23, 290.  
 295, 23. Nero. Dio, lxxiii, 8. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 24.  
 295, 26. athletes. Philostrate., *Heroic.*, ed. Kayser, p. 292.  
 295, 27. associations. Lebas-Waddington, 1620, 1620a.  
 295, 28. prize. *CIG*, 4352 (Side): λαβὼν ἅθλα τό τε θέμα καὶ τὸν ἀνδριάντα σὺν τῇ βάσει.  
 295, 28. Leonidea. Lebas-Waddington, ii, 194 C. Kuhnert, *De curatorib. statuar. Regim.*, 1883, p. 26.  
 295, 31. gratitude. *CIA*, iii, 773, 775.  
 295, 32. teachers. Lanciani, *Suppl. ad vol. vi del CIL*, *Bull.*, 1884, p. 45, 773 (of the fourth century): Ravennates monumentum perennis memoriae statuali veneratione dicaverunt.  
 295, 32. physicians. *CIA*, iii, 778.  
 295, 33. advocates. Vol. i, p. 163.  
 295, 34. *atria*. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 17.  
 295, 35. guests. *CIG*, 1076 = Lebas-Waddington, ii, 55 (Megara): Πόπλιον Μέμμιον Ρῆγγλον Γναῖος Οὐτέλλιος Γναῖον υἱὸς Κρίσπος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ξένον (between 41 and 44 A.D.).  
 295, 39. libraries. *CIL*, vi, 2131, 2132 (cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 190).  
 296, 2. expense. *CIL*, ii, 1955.  
 296, 6. freedman. Vol. ii, p. 288; *CIL*, ii, 4536-48.  
 296, 10. city. Apulei., *Florid.*, iii, 16.  
 296, 18. children. *CIL*, ii, 1721.  
 296, 20. property. Statues of distinguished people in their villas: De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, N. S., iii (1872), pp. 96, 104 s., 109.  
 296, 23. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 2, 5.  
 296, 27. marble. *Ibid.*, iv, 7, 1.  
 296, 31. wax. Stat., S., iii, 3, 200-202.  
 296, 33. carved. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 10, 6.  
 296, 34. Anna. Keil, *Herodes Atticus*, *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 2101.  
 296, 40. remove them. Philostrate., *Vitt. sophist.*, ii, 1, ed. K., p. 241; cf. *CIG*, 989 sq. Lolling, *Ischr. d'escorazioni in Cefisia*, *BdA*, 1873, p. 218 ss. *CIA*, iii, 810, 811, 813-818 (810:

- "Ἡρῶα Πολυδευκίῳ (sic) ἐπ' ἀγωνοθέτου Οὐβουλλίου Πολυδεύκεος οἱ ῥαβδοφόροι). *CIA*, iii, 2, 1417 ss.
- 297, 1. graves. *E.g. CIL*, ii, 339, 2063, 2131, 2188, 2344 ss., 3251, 4268 (statua post mortem adjectis ornamentis aediliciis).
- 297, 1. Wills. *E.g. CIL*, ii, 1923, 1941, 4020.
- 297, 4. persons. *CIL*, v, 1, 4462.
- 297, 8. statue. *CIL*, viii, 924 (civitatis Zuccharitana).
- 297, 14. ring. *CIL*, ii, 2060.
- 297, 21. testator. Kiessling, *Anecd. Basil.*, p. 6 sq. Cf. *CIL*, ii, 3165a.
- 297, 24. lead. Petron., c. 71.
- 297, 28. marble. Cf. i, 55, 2, and note.
- 297, 29. rule. Interp. ad Stat., S., ii, 7, 123; cf. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 7. Orelli, 4585 = Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 240 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 15: simulacra Claudiae Semnes in formam deorum. In the inscription on the monument of Atilia Pomptilla at Caralis (Crespi, *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 1881, p. 493) I understand by the verses:—

[J]unonis sedes infernae cerni[te cu]ncti :  
numine mutato fulget Pomptilla per aevum

that Pomptilla was represented there as Proserpina and exchanged therefore her name with that of a queen of the underworld.—Mommсен explains otherwise, *l. c.*, p. 488.

- 297, 38. Hannibal. Herodian, iv, 8, 1–5.
- 298, 3. nobles. Ammian., xiv, 6, 8.
- 298, 5. Trajan. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 408, 2; 439, 1; 467, 2.
- 298, 8. pages. Auson., *Gratiar. act.*, ed. Toll., p. 722.
- 298, 9. Zenon. Preller, *Regionen*, p. 233.
- 298, 10. Rusticiana. Procop., *B. Goth.*, ii, 20.
- 298, 15. command. *Id.*, *De aedif.*, i, 2 (cf. i, 11, statue of Theodora).
- 298, 22. places. Templum cum ornamentis et pictura (Rusicade): *BdI*, 1859, p. 50. Tem(plum) vetustate conl(apsum) sumtu suo cum pictura refe(cit) (239 A.D., Virunum), *CIL*, iii, 2, 4800. Aed(em) Herc(ulis)—fac(iendam) ping(endamque) (A.U.C. 699), *CIL*, ix, 5052.
- 298, 34. Bacchus. Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 299.
- 298, 39. towns. At Aphrodisias a νεωπόλεις is at the same time one of the ἐπιμεληταί, whose function is τὰς ἀνδριαντοθήκας κατασκευάσαι, *CIG*, 2749.
- 298, 40. Trèves. Braun, *Die Capitol*, pp. 19 and 24. Serv., *Aen.*, ii, 319: in Capitolio omnium deorum simulacra colebantur. On the multiplication of shrines in municipal Capitols see Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 1, 42 n.; cf. p. 50 f. An image of Diana in the territory of Trèves, overthrown by a cleric with other *sigilla* (signum immensum quod populus hic incredulus quasi deum adorabat, Greg. Tur., *Hist. Fr.*, viii, 15) was probably a Celtic idol.
- 299, 5. Clermont. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 46.
- 299, 14. Rome. Cf. vol. i, p. 148. Henzen, however, *CIL*, vi, 363 and 9177 reads ar[gentarii] for geniarii. At Verecunda nine dedications to genii (sanctissimi ordinis, patriae Aug., populi, vici Aug.) have been preserved (*CIL*, viii, 4186).

- 299, 20. decorations. The fabri subaediani (Narbo), Henzen, 7215 = *CIL*, xii, 4393, fabri subidiani (*sic*—Corduba), *CIL*, ii, 2211, the corpus subaed. (Rome) *CIL*, vi, 2, 9558 sq., the marmorarius subaedanus (Rome) Henzen, 7245, the (amici) subaediani (Antium), Lanciani, *BdI*, 1870, p. 15 = *CIL*, x, 6699 (cent?)onari et subaedian. (*CIL*, viii, 10, 532), are perhaps artisans, or *collegia* in some cases, which stood in permanent relation to temples, and were employed for the building, repair and decoration of them. Mommsen, *BdI*, 1853, p. 30, conjectures that they were those who worked *sub aedibus*, i.e. *intestinarum*, as distinguished from the *tignarii* who worked *sub divo*. Similarly Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 624, 5; 721, 2, where Mau declares the word to be obscure. Abode near a place is expressed by *sub* in *summoenianus* and *subrostratus*, within a place in *subbasilicanus*. O. Marucchi, *Di una iscr. della via Flaminia*, in *Bull. comun.*, v (1877), p. 255 ss., thinks that the *subaediani* were 'negozianti sotto barache—coloro che aveano una bottega coperta'. *CIL*, vi, 2276 (= Orelli, 2342) is restored by Mommsen: ico]noplastes (componendus cum fictore pontificum).
- 299, 21. Glycon. Lucian, *Alexander*, 18.
- 299, 26. Artemis. *Acts Ap.*, xix, 23.
- 299, 29. Feronia. Bormann, in *Oesterreich. Mitth.*, x, 1886, p. 229 f. (eborar. negotiator) = *CIL*, xi, 1, 3948.
- 299, 35. Paphos. Athen., xv, 18, 676; Hesych., ὀστρακίς ἀγαλμάτων τι Ἀφροδίτης.
- 299, 36. Cyprian. Vidal-Lablache, *Rev. archéol.*, 1869, pp. 341–344, Statuette chypriote du musée d'Athènes (one of a set of 14 examples in the collection of that place). (The passage cited there, Lucian, *Amores*, 11: περιήειν τὴν Κνίδον οὐκ ἀγελαστὶ τῆς κεραμευτικῆς ἀκολασίας μετέχων ὥς ἐν Ἀφροδίτης πόλει—can only refer to obscene clay figures, on show in the potters' shops.) On the places where the images of Aphrodite were found cf. Ross, *Inselreisen*, iv, 100 (Idalion), and Preller, *Griech. mythol.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 304, 5.
- 300, 36. Florentine. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom im Mittelalter*, vii, 566 f.
- 300, 38. Aricia. Hübner, *Antiken von Madrid*, p. 292.
- 301, 8. *Curiosum*. O. Richter, *Topogr. v. Rom*, in Iwan Müller's *Handb.*, iii, 728; 915 ff.
- 301, 11. Zacharias. Jordan, *Topogr. v. Rom*, ii, 149–152.
- 301, 17. Constantine. *Notit. dign.*, ii, 1, p. 200 sq.; Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 160 f.
- 301, 20. Palatine. Richter, pp. 827 and 917.
- 301, 32. centuries. According to De Rossi, *Bull. cr.*, iii, p. 5 ss., this was not the fault of the Christian Emperors; indeed they adorned the towns with pagan statues, taken from temples and other buildings. *CIL*, vi, 1651–1672: cippi statuarum a praefecto urbis ad ornandos locos publicos collocatarum. Those which can be dated range from 331 to Theodoric. On his care for the monuments of Rome cf. Cassiodor., *Var.*, x, 30 (elephants on the *via sacra*), at Comum, ii, 35 (36).

- 301, 32. statues. Vol. i, p. 10.
- 301, 36. left. Preller, *Regionen*, p. 233.
- 302, 9. Batanaea. Lebas-Waddington, 2097-99, 2118 (Eitha: a Ganymede), 2308 (Soada: a temple σὺν ἀγάλμασιν), 2232, 2364 (Seia: statues of Herod the Great, cf. 2365), 2380, 2410, 2413g (Aera: τοὺς τέσσαρας λαμπαδηφόρους), 2413i, 2413j. Διὶ τῷ κυρίῳ τὴν θύραν σὺν νεκαδίοις καὶ μεγάλῃ Νείκῃ καὶ λεονταρίοις καὶ πάσῃ γλυφῇ 2479, 2506, 2526 (Εἰρήμην), 2527 (Εἶσω), 2528a.
- 302, 10. Palmyra. 2582 ss. (honorary statues at Palmyra), 2611 statue of Zenobia (271 A.D.).
- 302, 12. completed. Moltke, *Briefe aus der Türkei*, p. 222.
- 302, 17. Moesia. *CIL*, iii, 1, 6147 (Nicomolis).
- 302, 17. Dacia. O. Hirschfeld, *Epigraph. Nachlese zu CIL iii* (1874), p. 38. no. 48 (Sarmizegetusa).
- 302, 18. spot. Cf. Ohlenschlager, *Röm. Inschr. aus Bayern, Sitzungsber. d. b. Acad.*, 5 Mar. 1887, p. 210 f. ('crown' of a pediment at Reichenhall). *Oesterr. mitt.*, viii, *Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Carnuntum 1883* (Syrian sun god 'very carefully executed, considering that it is of provincial origin').
- 302, 20. Hammara. Read 'Hammada'. Cf. vol. ii, p. 217.
- 302, 26. models. Urlichs, *Der Rhein im Alterthum, Bonner Jahrb.*, lxiv (1878), p. 11 ff. Cf. E. Hübner, *Röm. Alterthümer in Lothringen*, *ibid.*, liii, liv (1873), p. 163 ff.
- 302, 36. places. O. Keller, *Vicus Aurelii (Winckelmannsprogramm)*, Bonn, 1871, p. 23 ff. and pl. ii.
- 302, 36. Rottweil. Herzog, *Die röm. Niederlassungen auf württembergischem Boden, Jahrb.*, lix, p. 60.
- 302, 39. Bilbel. Urlichs, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- 302, 40. England. *CIL*, vii, 37: Sulevis | Sulimis | scultor (sic) Brucetif. | sacrum f. e. m. *Ib.*, 180:—Celatus aerarius fecit. On finds at Virunum (in part good work, some of it in Carrara marble), see Kämmer, *Virunum*, in *Grenzboten*, 1880, no. 37, p. 442; v. Jabornegg-Altenfels, *Kärntens röm. Alterthümer* (1870), p. 56 f.; Fr. Pichler, *Virunum* (1888), pp. 98 ff., 266 f.
- 303, 3. Belgica. Hettner, *Zur Cultur von Germanien und Gallia Belgica*, in *Westd. Ztschr.*, ii, 18; cf. 26, 14.
- 303, 15. times. See vol. ii, p. 216. Conze, *Ueber d. Relief*, in *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1882, pp. 564 and 572.
- 303, 32. influence. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 104-106. F. Hettner, *Die Neumagener Monumente, Rhein. Mus.*, xxxvi, 1881, p. 435 ff.; cf. *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiv, 1887, p. 257 ff. *Id.*, *Zur Cultur von Germanien und Gallia Belgica*, ii, 1883, p. 10 f. Cf. vol. ii, p. 216. That at Durocortorum Remorum (Reims), the residence of the governor of Belgica, art stood under Italian influence is in itself very probable, and is indicated by the following fact. 'Among the statues at the great west door of Reims cathedral, examples of the sculpture of the best Gothic period are two female figures on the right side, apparently Mary and Elizabeth, the artistic character of which differs widely from the rest. They are undoubtedly copies of antiques. Lübke (*Geschichte der Plastik*, ii<sup>3</sup>, p. 458) attributes them to the Renaissance period, which is impossible, because they were imitated



c. 1270 in Bamberg cathedral. The *motif* of the Mary recalls the Livia of the Naples museum, except that the *palla* is drawn somewhat closer round the head and breast. Elizabeth is still more completely wrapped, and wears a broad browband. The originals of both figures were evidently good portrait-statues of the first century. In other cases the Reims masons of the thirteenth century used ancient fragments as models. A saint on the left side of the door has an unmistakable Odysseus head on a body of mediæval form and dress. In this case too the original cannot have been altogether devoid of artistic merit. I intend to publish these figures in the forthcoming *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des preussischen Staats* together with the replicas at Bamberg'. G. Dehio. The originals of the two female figures must have ranked with the best Roman works of the kind outside Italy of which we have any knowledge.

304, 19. Nubian. Letronne, *Recueil d'inscriptions*, i, p. 210. *Recherches p. servir à l'hist. de l'Égypte*, pp. 446 ss., 460.

304, 28. sculptures. Cf. the works mentioned by O. Müller, *Hdb. d. Arch.*, § 256, 3, especially Beechey, *Proceedings*, p. 528.

305, 1. standing. Plutarch, *Anton.*, c. 86.

305, 4. Aethiopians. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 594.

305, 4. tax. Cf. vol. ii, p. 283.

305, 6. Gallus. Dio, liii, 33.

305, 21. porphyry. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 57; cf. Letronne, *Recueil*, i, p. 142.

305, 22. deities. *CIL*, x, 6303 (Tarracina—signum Memphiticum) with Mommsen's note.

305, 22. Memphis. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 56.

305, 26. Theban. *H. A.*, *Pescenn. N.*, c. 12. Marquardt (d. 1882) kindly furnished me with the following information: 'Of the black stone of which the statue is made there were two kinds; the one was found in the Thebaid between Philæ and Syene and was used to make mortars (Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 157; Strabo, p. 818). Of the other kind Pliny says, xxxvi, 63: Thebaicus lapis—invenitur in Africae parte Aegypto adscripta. As Pliny counted Egypt as part of Asia, the place where this stone was found was outside Egypt. The *Thebaei*, mentioned among the soldiers first at the time of Domitian (*CIL*, iii, 37), are not the inhabitants of Thebes, but a tribe which also may have been outside Egypt, and ruled by a chief, just as at Pliny's time *reges Aethiopia* lived in the neighbourhood (vi, 186). If the Greek epigram, which is given in a Latin translation, really called Niger *Thebaidos socius*, this Thebais must have been an independent kingdom. Any one, however, who knows the *Scriptores h. A.*, will regard it as not impossible that the author of the *vita* found the information that a *rex* had the statue of Niger made of Theban marble, and that he conjectured the king's name from that of the stone. Also Lumbroso, *L'Egitto al tempo de' Greci e Romani*, p. 51 ss., understands by the *rex Thebaeorum* the chief of a tribe of Negroes or half-Negroes, like the *limitanei* (*Pescenn.*, c. 7) who lived on the borders of Egypt and Ethiopia. Blümner, *Technol. u. Terminol.*, p. 12, believes

- the stone to be *marmo bianco e nero d'Egitto* (black with white veins), or granite.
- 305, 27. Jews. Suidas, s. v. βδέλυγμα· πᾶν εἶδωλον καὶ πᾶν ἐκτύπωμα ἀνθρώπου οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο παρὰ Ἰουδαίους. Cf. Zonaras, p. 380; Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, p. 385 f.
- 305, 28. Tacitus. Tac., *Hist.*, v, 5.
- 305, 32. Gamaliel. Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 386.
- 305, 36. Essenes. Hippolyt., *Refutat.*, ix, 26.
- 306, 8. Rome. Joseph., *B. J.*, i, 21, 8.
- 306, 10. spouted. *Ibid.*, v, 4, 4.
- 306, 12. law. Joseph., *Vit.*, c. 12. Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 386 and ii<sup>2</sup>, 32, 151.
- 306, 13. Philippi. Furrer, *Wanderungen durch Palästina*, p. 363.
- 306, 18. Alexandra. Cf. vol. ii, p. 276.
- 306, 22. brothels. Joseph., *A. J.*, xix, 9, 1.
- 306, 31. Sidon. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, pp. 579–595 M.
- 307, 4. Philesius. Arrian, *Peripl. Pont. Eux.*, c. 1 and 2.
- 307, 7. Camoludunum. Read 'Camulodunum.' Tac., *A.*, xiv, 32.
- 307, 14. Aventure. Vol. ii, p. 190.
- 307, 24. emperors. *Vit. Alex. Sev.*, c. 25.
- 307, 30. places. Pellegrini, *BdI*, 1859, p. 68 ss. Benndorf and Schöne, *Bildwerke d. lateran. Museums*, p. 350. Bruzza, *Iscr. de' marmi grezzi*, *AdI*, 1870, p. 137 s., assumes that a part of the imperial administration of the marble-supply had its seat here, and had the blocks worked in workshops under government superintendence, while there were also private workshops.
- 307, 37. Megara. Blümner, *Gewerbl. Thätigkeit der Völker des class. Alterthums*, p. 71, 12.
- 308, 2. work. *Augsb. Allg. Zeitg., Beil.*, 14/12/1871 after C. Magenta, *L'industria de' marmi Apuani*, Firenze, 1871.
- 308, 4. Diocletian. *Passio Sanctorum quatuor Coronatorum*; cf. the references in note to vol. ii, p. 268, n.
- 308, 11. narrative. See vol. ii, p. 268.
- 308, 22. *philosophi*. Benndorf, *op. cit.*, p. 343 f., believed that *philosophi* meant sculptors, but Lumbroso, *Sulla fortuna della parola filosofo (Accad. dei Lincei*, ii, 3<sup>a</sup>, 12 Feb. 1880) demonstrates that in later times the word meant teacher.
- 308, 28. *thermae*. Benndorf, *op. cit.*, p. 351 f.
- 308, 34. Diocletian. He also ordered some merely ornamental sculpture, which was executed by the Christians. Cf. vol. ii, p. 268. An inscription on the island of Brazza on the coast of Dalmatia: NN. mil. cum insisterem (as overseer) ad capitella columnarum ad termas Licinan. (*sic*—perhaps baths of the Emperor P. Licinius Valerius in Rome). Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 20, 35.
- 308, 40. Cana. *Peripl. mar. Erythr.*, c. 28.
- 309, 4. ivory. Philostrate, *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 20.
- 309, 11. Hermes. Read 'Fortuna'. Negotiator a(rti)s cretaria(e et fla)turariae si(gillariae); the last word refers to *cretaria* as well as *flaturaria* (Augustae Vindelicorum) *CIL*, iii, 2, 5833. On *ars cretaria* cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 636, 4.
- 309, 27. epitaphs. Makers of sarcophagi (arcae marmoreae) at

- Ravenna, Cassiodor., *Var.*, iii, 19. Lebas-Waddington, 25 (Smyrna): Αὐρηλία Φηλικίσσιμα ἀγοράσασα—σορὸν Ἰπρακοννησίαν (also *Mitth. der Arch. Inst. zu Athen*, 1887, 248; cf. Blümner, *Technol.*, iii, 36) ἀνάλυτον.
- 309, 33. hand. Helbig, *Campan. Wandmalerei*, p. 31, 1; *AdI*, 1863, p. 433. Benndorf and Schöne, *Bildwerke d. lateran. Museums*, p. 125. The expression ὁ τῆς παιδείας ἀνδρίας in the inscription *CIL*, iii, 4315<sup>n</sup>. [p. 1148] (vol. i of this work, p. 176, vol. ii, p. 293, 2 n.), leads one to suppose that there were also statues of learned men and authors kept in stock, in conventional forms, e.g. with a roll in the hand, or a *scrinium* at the feet.
- 310, 11. Zeno. Vol. i, p. 318. C. Neubauer, *Zu d. griech. Künstlerinschr.*, *Arch. Ztg.*, 1876, p. 70f., and on the other hand Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bildhauer*, nos. 364–367 and 549. Neubauer's interpretation (p. 68) of the inscriptions *CIG*, 247, 5923, as referring to a sculptor, M. Tullius Eutyches, who travelled about (with his brother a pugilist) is not convincing, as he himself observes, pp. 300–307.
- 310, 14. Blesamus. *CIL*, vi, 3, 23,083. Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.*, i, 614.
- 310, 16. Perinthus. *Ibid.*, ii, 312. Inscription of a mosaic at Lillebonne: T. Sen. Felix c(ivis) Putoleanus fec., Renier, *Revue archéol.*, N. S., xxi (1870), p. 274s.
- 310, 21. Rome. Vol. ii, p. 299. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 46.
- 310, 22. *Dream*. Lucian, *Somn.*, 7.
- 310, 34. classes. *Cod. Theodos.*, xiii, 4, 2.
- 310, 35. Thysdrus. Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres*, i, 172.
- 310, 36. Rome. See vol. ii, p. 307.
- 310, 36. the latter. Read 'Pompeii'. Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*, p. 383; but cf. p. 646. In Urbisaglia? *Not. dei scavi*, 1882, p. 105s.
- 310, 40. Asia Minor. Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.*, i, 551 (Athenian artists); 603 (the other artists in Greece); ii, 304 ff. (painters). G. Hirschfeld, *Tituli statuvariorum sculptorumque*, p. 193 and pl. vii. Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bilds.*, pp. 404 f., 407 f.
- 311, 3. descendants. E.g. the artists of the Laocoon. Brunn, *op. cit.*, i, 610 (*CIG*, 6174): Φιδίας καὶ Ἀμμώνιος ἀμφότεροι Φιδίου ἐποιοῦν (159 A.D.). *CIG*, 2024. Father and son mosaic artists at Perinthus, vol. ii, p. 310. Cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 31ss. Löwy, p. 405 f.
- 311, 19. Davy. Lysons, *Reliquiae Britt.-Rom.*, i, p. 5. Wall-paintings at Virunum, like those at Pompeii: Jabornegg-Altenfels, *Kärntens röm. Alterthümer*, p. 62.
- 311, 25. similar. Hettner, *Zur Cultur von Germanien und Gallia Belgica*, in *Westd. Ztsch.*, ii, 16–18.
- 311, 31. Dalmatia. Arneth, *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Acad.*, 1862, p. 714.
- 312, 24. art. O. Jahn, *Aus der Alterthumswissenschaft*, p. 239 ff.
- 313, 23. women. Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die Campanische Wandmalerei*, p. 27 f.

- 313, 32. new. In part verbally from O. Jahn, *Ueber antike Gruppen welche Orest und Elektra darstellen*, *Berichte d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1861, pp. 121-132.
- 313, 37. Argos. Josephus, *B. J.*, i, 21, 7. Also the Juno of Polyctetus in Martial, x, 89, is probably a copy in Rome.
- 314, 5. statues. Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 31 f.
- 314, 10. copies. Blümner, *Archäol. Studien zu Lucian*, 93 (Lucian, *Philops.*, 18).
- 314, 16. Venus. O. Jahn, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1850, p. 43.
- 314, 21. Troas. Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.*, i, 610. Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bildhauer*, no. 377: 'the express designation of a work as a copy in the artist's inscription is unique. Cf. however for the prevalent character of the existing works of this period with artists' inscriptions p. 238, and notes on nos. 369, 374.'
- 314, 24. *paedagogus*. K. O. Müller, *Hdb. d. Arch.*, § 126, 5.
- 314, 25. Mattei. Jahn, *op. cit.*, 1861, p. 124, n. 35.
- 314, 33. sea. *BdI*, 1859, p. 48.
- 314, 35. Berytus. Joseph., *A. J.*, xx, 9, 4 (ἀνδριάντων ἀναθέσει καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποτύποις εἰκόσιν).
- 314, 38. incunabula. My *Kunstsin*n der Römer, p. 38 f.
- 315, 8. Quintilian. Quintilian, x, 2, 6: quemadmodum quidam pictores in id solum student, ut describere tabulas mensuris ac lineis sciant.
- 315, 10. Lucian. Blümner, *op. cit.*, p. 89 f.
- 315, 13. Diadochi. Helbig, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 111, 228, 331 f.
- 315, 27. Calamis. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 46.
- 316, 24. province. Jahn, *Aus der Alterthumswissenschaft*, 241-244.
- 316, 38. art. For 'the profession of art' read 'craftsmanship'. K. F. Hermann, *Studien der griech. Künstler*, p. 6. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 607.
- 317, 11. Paris. Cf. Justi, *Winckelmann*, ii, 1, 380 f.
- 317, 35. eyes. *Fabri ocularii*. Also the *sculptor uclarius*, Orelli, 2457 = 4276 is the same (otherwise Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 695, 6).
- 318, 6. required. Cf. also Overbeck, *Pompeji*<sup>4</sup>, p. 571 f., and on the style of decoration since which prevailed after 63 A.D., Mau, *Gesch. d. decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji*, 1882, p. 447 ff.
- 318, 11. period. Of about 450 artists, whose names are known, about 125 collaborated with others, the latter were mostly members of the same family or were connected as teacher and pupil. G. Hirschfeld, *Tituli statuar. sculptorumque*, p. 51 ss. (similar inscriptions of Roman times: nos. 146, 152, 171). Inscriptions of Greek sculptors, p. xv; cf. p. 405 f. (artist families). Löwy, *Inscr. gr. Bildh.*, p. xv.
- 318, 27. vessels. Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 4, 24, 57.
- 318, 31. faces. Juv., 9, 145 sq.
- 318, 36. slaves. Cf. also Artemidor. *Onirocr.*, iv, *prooem.*, p. 200 sq.; *Digg.*, vi, 1, 28.
- 318, 37. household. *Vit. Alex. Sever.*, c. 41. Cf. the inscriptions of painters, *CIL*, vi, 9786-9794 (slaves, freedmen and free).
- 318, 37. Julianus. *Digg.*, ix, 2, 23, § 3.
- 319, 4. mentioned. *Ib.*, xii, 6, 26, § 12.
- 319, 16. pound. Waddington, *Ed. de Diocl.*, p. 18. The rates



- were 50, 60, 75, 150 *denarii* (= 0.298 of a penny); *in sigillis vel statuis* 4 *denarii* to the pound.
- 319, 18. price. Cf. Appendix liv.
- 319, 30. Baetica. Hübner, *Addenda ad CIL* ii, 16. *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, 37.
- 319, 36. Hercules. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2486 = Orelli, 2983.
- 319, 38. Grenoble. *CIL*, xii, 2231 — subpraef. equit. alae Agrippian. qui [HS] 1000 in statuas . . . . let . . et aenearum . . . . [test. reli]quit.
- 320, 3. Octavius. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 155 sq.
- 320, 7. Nero. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 18.
- 320, 9. Mercury. Pliny, *ib.*, xxxiv, 45. Cf. vol. ii, p. 299.
- 320, 19. Amor. Lacroix, *XVIII siècle (Lettres, sciences et arts)*, p. 343ss.
- 320, 27. Rietschel. Oppermann, *Ernst Rietschel*, p. 287.
- 321, 10. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Pericles*, c. 2.
- 321, 18. argued. Especially by K. F. Hermann, *Studien der griech. Künstler*, p. 6, 8.
- 321, 24. astronomy. Seneca, *Epp.*, 88, 18.
- 321, 26. fashion. *Id.*, in Lactant., *Inst.*, ii, 2, 14; ed. Haase, iii, p. 443.
- 321, 32. oratory. Plutarch, *Praecept. gerend. reip.*, 5, 7.
- 321, 33. *Dream*. Lucian, *Somn.*, c. 9.
- 321, 37. Philostratus. Philostrat., *Apoll. T.*, viii, 331, ed. K., p. 155.
- 322, 2. Galen. Galen, ed. K., i, p. 38 (vol. i, p. 156).
- 322, 12. Virgil. Virgil, *A.*, vi, 847.
- 322, 17. few. Brunn, *Künstlergesch.*, i, 602. G. Hirschfeld, *Tituli statuariae. sculptorumque*, p. 186 sqq. Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bildh.*, no. 357 (Athens): —Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Ὀλύμπιον ἢ μητρόπολιν τῆ(ς) Ἰωνίας Μελήσιον πόλιν—Ἀνδριανοποιὸς Ἀῦλος Παντουλήιος Γαίου Ἐφέσιος ὁ καὶ Μειλήσιος ἐποίησεν. 368 (Olympia): Κορνήλιος Ἀφροδισιεύς ἐποίησεν. *CIL*, x, 1896 (Puteoli in basi): Ex officina Sextili Clementis. Cornelius Saturninus of Oea (Apulei., *Apol.*, c. 61 s.) was apparently more than a wood-carver.
- 322, 28. Greeks. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 38. Löwy, p. 238 ff., 266 ff.
- 223, 32. painting. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 490.
- 323, 8. Fabius. Valer. Max., viii, 14, 6.
- 323, 14. Nepos. Ad. Furtwängler, *Plinius und seine Quellen über die bildenden Künste*, in *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, Supplementband, ix (1877), pp. 25–38 (against Brunn, who supposes Cornelius Nepos to have also written biographies of bronze-founders: *Cornelius Nepos und die Kunsturtheile bei Plinius*, *Sitzungsber. d. phil. hist. Cl. d. Münchener Acad.*, 1875, i, 311–327).
- 323, 16. Encyclopaedias. Pliny, *N. h.*, vii, 213 (xxxiv–xxxvi).
- 323, 24. Verona. Inscriptions of the same family at Verona, *CIL*, v, 1, 3432.
- 323, 26. Virtus. Cf. note on vol. ii, p. 298, 2.
- 323, 27. Ludius. Brunn, *Künstlergesch.*, ii, 302–316.
- 323, 32. artist. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der verschütteten Städte*, pp. 385–389.

- 323, 40. requisites. Jahn, *Darstellungen des Handwerks*, etc., *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Ges.*, v, 298-304.
- 323, 40. Justin. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i, 9: *Καὶ ὅτι οἱ τούτων* (images of the gods) *τεχνῶνται τε ἀσελγείς τε* [suppl. *εἰσὶ*] *καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν, ἵνα μὴ καταριθμῶμεν ἔχουσιν ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθε· καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας συνεργαζομένας φθείρουσιν.*
- 324, 6. antiquity. Augustine, *De civ. D.*, xxii, 19, 1: complete recasting of a faulty statue. Boetius (d. 525), *De instil. Arithm.*, i, *praef.*, ed. Friedlein, p. 4: Each *scientia* needs *ceterarum quoque artium adjumenta*. Nam in effigiandis marmore statuus alius excidendae molis labor est, alia formandae imaginis ratio, nec ejusdem artificis manus politi operis nitor exspectat. At picturae manibus tabula commissa fabrorum, cerae rustica observatione decerptae, colorum fuci mercatorum sollertia perquisiti, lintea operosis elaborata textrinis multiplicem materiem praestant. Marcellini Com. Chronic. Areobinda et Messalla coss. (506). His coss. Anastasii principis statua in eodem loco, quo dudum Theodosii Magni steterat, super immanem columnam in foro Trajani facta est. Boetio solo cos. (510): Simulachrum aeneum in foro Strategii super fornicem residens et cornucopiae Fortunae tenens incendio proflammatum est combustumque brachium, quod tamen statuarii continuo solidarunt. Eunap., *Vitt. philos.*, 118: 'Ιλάριον . . . κατὰ γραφικὴν οὕτω φιλοσοφήσαντα, ὥστε οὐκ ἐτενθήκει ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνου χερσὶν ὁ Εὐφράνωρ.— On ivory carving cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 741 ff.
- 324, 16. stupefying. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 479-486.
- 324, 22. justification. Frontin., *De aquis*, c. 16.
- 324, 27. lucrative. Vol. i, p. 155.
- 324, 28. overcrowded. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 613 f. Cf. *Cod. Theodos.*, xiii, 4 and the list of Promis mentioned in note on ii, 249, 5.
- 324, 39. refuse. Brunn, *Kunstlertgesch.*, ii, 344. *CIL*, vi, 2, 14,647: Celeri Neronis Aug. l.
- 324, 40. Martial. Martial, vii, 56. Brunn, *ibid.*, ii, 377, misunderstands the end of the epigram.
- 325, 1. Roman. *Vit. Hadrian.*, c. 19.
- 325, 2. Mustius. Brunn, *ibid.*, ii, 371.
- 325, 8. Lacer. *CIL*, ii, 751. (*Ib.*, 2559: C. Sevius Lupus architectus Aeminiensis Lusitanus.)
- 325, 10. Verenius. *Revue epigr. du midi de la France*, Juli 1883, p. 74.
- 325, 11. Julius. *CIL*, xii, 186.
- 325, 15. Galen. Galen, *De anatom. administr.*, i, 2, ed. R., ii, 225. Cf. Clinton, *ad a.* 147.
- 325, 17. world. The passages in question seem never to have been understood. In the poem *Anthol. Palat.*, ix, 656 the χαλκῆ built by the emperor Anastasius (491-518) is compared with the most famous buildings; the poet says:—

1. 13: κρύψον ἀμετρήτων μεγάρων στεινούμενον αὐλαῖς,  
Πέργαμε, φαιδρὸν ἀγαλμα τεόν, 'Ρουφίνιον ἄλσος,

where Dübner thinks of the splendid buildings mentioned by

Claudian, *In Rufin.*, ii, 448. In Orelli's edition of Philo, *De VII orb. spectacc.*, p. 146, is a list of the wonders of the world from Georg. Cedren., *Comp. Hist.*, c. 81, p. 140, *ed. Basil.*, concluding thus:—

καὶ 'Ρουφίνειον ἄλλος (in Orelli 'Ρουφίνιον ἄλλος) ἐν τῷ Περγᾶμῳ, ὅπερ τὸ κάλλος πᾶσαν ἔδραμε χθόνα.

One Messalinus who restored a theatre at Ephesus, Lebas-Waddington, 150 = *CIG*, 2976 = *Append. ad Anthol.*, 333. Inscriptions of Greek architects are not frequent, according to G. Hirschfeld, *Monatsberichte d. Berl. Akad.*, 1888, p. 888.

326, 13. art. Marquardt, *Pril.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 960 f.

327, 10. Pasitales. Read 'Pasiteles'. Jahn, *Kunsturtheile des Plinius*, in *Berichte der Sächs. Ges.*, 1850, p. 121ff. Benndorf, *De Anthol. Gr. epigr. quae ad artes spectant* (Bonn, 1862), pp. 5, 52–65.

327, 19. architects. Ritschl, *Ind. Scholl. Bonn.* 1856–57, *Rh. Mus.*, xiii, 460 ff. The Hebdomad of painters, Quintilian, xii, 10, 6; the *statuarii*, Plin., *N. h.*, xxxiv, 54 sqq.

327, 23. life. Lucret., v, 1450–53 (carmina picturas et daedala signa polire).

327, 29. girls. Vol. i, p. 229.

327, 33. Paulus. Plutarch, *Aemil. Paull.*, c. 6.

327, 36. favoured. An inscription from Teos shows that in Greece painting formed a branch of education at least in some places, *CIG*, 3087, in which there is a list of the subjects for which prizes are offered for the πρεσβυτέρα ἡλικία (elder boys or youths), viz.: ὑποβολή, ἀνάγνωσις, πολυμαθία, ζωγραφία. The supposition of Lüders (*Die dionysischen Künstler*, p. 138), that in Teos there existed an academy for Dionysian artists, is very improbable, because of the subjects of instruction mentioned. *CIL*, viii, 724 (prov. Byzacena. Epitaph of a 17 year old youth): gratus apud magistros fui, qui dixi scribsi pincxsi bene.

328, 4. sculptor. Brunn, *op. cit.*, ii, 309 f.

328, 12. Labeo. *Ibid.*, 306.

328, 29. Atticus. Vol. i, p. 368 ff.

329, 6. indispensable. Vitruv., *ed. Rose*, vi, 5, 1; 7, 2; 8, 2.

329, 7. general. Aurelius Victor, *Caesares*, 14: ipse (Hadrianus), ut beatis locupletibus mos, palatia exstruere, curare epulas, signa, tabulas pictas. *CIL*, vi, 2270: Eutychus Augg. lib. officinator a statuis (199 A.D.). Julius Friedländer (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, iii, 167) concludes that the Romans used to collect coins, from Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 75: Saturnalibus modo munera dividebat, vestem et aurum et argentum, modo nummos omnis notae, etiam veteres regiones ac peregrinos ('such as golden Alexanders or fine silver pieces of Syracuse', J. Fr.).

329, 13. Caesar. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 47.

329, 13. Damasippus. Horace, *S.*, ii, 3, 64.

329, 15. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 4.

329, 18. carved. *Ibid.*, xxxiii, 157.

329, 22. Quintilian. My *Kunstsin*n der Römer, 38, 55.

329, 31. Diadochi. By *antiqui*, in Vitruv., vii, 5, according to

- Helbig, *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1870, p. 395 ff., are meant the artists of the time of the Diadochi.
- 329, 33. Tibur. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3, 50 sq. reads according to the copy of Cod. Sangallensis (Baehrens, *praef.*, p. 13): Quicquid et argento primum, vel in aere minori Lusit et enormes manus est experta colossos. Since the *ed. princeps*, *Myronis* has been read instead of *minori*. Bergk, *Philol.*, xvi, 20, proposed *primum* for *primum* and *ut* for *et*. Baehrens thinks that *primum* means 'excellent', and that the reference is to real *colossi*, which had a place in the collection together with small bronze and silver works of art. I take the passage to refer to small studies in bronze and silver (*minori* refers to *argento* as well as to *aere*), in which the artist as it were tried the effect of the colossal figures which were to be executed later. Ed. Schwartz, *Conjectanea, Ind. lect. Rostoch. aestiv. 1889*, p. 7, gives essentially the same explanation.
- 329, 36. Myron. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 63: Si quid Apellei gaudent animasse colores, Si quid adhuc vacua tamen admirabile Pisa Phidiacae rasere manus (cf. iv, 6, 28). In this connexion I do not think *Apellei* can be taken in a general sense as a synonym for painting.
- 329, 40. Apelles. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 6, 10-21.
- 330, 1. Polyclethus. Exceptionally Columella, *R. r.*, i, *praef.* 31 mentions Bryaxis and x, 30, Phradmon and Ageladas. Perhaps he read the first name on a pedestal. Of a number of statues, which stood in the Forum, the pedestals and inscriptions still exist (according to the shape of the letters rather of the second than the third century): Opus Praxitelis, Opus Polycleti, Opus Timarchi; a fourth inscription, Opus Bryaxidis, belonging to the same series, only exists in manuscript. De Rossi, *La base di una statua di Prassitele testè scoperta e la serie di simili basi alla quale esse appartiene*, *Bull. comun.* ii, 1874, p. 174 ss. Cf. *CIL*, vi, 10,038-43. De Rossi (p. 179 s.) supposes that the statues were erected shortly before the Basilica Julia. Cf. Löwy, *Inschr. griech. Bildhauer*, p. 319 ff.
- 330, 1. Juvenal. *Juv.*, 3, 216 sqq.
- 330, 17. masters. *My Kunstsinne der Römer*, p. 37.
- 330, 19. Tullus. Cf. vol. ii, p. 264, 22 and n.
- 330, 27. collection. Martial, xii, 69.
- 330, 29. Phaedrus. *Phaedr.*, v, *praef.*, l. 7, *Codd*: Detrito Myronem argento. fabulae exaudiant. Bergk, *Philol.*, xvi, 620 f.: Detrito Myn argento, tabulae Pausiam. *Detrito* either 'rubbed', to give the appearance of antiquity, or 'finely polished' (Apulei., *Metam.*, vi, 6: currum . . . limae tenuantis detrimento conspicuum et ipsius auri damno pretiosum). The alteration of *Myronem* is not to be recommended. Perhaps 'Trito Myronem argento, tabulae Pausiam' (so L. Müller, only with *Zeuxidem* for *Pausiam*.)
- 330, 39. works. Zenob., v, 82, *Paroemiographi*, edd. Leutsch et Schneidewin, i, 153), cited by G. Hirschfeld, *Tituli statuar., sculptorumque*.
- 331, 5. Julian. Brunn admits it, *Künstlergesch.*, i, 187. 'Ars



- Phidiaca ' in Martial, iii, 35, may mean, the plastic art, as ' ars Apellea ', xi, 9, 2, painting. On the other hand, Φειδιακὴν χάριτα, Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 794, of an imitation of a Pallas of Phidias. Cf. Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bildh.*, p. 362 f.
- 331, 8. goblets. Martial, xii, 69 (scyphos . . . archetypus).
- 331, 13. cups. Jahn, *Aus d. Alterthumswissenschaft*, p. 236 f. Cf. Brunn, *op. cit.*, ii, 408.
- 331, 16. Mentor. Martial, ix, 60, 16.
- 331, 18. silver. *Id.*, iii, 41; iv, 39; viii, 51, 2; xi, 11, 5; xiv, 93 (Pocula archetypa).
- 331, 25. Daedalus. Petron., c. 52.
- 331, 33. smell. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 688. Cf. my *Kunstsinn der Römer*, p. 39 f. Blümner, *Gewerbl. Thätigkeit*, p. 74 f.
- 331, 41. persons. Vol. ii, p. 203 f.
- 332, 2. talent. Lucian, *Adv. indoct.*, 13 sq.
- 332, 5. finger. Juv., 6, 156.
- 332, 7. Augustus. Dio, lix, 21.
- 332, 12. article. Lucian, *Saturn.*, 3, 33.
- 332, 14. Philip. Juv., 12, 46.
- 332, 15. Caracalla. Dio, lxxvii, 7.
- 332, 18. Argo. Martial, vii, 19.
- 332, 22. Dido. *Id.*, viii, 6.
- 332, 26. Sulla. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 6.
- 332, 34. originals. Dionys., *De vi Demosth.*, c. 50, p. 1180. *De Dinarcho*, c. 7, p. 644.
- 332, 35. Statius. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 6, 29.
- 332, 39. statues. Horace, S., ii, 3, 20-23.
- 332, 41. art. Detmold, *Kunst in drei Stunden ein Kunstkenner zu werden*.
- 333, 3. ignorant. Cic., *Verr.*, act. ii, or. iv, 44, 98. Luc., *Zeux.*, 5, in Blümner, *Dilettanten, Kunstliebh. und Kenner im Alterthum* (Virchow and Holtzendorf, viii. Serie, Heft 176), p. 42, 24.
- 333, 4. training. Epictet., *Dissert.*, ii, 24, 8: 'Τὸ δ' ἰδεῖν ἐμπείρως (sc. τὸν ἀνδριάντα) οὐδεμῶς σοι προσδεῖσθαι φαίνεται τέχνης; Προσδεῖται καὶ τοῦτο.
- 333, 6. fool. Cic., *Paradox.*, 5, 2; Horace, S., ii, 7, 95; Seneca, *Epp.*, 115, 8.
- 333, 4. Syracuse. Plutarch, *Marcell.*, c. 21.
- 333, 17. pictures. *Digg.*, xxi, 1, 65.
- 330, 33. Rome. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 27: Romae quidem multitudo operum etiam oblitteratio [est] ac magis etc.
- 330, 38. picture. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 10.
- 334, 19. civilization. The proof I gave for this assertion in my *Ueber den Kunstsinn der Römer in der Kaiserzeit*, 1852 has been attacked by K. F. Hermann, *Ueber den Kunstsinn der Römer und deren Stellung in der Geschichte der alten Kunst*, 1856, but in my review of this work (*N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, lxxiii, 391 ff.) I hope I was able to demonstrate, that H. (with the exception of a few comparatively unimportant additions and corrections) has not succeeded in really refuting me. Cf. also Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 609, 3.
- 334, 36. Arcesilaus. Plutarch, *De tranquill. animi*, c. 9, p. 470.

- 334, 40. Dionysius. *Dissertatio qua nonnulla scriptorum Graecor. de artibus . . . judicia recensentur*, Progr. Acad. Alb., 1886, iv.
- 335, 11. marble. Quintilian, ii, 19, 3.
- 335, 14. Memnon. Memnon, xvi, 52; Mueller, *Fr. hist. Gr.*, iii, 554.
- 335, 25. Dionysus. Herodian, v, 3.
- 335, 30. lost. Plutarch, *De glor. Atheniens.*, c. 2, p. 346.
- 335, 33. included. G. Hirschfeld, *Tituli statuariorum*, p. 56, 1. Strabo, xiv, p. 642 (Ephesus). Stephanus Byz., s. 'Αλεξάνδρεια (πρὸς τῷ Λαθῶ τῆς Καρίας). 'Ανθηδών, 'Ηλεκτρίδες νῆσοι, Κύθνος.
- 335, 34. Pausanias. Pfundtner, *Des Reisebeschreibers P. Lebens- und Glaubensansch.*, Progr. des Kneiphöf. Gymnas., Königsberg, 1868, p. 7 f. Cf. Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, 1886, p. 194 ff.
- 336, 3. models. Kretschmann, *De latitudine Apuleji*, p. 8.
- 336, 7. Prusa. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xii, p. 209 M.
- 336, 18. poetry. *Ibid.*, xii, p. 210 sqq. M. It appears from this passage that expressions like τὸ χειρωνακτικὸν καὶ δημιουργικὸν (p. 214 M., 218 M.) which Phidias uses in regard to himself, by no means express contempt.
- 336, 25. Praxiteles. Lucian, *Amores*, 13 sqq. Cf. in general Blümner, *Archäol. Stud. zu Lucian* (1867), pp. 46–52, and Croiset, *Vie et œuvres de Lucien*, pp. 264–285.
- 336, 33. physicians. Galen, ed. K., x, p. 36 sq.
- 336, 34. Aristides. Aristid., *Or.*, xlv, 30 sq., J., ii, 38 sq., Dind., διὰ ταῦτα καὶ συμφοιτητῶν οὐ μόνον οὐ (edd. οἱ μὲν) χεῖρους ἀλλὰ καὶ κρείττους ὁ Φειδίας, ὁ Ζεῦξις, ὁ Ἰπποκράτης, ὁ Δημοσθένης [καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῃ τέχνῃ πᾶς] ὅτινα βούλεται θαυμάζειν τις. 'Also the rhetorician who wrote *Περὶ ὕψους* shows occasionally his knowledge of the plastic effect of high lights (c. 17, 3): the light, even when on the same ground and in the same colours as the shadow, all the same appears οὐ μόνον ἔξοχον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγγυτέρω παρὰ πολὺ.' Furtwängler, *Plinius und seine Quellen über die bildenden Künste*, in *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, Supplementbd., ix, 37, 7.
336. Music. In this section I have been able to use some notes kindly supplied to me by Dr. K. von Jan of Saargemünd. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik* is quoted from the first edition.
- 337, 27. holes. Cassiodorus, *Chron.*, A.U. 639: His coss. L. Metellus et Cn. Domitius censores artem ludicram ex urbe removerunt praeter Latinum tibicinem cum cantore et ludum talanum (*l. talarium*, Hertz, *De ludo talario s. talari*. *Ind. Vratisl. aest.* 1873: ubi ludiones palla ac tunica talari muliebritur vestiti erant).
- 337, 37. composition. Westphal, *Harmonik und Melopöie der Griechen*, p. 8 ff.
- 337, 39. music. Juv., 7, 18.
- 338, 6. overtune. My article on the games in Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 543 f.
- 338, 9. lyre. Quintilian, i, 10, 29.
- 338, 10. choruses. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 17: lyrica . . . chorum et lyram poscunt. Cf. Gell., xix, 9.
- 338, 13. times. O. Jahn, *Wie wurden die Oden des Horatius vorgetra-*

- gen? in *Hermes*, ii, 427, 3. But in Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, vii, 8, 2, p. 711 D., Σ. ἀναλεγομένης should probably be read for Σαπφούς ἀναδεχομένης.
- 338, 14. lyre. Horace, *C.*, iv, 9, 3. Jahn, p. 429.
- 338, 17. were. *Id.*, p. 433. The objections of Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>3</sup>, 34, 4 are not in the least valid (in the 4th edition they are withdrawn, with some reservations); the same is true of the objections of Fr. Süss, *Ein Beitrag zur Lyrik des Horatius* in *Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymn.*, xxx (1879), p. 881 ff.
- 338, 22. boys. Aristid., ed. Dindorf, i, p. 330; Baumgart, *Aelius Aristides*, p. 50 f.
- 338, 23. cithara. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 4, 9; iv, 19, 4.
- 338, 24. Catullus. It is then possible to take 'cantare Catullum' literally in Horace, *S.*, i, 10, 18.
- 338, 30. treated. Theogn. 241. R. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, p. 139 ff. K. v. Jan, *Auletischer und aulodischer Nomos*, in *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 1879, p. 589.
- 338, 31, 2. vocalist. Ovid, *A. a.*, iii, 345.
- 338, 37. poets. Gell., xix, 9, 3-5, 8 (cantilena).
- 339, 5. indifferently. *Ibid.*, 10: voce admodum quam suavi . . . cecinit . . . 13: dixit. In Petron., c. 78 Trimalchio says to the *cornicines*: dicite aliquid belli. Ann. Flor. p. 106 sqq.: urbem illam ubi versus tui a lectoribus concinuntur. Apollin. Sidon., *Ep.*, 8, 4: jambos, elegos, hendecasyllabos et cetera carmina . . . Narbonensibus cantitanda. Cf. Jahn, p. 419 ff.
- 339, 7. understood. Donat., *Vita Vergili*, p. 60 R.
- 339, 8. gestures. Odaria saltare: Petron., *Sat.*, c. 53. Jahn, p. 421. Tac., *Dial.*, 26: Jactant cantari saltarique commentarios suos.
- 339, 11. applause. Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 519; v, 7, 25. Jahn, *loc. cit.*
- 339, 16. 'sung'. Juv., ii, 180 etc. Jahn, *loc. cit.*
- 339, 18. poetry. 'A simple form of singing, a monotonous recitative, goes back to the furthest antiquity among the Semitic peoples, and was indissolubly associated with poetry, for what we call the declaiming of a poem consists among the Arabs in a singsong recitation, with certain conventional modulations of the voice and a constant adaptation to the metre.' Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, i, 28.
- 339, 23. violin. Fauriel, *Romans de la chevalerie*. Cf. Bartsch, *Grundriss der Provençal. Litteratur*, § 22. Léon Gautier, *Les épopées Françaises*, i<sup>2</sup> (1878), p. 158: Les Chansons de Geste n'étaient faits que pour être chantés. La décadence de notre poésie épique devait commencer le jour, où l'on devait la lire et non plus la chanter.
- 339, 29. both. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen*, p. 103.
- 339, 31. lute. Montaigne, *Journal du voyage en Italie 1580-81*, iii, 37: je fus frappé de voir ces paysans (en Toscane) un luth à la main et de leur côté les bergères ayant l'Arioste dans la bouche; mais c'est ce qu'on voit dans toute l'Italie. Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, p. 96.
- 339, 34. verse. Ranke, *Serbische Revolution*<sup>2</sup>, 66.

- 340, 1. text. Westphal, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Ambros, *Gesch. d. Musik*, i, 446. Cf. the transcription on p. 451, n. 1 of the hymn of Dionysios to Helios, as adapted by Bellermann.
- 340, 7. successful. 'The ancient musical staff extends from F to g', if one compares the primary notes with the white keys and the secondary with the black keys of our pianos. The principal octave is f to f'. This was the most convenient octave for all singers, so its absolute pitch must have been 2 or 3 tones lower, about c-c' or d-d'. Bellermann, *Anonymi scriptio de musica* (1841), introd. p. 12 f. K. v. Jan.
- 340, 13. Greeks. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Gesch. Griechenl.*, i, 44. [*Christ. Anthol. carm. christian.*, p. 113. Bourgauld-Ducoudray, *Études s. l. musique ecclésiastique grecque*, p. 7. K. v. J.] Also harmony was hardly known to ancient Egyptian music: Ambros, i, 156 f.; [nor to modern Indian, Arabian, Chinese or Japanese: *Allg. Musikzeitung*, 1879, p. 583. Chappell, *History of Music*, p. 304. K. v. J.].
- 340, 16. together. Westphal, p. 19 f. Ambros, p. 452 ff.
- 340, 19. unison. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 14, 17 (mesochorus). *CIG*, iii, 6231: ἀρχέχορος. Dio, lvi, 35: ἐμοῦ . . . τὰ κεφάλαια ἀποσημαίνοντος καὶ ὑμῶν τὰ λοιπὰ συνεπηχούντων. Dio Chr., *Or.*, lvi, 565, 19 M.: Κορυφαίους . . . τοὺς σημαίνοντας τοῖς ᾄδουσι καὶ μέλος ἐνδιδόντας. Colum., *R. v.*, xii, 2: ubi chorus canentium non ad certos modos neque numeris praeceuntis magistri consensit etc. Apulei., *De mundo*, p. 749: quod est in triremi gubernator, in curru rector, praecentor in choris etc.
- 340, 27. sense. Guhrauer, *Zur Frage der Mehrstimmigkeit in der griech. Musik*, in *Philolog. Abhandlungen f. M. Hertz* (1888), p. 177 f. Gevaert, *Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité*, 1876, p. 350 (p. 370: la polyphonie hellénique . . . se rapprochait de la manière en usage chez les chanteurs au luth de xv et xvi siècle). K. v. Jan, in *N. Jahrb.*, 1879, p. 583. Gevaert has (p. 374 ss.) set the hymn to Helios to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument, to give an idea of the application of harmony in ancient times, as he imagines it.
- 340, 32. developed. Cf. Ambros, i, 461-494.
- 340, 37. trumpet. The tuba did not resemble the trumpet in its note, but the bugle of the German army; K. v. Jan, *Signal- und Schlaginstrumente*, in Baumeister, *Denkmäler d. kl. Alterth.*, iii, 1657. The σαλπικτής (*tubicen*) was admitted to the Greek agones. In the record of an ἀγὼν μουσικὸς πενταετηρικός at Aphrodisias, *CIG*, 2758 s. = Lebas-Waddington 1620d, the list of competitors begins: σαλπικτῇ - κήρυκι - ἐγκωμιογράφῳ - ποιητῇ - πνθαύλῃ. Seneca, *Epp.*, 76, 4: theatrum Neapolitanorum . . . factum est et ingenti studio, quissit pythaules bonus, judicatur. habet tubicen quoque Graecus et praeco concursum. *Encomiographi*, evidently at the same agon, are mentioned in M. Caes., *Epp. ad Frontin.*, ii, 2, 4, ed. Niebuhr (ii, 6, 7: interdiu in theatro consumitur). Most probably both Seneca and Marcus Aurelius refer to the pentaeteric *Augustalia* at Naples; it is known that poets participated in these; cf. *e.g.* Stat., *Silv.*, v, 3, 225-227.



- 341, 8. audience. Cf. Appendix xlii. Quintilian, ix, 4, 11; i, 10, 25. Details of the construction of the instrument in Chappell, *op. cit.*, p. 325 ss., and K. v. Jan in Baumeister, i, 563 ff., who remarks, p. 569, that no organist is ever mentioned in an inscription as crowned a victor, and that the organ never occurs in writers on music like Plutarch and Ptolemy; but that it seems to have been especially used in the amphitheatre to give the signals.
- 341, 10. *virtuosi*. The simple flute is regarded as the instrument of the soloists by Ambros, i, 487, Guhrauer (*Zur Gesch. der Aulosmusik*, in *N. Jahrb.*, 1880, p. 289 ff.) and apparently Gevaert (*op. cit.*, pp. 696, 699, 1). On the other hand v. Jan (*op. cit.*, 1879, pp. 581-584) thinks it was the double flute, which as a rule was played in two parts, the one half of the instrument rendering the melody, and the other maintaining a high note as an accompaniment. Cf. v. Jan, *Die musikalischen Festspiele der Griechen* (*Verhandl. der 39. Philologenvers.*), p. 80, 4, where the *aulos* is designated 'double clarinet'. See also his article *Flöten* in Baumeister, i, 553 ff. On the kinds of double flute in Roman theatrical music cf. my article in Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 545, 8 (K. v. Jan, *op. cit.*, p. 591, 21 and in Baumeister, i, 569).
- 341, 12. hautboy. Westphal, p. 21. Fortlage (*Rhythmica*, *StRE*, vi, 608). Ambros, p. 476. On the other hand K. v. Jan (in Baumeister, i, 553) considers the Greek *aulos* was not an oboe, but a clarinet.
- 341, 16. instruments. Westphal and Ambros, *opp. cit.*
- 341, 17. cithara. On the differences between the two cf. K. v. Jan, *Die griechischen Saiteninstrumente*, in *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1858, p. 181 (plate cxv); also his *Doctordissertation, De fidibus Graecorum* (Berol. 1859), p. 5ss., and his article *Saiteninstrumente* in Baumeister, iii, 1539 ff.
- 341, 24. Hebrews. *Ibid.*, 1544 ff.
- 341, 30. fingers. Jan, *Mus. Festsp.*, p. 80.
- 341, 32. antiquity. Ambros, i, 461-476. On the structure of the *cithara* cf. Gevaert, p. 254ss.
- 341, 38. to it. Westphal, p. 21. Cic., *Pro Murena*, 13s. (Quintilian, viii, 3, 79): *ut aiunt in Graecis artificibus eos auloedos esse, qui citharoedi fieri non potuerint*. K. v. Jan, *N. Jahrb.*, 1879, p. 591 explains this as due to the slight favour in which 'aulodic' was held. By this he understands the recital of an *auletes* who alternately played and sang. Guhrauer however (*op. cit.*, 1880, p. 689 ff., and *Zur Geschichte der Aulodik bei den Griechen*, *Progr. v. Waldenburg in Schlesien*, 1879) probably rightly understands it as the recital of a solo singer, accompanied by an *auletes*. A baritone voice accompanied in unison by a sort of oboe an octave higher, cannot have been particularly attractive, or even adapted to definite requirements. In reality the solo voice was accompanied by the *cithara*, which did not require a second musician; the function of the flute (apart from its use as the solo instrument of the *auletæ*) was to accompany the choirs and to lead them with its more powerful tone.

- Guhrauer, *Zur Gesch.* etc., p. 15 f.; so also now v. Jan, *Mus. Festspr.*, p. 80.
- 342, 2. voice. Meyer, *Anthol. Lat.*, 955, 957.
- 342, 4. song. Westphal, p. 115: the polyphonic accompaniment of song might be effected either by several wind instruments, or by several stringed instruments, or finally by a combination of the two. So Pindar, *Ol.*, 3, 6: *φόρμιγγά τε ποικιλόγαρυν καὶ βοὰν αὐλῶν ἐπέων τε θέσιν συμμίξαι πρεπόντως*. Fortlage, *op. cit.*, p. 607. A changing accompaniment of wind and stringed instruments is assumed by Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 430 f., on Horace, *Epod.*, 9 (l. 5: *sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra, Hac Dorium, illis barbarum*).
- 342, 6. choruses. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 17; Gell., xix, 9.
- 342, 9. alike. Aristides Quintilian., ii, ed. Meibom., p. 91: *οὐ γὰρ ταῦτ' ὅδ' εἶδος ἐν τε κιθάρα, καὶ ἐν αὐλῷ πρέπον*.
- 342, 14. husband. Pollux, iv, 80. *Ibid.*, 83: *Ἀθήνησι δὲ καὶ συναυλία τις ἐκαλεῖτο συμφωνία τις αὕτη τῶν ἐν Παναθηναίοις συναυλοῦντων. οἱ δὲ τὴν συναυλίαν εἶδος προσαυλήσεως ὡς τὴν αὐλωδίαν*. Aristides Quintilian., ii, ed. Meibom., p. 101, cf. also p. 108 sq.
- 342, 39. Canus. Plutarch, *An seni ger. s. resp.*, c. 5, 6, p. 786. Cf. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 16; Martial, iv, 5, 8.
- 343, 5. devout. Philostrat., *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 21, ed. K., p. 93.
- 343, 19. Arions. Gesner on Quintilian, i, 12; cf. Bitter, *J. S. Bach*, i, 304 f.
- 343, 26. vases. Westphal, p. 22 f. I borrow the comparison from Ambros, i, 510.
- 343, 37. triumph. I follow here H. Guhrauer (*Der pythische Nomos, eine Studie zur griech. Musikgeschichte*, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbh. f. cl. Philol.*, Supplementband viii, pp. 310–351), except that with K. v. Jan (in *Philologus*, xxxviii, p. 378 ff. and *Jahrbh.*, 1879, p. 577, whose view has since been adopted by Guhrauer himself [*Zur Gesch. der Aulosmusik*, in *N. Jahrbh.*, 1880, p. 703 ff.]) I do not assume the co-operation of two other instruments (*σάλπιγξ* and *σύριγξ*). Guhrauer, rightly in my opinion, prefers the account in Pollux, iv, 84, to that in Strabo, ix, p. 421 C (p. 322 f.); and I regard as very probable his conjecture that Strabo mentioned Timosthenes not as a composer, but as his authority, and that the passage contains a lacuna (p. 316). Guhrauer also rightly points out (p. 341) that the Roman designation for a solo flute-player, *pythaules*, shows that the Pythian *nomos* was a solo.
- 344, 3. boiled. Athen., viii, 338 B.
- 344, 14. trumpet. Horace, *A. P.*, 202. Cf. K. v. Jan in Baumeister, i, 558.
- 344, 16. spinets. W. v. Kügelgen (d. 1867), *Jugenderinnerungen eines alten Mannes*, p. 348: 'There was as much difference between the instruments of that day (1817) and this, as between toy drums and kettle-drums.'
- 344, 20. carriages. Ammian. Marcellin., xiv, 6, 18.
- 344, 28. unison. Athen., v, p. 201 F.
- 344, 34. together. Ambros, i, 155.

- 344, 39. singers. *Id.*, i, 163.
- 344, 40. Alexandria. I do not know on what authority the following statement of O. Müller (*Gr. L. G.*, i, 293, quoted by Ambros, i, 313 f.) is based: 'At the courts of the Macedonian rulers, from Alexander onwards, symphonies were performed with hundreds of instruments, and we must believe from the statements of ancient writers that the instrumental music of that day, especially as regards wind-instruments was not less rich and varied than ours' (?). There is nothing of the kind in the passage quoted by Müller, Plutarch, *De mus.*, c. 18.
- 345, 5. Eastern. Ambros, i, 183.
- 345, 6. *sambuca*. Livy, xxxix, 6: *Tunc psaltriae sambucistriaeque* (Ambros, i, 181) *et convivalia ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis*.
- 345, 8. fife. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 462, 1.
- 345, 9. kettle-drums. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 2, 1; Juv., 3, 62 sqq.
- 345, 11. Nero. Ambros, i, 180 f. (where however the *pythaulas* is confused with the *utricularius*).
- 345, 17. Alexandria. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto nel tempo de' Greci e de' Romani*, p. 100, 3.
- 345, 21. cithara. Cf. vol. i, p. 359.
- 345, 27. harp. Ambros, i, 161.
- 345, 30. played. Athen., iv, 183 E.
- 345, 32. airs. Ovid, *A. a.*, iii, 318.
- 345, 34. ballets. Martial, iii, 63, 5.
- 345, 35. symphonies. Cic., *In Verr.*, ii, 3, 44, 105; 5, 13, 31; *Pro Coel.*, 15, 35.
- 345, 36. *symphoniaci*. *Id.*, *Divin. in Caecil.*, 17, 55; *In Verr.*, ii, 5, 15, 64; *Pro Milone*, 21, 55.
- 345, 39. flute. The 'collegium symphoniacorum qui sacris publicis praestu sunt' (Henzen, 6097) is no other than the coll tibicinum et fidicinum Romanorum qui s. p. p. s. (Orelli, 2448, inscription of 111 A.D.). *CIL*, vi, 2191-93. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 226, 8. *CIL*, vi, 3, 23, 3369: Ode C. Cassi symphoniaci vixi ann. xix. Moschion contubernali.
- 346, 5. Pylades. Cf. vol. ii, p. 102.
- 346, 17. foot. In monuments the *scabillum* appears more often as an independent instrument standing on the ground by the dancer. Jahn, *Columbarium der Villa Doria-Panfilii*, pp. 24, 47. The *scabilla* seem to have been sometimes furnished with bells. Augustine, *De musica*, 3, 1: cum symphoniaci scabella et cymbala pedibus feriunt. K. v. Jan, *Signal- und Schlaginstrumente*, in Baumeister, iii, 1662.
- 346, 23. Northerner. Ambros, i, 292n. Mendelssohn, *Reisebriefe*, p. 146.
- 346, 31. Horace. Horace, *Carm.*, iv, 1, 22. Cf. Jahn in *Hermes*, ii, p. 432.
- 346, 37. drums. Athen., vii, 361 E.
- 346, 41. song. Max. Tyr., *Diss.*, xxxii, 4. Cf. also the description of the wedding music in the *Epithalamium Laurentii*, *Anhol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, ii, p. 742 (of the time of Claudian, *praef.*, xxvii), 60-64 (with Haupt's remarks in *Hermes*, ii, 14):—

Tympana, chorda simul, symphonia, tibia, buxus, cymbala, bambilium, cornus et fistula, sistrum, quaeque per aeratas inspirant carmina fauces, humida folligenas exclament organa voces.

- K. v. Jan (in Baumeister, i, 563) reads with Burmann *bombilium*, which is said to be a deep flute, instead of *bambilium*.
- 347, 8. stage. Seneca, *Epp.*, 84, 10. According to Phrynichus, p. 163 Lob. (who is probably speaking only of Greek theatres) κωμῳδοὶ καὶ τραγῳδοὶ appeared on the λογεῖον, but αἰληται καὶ κιθαρῳδοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἀγωνίζοντες . . . καὶ οἱ χοροὶ in the ὀρχήστρα (incorrectly called θυμέλη).
- 347, 19. flutes. Vit. Carin., c. 19.
- 347, 21. great. Ammian., xiv, 6, 18.
- 347, 27. severity. Cic., *De legg.*, ii, 15, 39: Illa quidem (sc. theatra) quae solebant quondam compleri jucunda severitate Livianis et Naevianis modis, nunc ut eadem exultant, ut cervices oculosque pariter cum modorum flexionibus torquent.
- 347, 32. melodies. Varro in Non., 7, 16 (Buecheler, Petron., ed. min.<sup>3</sup>, p. 199, n. 365. Vahlen, *Conjectanea*, p. 16): Saepe totius theatri tibiis, crebro flectendo Commutari mentes, frigī (*frigier* V., *erigi* B.) animos eorum. Cf. Horace, *A. P.*, 211 sqq.
- 348, 2. divine. Plutarch, *De mus.*, 15, 1. As Westphal, *Harmonik u. Melopöie*, pp. 51–57, has shown, the treatise is the first essay of a Platonizing musician, who has to a great extent plagiarized Aristoxenus.
- 348, 2 Plutarch. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.*, ix, 15, 17: ἡ ὀρχησις . . . τῶν μὲν ἐμπληκτικῶν καὶ ἀνοήτων κρατεῖ θεάτρων, ὥσπερ τύραννος ὑπήκοον ἐαυτῇ πεποιημένη μουσικὴν ὀλίγου τὴν ἅπασαν.
- 348, 7. virility. Quintilian, i, 10, 31.
- 348, 11. tickling. Plutarch, *De esu carnum*, ii, 2, 3.
- 348, 37. unnatural. Thibaut, *Ueber Reinheit der Tonkunst*.<sup>3</sup> te Ausgabe (1851, Iste, 1825), pp. 10 ff., 77, 92, 112 ff.
- 349, 24. 'chapels'. Read 'bands'.
- 349, 26. serfs. Prince Nicholas Borisovich Yusupov (ii, p. 137) 'had in his service not only a large orchestra, but also an operatic company and a *corps de ballet* consisting entirely of his serfs'. Bernhardt, *Gesch. Russlands*, iii, 677.
- 349, 28. inheritance. Vol. ii, p. 112. Cf. Cic., *Div. in Caecil.*, 17, 55; *In Verr.*, ii, 5, 15, 64.
- 349, 33. flutes. Cic., *Pro Roscio Amer.*, 45, 134.
- 349, 35. musicians. *Id.*, *Pro Milone*, 21.
- 349, 37. song. *Id.*, *Pro Coel.*, 15; Seneca, *Epp.*, 51; vol. i. p. 338.
- 349, 37. Maecenas. Seneca, *Quare aliqua incommoda* etc., c. 3, 10.
- 349, 38. Cāligula. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 37.
- 349, 41. table. Was the custom derived from Greece? Cic., *Fam.*, xvi, 9 writes in 50 B.C. to Tiro: Symphoniam Lyconis (a musical banquet at Patrae) vellem vitasses. Seneca, *Vit. beat.*, c. 11, 4: vide hos eosdem . . . aures vocum sono, spectaculis oculos, saporibus palatum suum delectantes. Horace, *A. P.*, 374 (ut gratas inter mensas symphonia discors). C., iii, 19, 18. At the banquet of Nasidienus there is no music. Lib., ed. R., i, 192: οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς τραπέζας ὑμῖν ἄδοντες νέοι καὶ



ὅφ' ὦν τοῖς ἄσμασι πίνετε . . . εἰσὶν ἡδύους αὐτοῦ τοῦ πόματος. It is said of Stilicho by Claudian, *Laud. Stilich.*, ii, 141: nullo citharae convivia cantu Non pueris lasciva sonant. Cf. Muel-ler, *Gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, 7.

350, 3. Martial. Martial, ix, 77, 3.

350, 5. Andalusians. Juvenal, ii, 162.

350, 8. cithara. Gell., xix, 9, 3.

350, 11. lute. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 15.

350, 11. Martial. Martial, v, 78.

350, 23. house. Petron., *Sat.*, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41, 47.

350, 26. hymns. Dessau, *BdI*, 1884, pp. 154-156: Ti. Claudio Veloci hymnologo primo M. d. I. et Attinis publico etc. *CIL*, vi, 9475 = Orelli, 2617: Ti. Claudio Glypto hymnologo de campo Caelimontano. Firmicus, *Math.*, iii, 6: hymnologos et qui deorum laudes cum jactantia et ostentatione decantent.

350, 28. Isis. Vol. i, p. 256.

350, 30. sacred. On music in Roman worship cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 186 f. It is an error of Ambros (*Gesch. der Musik*, i, 528) to understand by *ἱερὰ μουσική* in Julian, *Epp.*, 56 sacred music in the modern sense; the predicate is evidently an honorific one applied to the art generally.

351, 3. ballads. Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, i, 597 f.

351, 10. places. Ovid, *Fast.*, iii, 535; *A. a.*, iii, 317.

351, 13. Cicero. Cic., *Acad. prior.*, ii, 7, 20.

351, 15. disapproval. Cic., *De orat.*, iii, 25, 98: quanto molliores sunt et delicatiores in cantu flexiones et falsae voculae quam certae et severae! quibus tamen non modo austeri, sed si saepius fiunt, multitudo ipsa reclamant.

351, 21. performance. Polyb., xxx, 13. Athen., xiv, 4 (at the triumphal games of L. Anicius in 587 = 167 B.C.).

351, 27. colours. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 580 f.

351, 29. hand. *Auct. ad Herenn.*, iv, 47, 60; cf. Cic., *De orat.*, ii, 80, 325; *Tusc.*, v, 40, 116.

351, 32. cithara. Psilocitharistae, Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 4.

351, 32. varieties. Trigonon, cf. vol. ii, p. 345.

351, 32. flute. Appendix xlii.

351, 33. organ. Vol. ii, p. 341. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 41, 54: voverat . . . proditutum se . . . etiam hydraulam et choraulam et utricularium. Organ-playing on contorniates: Sabatier, *Descr. gén. des méd. cont.*, pl. x, 6-9. In the Nennig mosaic the organist is accompanied by a performer on the crooked horn. Gevaert, p. 372: La grande vogue du jeu de l'orgue (hydraulus) sous l'empire romain témoigne d'une certaine culture de l'harmonie. On ne concevait pas qu'un instrument aussi compliqué que celui dont Héron d'Alexandrie et Vitruve nous ont laissé la description eût simplement fait entendre une musique homophone, que des instruments moins riches, mais doués de la précieuse faculté de l'expression pouvaient rendre avec infiniment plus de charme.

351, 35. dramatic. Appendix xlii.

351, 35. lyric. *ᾠδολ.*: Appendix xlii. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 42: jocu-

laria in defectionis duces carmina lasciveque modulata . . . etiam gesticulatus est.

- 351, 39. Leucothea. Pseudolucian., *Nero*, c. 3. In the imperial age there was also at Olympia a contest for singers. *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1879, 210, n. 331 : Πεισαῖοι Σπερχεῖδον ἀμύμονος εἴνεκα μολπῆς, Ol. 253 = 233 A.D. ; *ibid.*, 1884, p. 54, n. 339 (second cent.) : Ἰσὶ[δη]μος Ὀλύμπιον ὕμνον ἀείσας Εἰδρυμαι βουλῆς ψήφῳ Ὀλυμπιάδος.
- 351, 40. *virtuose*. Citharoeda : Orelli, 2609. ΧΟΡΑΥΛΙΣ, 2610.
- 351, 41. Alexandria. Cf. vol. ii, p. 345.
- 352, 1. Herculaneum. *Ant. d. Ercol.*, v, 4, p. 201. Roux and Barré, *Pompeji und Hercul.*, ii, 13. Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, p. 348 f.
- 352, 5. *plectrum*. 'This is the usual attitude of the *citharoedi*. I therefore conjecture that they only played the prelude, interlude and postlude (the κρούματα) with the *plectrum*, but accompanied the singing softly with the left hand (intus cano : Ascon. ad Verr., ii, 1, 20 ; Athen., iv, 80 ; Plato, *Lys.*, 299 B ; *Archäol. Ztg.*, 1858, p. 190)'. K. v. Jan. Cf. his article on stringed instruments in Baumeister, iii, 1542 and his *Mus. Festspiele der Griechen (Verhandlungen der 39. Philologenversammlung)*, p. 79.
- 352, 10. instruments. *Chorocitharistae*, Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 4. Cf. *e.g.* Phaedr., v, 7, 25.
- 352, 14. solos. That the 'cornicines atque tubarum conventus', Juv., x, 210 sqq. are a prelude to the solo of the *citharoedi*, as Grysar assumed (*Ueber das canticum u. d. Chor*, p. 49), does not follow with any certainty from the passage, although quite possible. *Principium* (Sueton., *Nero*, c. 21) is the prelude of the *citharoedi* itself. Cic., *De orat.*, ii, 80, 325 : conexum autem ita sit principium consequenti orationi, ut non tamquam citharoedi prooemium affictum aliquod . . . videatur.
- 352, 15. Nero. Cyprian, *De spect.* : Graeca illa certamina vel in cantibus vel in fidibus vel in vocibus vel in viribus.
- 352, 18. festival. Vol. ii, p. 119.
- 352, 25. airs. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 20.
- 352, 26. Domitian. Vol. ii, p. 120 ; Appendix xlii. Domitian is the ἀυλήσεως ἐραστής in Dio Chr., *Or.*, iii, 57 M.
- 353, 9. discontinued. Appendix xlii.
- 353, 15. technique. Lebas-Waddington 81 = CIG, 3053. The inscription seems to belong to the middle of the second century B.C.
- 353, 21. time. Cf. *e.g.* the inscription of the ποιητῆς καὶ κιθαριστῆς M. Sempronius Nicocrates, vol. i, p. 319. A certain P. Aelius Pompeianus, ποιητῆς πλειστονείκης, μελοποιὸς καὶ ραψωδὸς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ (Nysa), *Bull. d. corr. Hellén.*, ix, 1885, p. 124.
- 353, 22. Tigellius. *Acro*, Hor. *Sat.*, i, 2, 3 ; dicebatur in poematis suis placere voce non carminum probitate. Cantor optimus et modulator : Hor., *Sat.*, i, 3, 129.
- 353, 23. Menecrates. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 73 : Menecratis cantica.
- 353, 23. Mesomedes. Euseb., *Chron.*, ad an. 146 A.D. : Μεσομήδης ὁ Κρής κιθαρωδικῶν νόων μουσικὸς ποιητῆς γνωρίζεται. Cf. Suidas,

- s.v. *Μεσομήδης* with Bernhardy's note and Jacobs, *Anthol.*, iii, p. 6. Bellermann, *Die Hymnen des Dionysius und Mesomedes*, Berlin, 1840.
- 353, 27. Helios. Ambros, i, 450.
- 353, 33. Musaeus. Inscription of a *citharoedus* M. Ulpius Heliodorus of Argos who had gained as many victories *ὅσας οὐδείς πρὸ αὐτοῦ κιθαρωδῶν ὑπὸ φωνασκῶν* M. Οὐλλπιον Θεόδωρον τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν, edited by Lüders (who wrongly takes *φωνασκός* to mean a singer) *BdI*, 1873, p. 142. Inscription of one Valerius Eclectus of Sinope, victor as *κήρυξ* in many *agones* ὑπὸ M. φωνασκῶν Αὐρήλιον Μουσαῖον τειμηθέντα ὑπὸ Ἑλλείων καὶ Δελφῶν ἀνδριᾶσι μόνον καὶ πρῶτον τῶν ἐπὶ φωνασκίᾳ. *CIA*, iii, 129.
- 353, 38. prominent. Quintilian, xi, 3, 19 sqq. (*praeparare ab imis sonis vocem ad summos*).
- 354, 6. so forth. Quintilian, *loc. cit.*; Sueton. *Nero*, c. 20, 25; Galen, *De locis affectis*, vi, 6, ed. K., viii, 451: ὅσοι δ' εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ ἀθλοῦντες ἢ φωνασκοῦντες ἀπειροὶ τῶν ἀφροδισίων διετέλεσαν κ.τ.λ. Choricus, Π. τ. ἐν Διονύσου τ. βίον εἰκονιζόντων, c. 15, 9. *Rev. de philol.*, i, p. 240 (cf. vol. ii, 93). *Infibulatio* (Cels., vii, 25, 3) e.g. Martial, xi, 75, 3; xiv, 215; Juvenal, vi, 379 sqq. Silver *fibulae*, Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 151.
- 354, 11. blood-vessel. Galen, *ib.*, iv, 13, ed. K., viii, 287: καὶ τισιν ἐτέροις ἀγωνιζομένοις κιθαρωδίαν ἢ τραγωδίαν ἢ ὀξεῖα καὶ μεγάλην φωνὴν διέρρηξεν ἀγγεῖα.
- 354, 19. distinctions. Vol. i, p. 319. Statues of *citharoedi*: Köhler, *Verm. Schr.*, vi, 209; Dio, lxiii, 8.
- 354, 21. performances. Prizes for *citharoedi* of 500, 1500, 3250 *denarii* at Aphrodisias, *CIG*, 2758.
- 354, 28. crowns. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 19.
- 354, 29. fees. Juv., 7, 175 sqq. A foundation in Teos provided the following annual salaries: for three γραμματοδιδάσκαλοι (for boys and girls) 600, 550 and 500 *drachmae*; two παιδοτρίβαι 100 *drachmae* each; one κιθαριστής or ψάλτης 700 *drachmae*; one τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν διδασκων 250 *drachmae*; one ὀπλομάχος 300 *drachmae*. G. Hirschfeld, *Inschrift aus Teos*, in *Hermes*, 1875, pp. 501-503.
- 354, 34. *citharoedus*. Martial, iii, 4.
- 354, 40. *choraules*. *Id.*, v, 56.
- 355, 8. favours. Vol. i, p. 246 f.
- 355, 12. Anaxenor. Strabo, xiv, 41, p. 648 C.
- 355, 16. Augustus. Vol. i, p. 83.
- 355, 22. pain. Vol. i, p. 60.
- 355, 23. Menecrates. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 30.
- 355, 27. reduce. Bähr, *StRE*, iv, 1874; Suid., s. v.; *Vit. Anton. P.*, c. 7.
- 356, 15. shoes. Phaedr., v, 7. On *divina domus* cf. note on vol. i, p. 54, 13. In the inscription from Amaria of the time of Augustus or Tiberius (Jahn, *Spec. epigr.*, p. 138): L. Mini tibicinis | Cassia uxor | L. Cassi principis tibicinis | cappae (?) Bücheler, probably rightly, regards the latter (father of Cassia who married L. Minius) as the *princeps* of Phaedrus. *Rhein. Mus.*, xxxvii, 332.

- 356, 19. Tigellius. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, vii, 24; cf. *Ad Attic.*, xiii, 49-51.  
 356, 36. day. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 3, 1-19; 2, 1-4.  
 357, 4. made. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 23. Cf. Dio, lxiii, 9.  
 357, 8. dress. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 4; Sueton., *ib.*, c. 24.  
 357, 9. hearing. Dio, lxi, 20.  
 357, 13. hearers. Tac., *ib.*  
 357, 20. Pompey. Martial, xiv, 166 (cithara):—  
     De Pompeiano saepe est ejecta theatro,  
     quae duxit silvas detinuitque feras.  
 357, 21. entering. Epictet., *Diss.*, ii, 16, 9. Cf. also Cic., *De orat.*,  
     iii, 50, 196; *Orat.*, 51, 173; *Parad.*, 3, 26.  
 357, 24. profession. Martial, iv, 5, 8.  
 357, 37. Scipio. Macrobi., *Sat.*, ii, 10.  
 358, 2. boy. Cic., *De orat.*, iii, 23, 86 speaks of the difference be-  
     tween *dilettanti* and artists: Valerius cottidie cantabat. erat  
     enim scenicus, quid faceret aliud? 87: At Numerius Furius,  
     familiaris noster, quum est commodum, cantat. Est enim pater  
     familias, est eques Romanus, puer didicit quod discendum fuit.  
 358, 5. offence. Macrobi., *loc. cit.*  
 358, 6. Nepos. Cornel. Nepos, *Praef. Epam.*, 1.  
 358, 9. Catiline's. Cic., *Catil.*, ii, 10, 23.  
 358, 18. subjects. Seneca, *Epp.*, 88, 9; Quintilian, i, 10, 22.  
 358, 24. schools. Colum., *R. r.*, i, *praef.*, 5; Lucian, *Amores*, 44.  
 358, 21. Augustine. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 440, 7.  
 358, 30. cithara. Sueton., *Tit.*, c. 3.  
 358, 30. Britannicus. *Id.*, *Nero*, c. 33.  
 358, 41. year. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 15.  
 358, 41. Suetonius. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 20.  
 359, 3. Apollo. Seneca, *Apocol.*, c. 4.  
 359, 4. Andron. H. A., *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 2.  
 359, 6. Commodus. *Vit. Commodi*, c. 1.  
 359, 14. chairs. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 10, 90.  
 359, 16. instruments. Vol. i, p. 231.  
 359, 18. women. Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 23: Ipse quoque Ausonias Caesar  
     matresque nurusque Carmina turrigeræ dicere jussit Opi. I  
     am not aware that anything is known about this festival.  
 359, 19. Diana. Catull., c. 33.  
 359, 20. games. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 393, 8. In Stat., *Silv.*, i,  
     4, 96. Apollo says: neque enim frustra mihi nuper (88 A.D.)  
     honora Carmina patricio pueri sonuistis in ostro.  
 359, 24. Augustus. Sueton., *August.*, c. 100.  
 359, 29. melodies. Herodian, iv, 2, 5.  
 359, 30. Caligula. Dio, lix, 7.  
 359, 35. Paetus. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 21; Dio, lxii, 26. The expressions  
     of the two writers: habitu tragico cecinerat and τραγωδιαν  
     ὑποκρινάμενος exactly correspond. Cf. vol. ii, 98 f.  
 359, 41. Sempronia. Sallust, *B. C.*, c. 25.  
 360, 7. Pliny's. Cf. vol. i, p. 63.  
 360, 18. modulation. Lucian, *Imagg.*, 13 sqq.  
 360, 27. youth. Seneca, *Controv.*, i, *prooem.*  
 360, 35. tune. Seneca, *De brev. vitae*, c. 12, 4.



- 360, 38. else. Manil., v, 329 sqq.  
 361, 1. ladies. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 595.  
 361, 2. circles. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 9, 25.  
 361, 3. society. Manil., iv, 525 sqq.; v, 329.  
 361, 9. Menecrates. Petron., *Sat.*, cc. 64 and 73.  
 361, 12. nicely. Martial, ii, 7.  
 361, 20. foe. Cic., *In Pisonem*, 166-177.  
 361, 22. Hadrian. *Vit. Hadriani*, c. 14.  
 361, 23. Fronto. Fronto, *Fer. Als.*, 3, ed. Naber, p. 226.  
 361, 31. Pius. Dio, lxxvii, 13.  
 361, 33. organ. *Vit. Elagab.*, c. 32.  
 361, 36. emperor. *Vit. Alex. Severi*, c. 27.  
 362, 6. difficulties. Sueton., *Nero*, cc. 41, 54.  
 362, 12. war. Dio, lvii, 18.  
 362, 40. endure it. Sueton., *Nero*, cc. 49, 41, 40.  
 363, 4. diet. *Ibid.*, c. 20; Dio, lxi, 20.  
 363, 6. Tiber. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 14 sq.; Dio, lxi, 20; Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 19.  
 363, 7. Naples. Tac., *A.*, xv, 33.  
 363, 9. Pompey. *Ibid.*, xvi, 4.  
 363, 11. 67. Haakh, *StRE*, v, 583 f.  
 363, 14. mask. Vol. ii, p. 99.  
 363, 15. composer. This cannot be concluded with certainty from Philostrat., *V. Apoll. Tyan.*, iv, 39, p. 82, ed. K.  
 363, 28. Maternus. Firmic. Matern., iii, 7, 10; 14, 1; 14, 10; v, 15 sq.; vi, 8.  
 363, 37. tombs. Ammian. Marcell., xiv, 6, 8 (where however *paucæ* can hardly be right, unless there is a *lacuna*).  
 364, 2. oblige him. P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, 123.  
 364, 18. church. Forkel, *Allg. Gesch. der Musik*, ii, 151; Jerome on *Ep. ad Ephes.*, c. v.  
 364, 21. Pelusium. Forkel, ii, 140; Isidor. Pelusiota, *Epp.*, i, 90.  
 364, 28. Paul. Forkel, *loc. cit.*  
 364, 37. Athanasius. *Id.*, ii, 133 f.; Augustine, *Conf.*, ix, 6.  
 365, 15. at once. Ambrose, *Opp.*, i, p. 740 (*Praef. ad Psalm. i*); Forkel, ii, 131.  
 365, 40. period. Westphal, *Harmonik und Melopöie der Griechen*, p. 24, cf. 157.



## VOL. III.

### I. BELLES LETTRES.

- 1, 26. phraseology. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 30 sq.
- 1, 28. Tacitus. *Id. ib.*, c. 37.
- 2, 12. many. Diodor., i, 2.
- 2, 13. Seneca. Seneca, *Contr.*, ii, praef., p. 151, 27, ed. Kiesel.
- 2, 31. youth. Martial, ii, 90, 2; Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 106 f.
- 2, 37. Latin. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, p. 302, 3.
- 2, 40. child. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 126.
- 3, 2. generation. Cf. my *Programm, De historiarum enarratione in ludis grammaticis*, *Ind. lect. aestiv. Regim.* 1874. Also Marquardt now agrees with me; *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 106, 7.
- 3, 7. days. Cf. vol. ii, p. 337.
- 3, 14. poets. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 128-131.
- 3, 16. use. Jerome, *Ep. ad Lact.*, 107, quotes a verse of Syrus with the remark: legi quondam in scholis puer. Phaedr., iii, *epil.* 33: Ego quondam legi quam puer sententiam: Palam mutire plebejo piaculum est (Enn., *Trag.*, 376 Vahlen), obviously also in a collection of maxims.
- 3, 19. Homer. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 14, 2. So also in Augustine, *Conf.*, i, 14; Paulinus Pellens., *Euchar.*, 72.
- 3, 19. Quintilian. Pliny, *ib.*; Quintilian, i, 8, 5.
- 3, 26. Ovid's. Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 369. Vol. i, p. 230 f. Menander and Homer were also the principal authors used in the Greek schools; see Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 1, 114. On the overrating of Menander by Greek stylists see Phrynichus, *Epit.*, p. 418, ed. Lobeck.
- 3, 27. Greek. Auson., *Protrept. ad nepot.*, *Id.*, 4, 46: Conditor Iliados et amabilis ursa Menandri Evolvenda tibi. *Vita S. Fulgentii episcop. Ruspens.* (468-533): quem . . . mater . . . Graecis litteris imbuendum primitus tradidit, et quamdiu (ut quando?) totum simul Homerum memoriter reddidisset, Menandri quoque multa percurreret: nihil de Latinis permisit litteris edocere. Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, lxxv, col. 117.
- 3, 33. read. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 146-175.
- 3, 34. countries. On the interpretation of the Greek poets in the Greek countries cf. Lehrs, *Qu. epp.*, p. 14; Aristid., i, p. 142 D, where Homer, Archilochus, Hesiod, Simonides, Stesichorus, Pindar, Sappho, Alcaeus and others are mentioned as poets who were interpreted in the school by Alexander of Cotyaeum. Cf. also Galen, ed. K., xvi, 566: καὶ γὰρ ῥήτορος ἤκουσα μελετῶντος ἐν παρακοπῇ καὶ γραμματικοῦ βιβλίον ἀναγινώσκειν οἰομένου

Βακχυλίδειον ἢ Σαπφικόν. Aristides dreamed that he heard the pupils in the schools of Alexandria read his own hexameters; he speaks as if it really could have happened (t. ii, p. 310, 12, ed. D.).

- 3, 40. Sabinus. Cf. vol. ii, p. 220.  
 4, 22. Martial. Sueton., *Ill. gr.*, 16.  
 4, 27. schools. Horace, *S.*, i, 10, 80-84.  
 4, 32. orator. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 26. Cf. Genthe, *De vita Lucani*, p. 82.  
 4, 33. Suetonius. Sueton., *Vit. Lucani, f.*, poemata ejus etiam praelegi memini.  
 4, 35. Martial. Martial, xiv, 194. Hence also the use made of Lucan by Florus (Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 348, 2 and 4) and in metrical inscriptions. *Pharsal.*, vii, 1-3, on a tablet found near Trèves, perhaps as Bücheler supposes, a specimen of calligraphy or the signboard of a *quadratarius*; considering the good writing it is not likely to be of late date. (I suppose *lux* for *lex* to be a mistake.) Bücheler, *Trierer Inschriften*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lviii, 1876, p. 175 ff.  
 5, 1. probable. Pers., *S.*, i, 29 c. schol.  
 5, 3. Italy. Stat., *Theb.*, xii, 810 sqq.  
 5, 5. indecencies. Martial, i, 35:—

Versus scribere me parum severos,  
 nec quos praelegat in schola magister,  
 Corneli quereris etc.

- 5, 10. men. Martial, viii, 3, 15.  
 5, 17. prose. Bernhardt, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, n. 213.  
 5, 23. outdid. Quintilian, x, 1, 125-131.  
 5, 35. schools. Cf. also Martial, xi, 90 (composed 96 at latest).  
 6, 19. others. Quintilian, i, 8, 8. Bernhardt, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, n. 212.  
 6, 22. Virgil. *Vit. Hadriani*, c. 16.  
 6, 34. Horace. Fronto, *Ad M. Caesarem et invicem*, i, 8, ed. Naber, p. 23. He has however echoes of Virgil and Horace. Hertz, *Renaissance und Rococo*, 47, 76. *Id.*, *Anall. ad carm. Horat.*, hist. iii (*Ind l. Vratisl. aest.* 1879), pp. 4-6.  
 7, 1. sewers. Fronto, *Ad M. Antoninum de orationibus*, ed. N., p. 155 sq. (according to Naber 162 A.D.).  
 7, 9. Cicero. Gell., xii, 2.  
 7, 15. wind. *Id.*, ii, 22.  
 7, 30. audience. Juv., 7, 82-86.  
 7, 32. schools. Sueton., *Vit. Lucani, f.*: poemata ejus praelegi memini. But perhaps his banishment from all the schools was not carried out everywhere and did not last long (cf. above n. on p. 4, 35). Certainly he was again a school author in the fourth century. Jerome, *In Rufin.*, lib. ii, opp. ii, p. 639, ed. Vallars: puto quod puer legeris atque Lucanum.  
 7, 35. Virgil. *H. A.*, V. *Ael. Veri*, c. 5.  
 7, 36. antiquity. Cf. my edit., i, p. 67 f.  
 7, 38. Ennius. The sentence from Ennius read by Phaedrus in the school (see n. on p. 3, 16) certainly stood in a collection of sentences.



- 8, 1. Puteoli. Gell., xviii, 5.  
 8, 3. Ennius. *Id.*, xix, 10, 13: Tum Fronto ad grammaticum . . . audistine . . . Ennium tuum dixisse. *Id.*, xx, 10, 2: Tum ille (grammaticus) . . . sic quid ex Vergilio Plauto Ennio quaerere habes, quaeras licet.  
 8, 9. Ennius. Fronto, *De fer. Als.*, ed. N., p. 224.  
 8, 15. day. Cf. Appendix lx.  
 8, 16. Ennius. Gell., xix, 8, 3.  
 8, note. Ritschl. *Neue Plautin. Excursus*, p. 124 n.  
 8, 27. everywhere. Gell., xviii, 5, 7: quumque aliquot eorum qui aderant, 'quadupes equus' apud suum quisque grammaticum legisse se dicerent.  
 9, 16. Petronius. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 118.  
 9, 29. comedy. Sueton., *De gramm.*, 11 and 21.  
 9, 36. *Thebaid.* Stat., *Silv.*, v, 3, 133-145, 195-208, 233-238.  
 9, 41. Catullus. Catull., 68, 15 sqq. (on l. 18 see Crusius, *Rhein. Mus.*, N. F., xlv, 1889, p. 449 f.).  
 10, 6. sprout. Ovid, *Trist.*, iv, 10, 19-28, 57 sq.  
 10, 7. *virilis.* Propert., v, 1, 133.  
 10, 8. *Culex.* Vergil, ed. Ribbeck (ed. minor), *Proll.*, p. xii.  
 10, 8. Lucan. Genthe, *De vit. Lucani*, pp. 14, 37, 47, 50 sqq., 71 sqq.  
 10, 16. Cornutus. *Vita Persii.*  
 10, 17. Nero. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 3.  
 10, 18. Verus. *Vit. L. Veri*, c. 2.  
 10, 23. Constantine. *Gordiani duo*, c. 3.  
 10, 25. shops. Martial, i, 113.  
 10, 26. Serranus. Quintilian, x, 1, 89.  
 10, 30. example. Stat., *S.*, v, 3, 135-138, cf. 121-123.  
 10, 33. hexameters. *BdI*, 1871, pp. 98-115; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, n. 618. Appendix xlii.  
 10, 35. judges. Appendix xlii. If the passage in Auson., *Professorum*, v, 4: Tu paene ab ipsis orsus incunabulis Dei poeta nobilis Sertum coronae praeferens Olympiae Puer celebrasti Jovem—really, as seems to be the case, refers to the *agon Capitolinus*, it affords the fourth example of a boy taking part in it, and one might believe that the participation of such youthful poets was not merely exceptional, but that there was a special poetical competition for boys.  
 10, 38. Tarsus. Welcker, *Kl. Schr.*, ii, p. xc ff. (Cic., *Pro Arch.*, 8, 18; *De orat.*, iii, 50, 194; Strabo, p. 674); Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, 308, 4.  
 11, 8. Laberius. Macrobi., *Sat.*, ii, 7, 7. Wölfflin, *Der Mimograph Publilius Syrus*, in *Philologus*, xxiii, 443 f.; Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 212, 3.  
 11, 8. Quintilian. Quintilian, x, 7, 19.  
 11, 10. *Orpheus.* Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 303, 4.  
 11, 15. subjects. Martial, xi, 42. Cf. introd. to my edition, p. 20.  
 11, 17. improvisations. Stat., *Silv.*, Praef. i. Cf. Kerckhoff, *Duae quaest. Statianae*, pp. 31-61 (*De Statii facultate extemporalis*).  
 11, 18. improvisations. Apoll. Sidon., *Epp.*, i, 11; v, 17; ix, 14.  
 11, 20. metres. *Id.*, *Epp.*, ix, 13.

- 11, 29. lads. Quintilian, ii, 5 (18-21).  
 11, 33. Horace. Fronto, ed. Naber, pp. 17 and 34.  
 11, 35. Gracchus. Fronto, *Ad. Marc. Caes.*, ii, 13; ii, 18 etc. (according to Naber, 141 and 143 A.D.).  
 11, 36. heart. *Id. ib.*, iv, 3, ed. N., p. 63.  
 11, 38. Gellius. Gell., x, 3, 2.  
 12, 6. aroused. For the following see Quintilian, ii, 4; Sueton., *De rhet.*, c. 1.  
 12, 34. elegies. Propert., iii, 12, ed. Keil.  
 13, 13. ecstasy. Pers., *Sat.*, 3, 44 sq.  
 14, 2. ownership. Sueton., *De rhet.*, c. 1.  
 14, 10. possible. Quintilian, ii, 10; v, 12.  
 14, 17. nonsensical. Bernhardt, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, nn. 60, 214, 215.  
 14, 20. parents. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 3.  
 15, 4. tyrannicide. W. A. Schmidt, *Gesch. der Denk- u. Glaubensfreiheit im 1. Jahrhundert*, p. 424 ff.  
 15, 6. fathers. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 1.  
 15, 8. death. Juv., 7, 150 sq.  
 15, 10. Maternus. Dio, lix, 20; lxxvii, 12.  
 15, 18. chains. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 1.  
 15, 19. story. Seneca, *Controv.*, i, 6.  
 16, 7. done. *Id. ib.*, iii, 9; x, 3; Calpurn., *Declam.*, 10; Quintilian, *Decl.*, 330.  
 16, 11. bees. Quintilian, *Decl.*, 13.  
 16, 12. lovers. *Id. ib.*, 257.  
 16, 13. brothel. Seneca, *Controv.*, i, 2.  
 16, 17. father. Quintilian, *Decl.*, 302; cf. 10 and Calpurn., *Decl.*, 50.  
 16, 21. maidens. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 1; Quintilian, *ib.*, 326, 384.  
 16, 22. victims. *Id. ib.*, 12.  
 16, 24. cure. Juv., 7, 169 sqq. Seneca, *Controv.*, vii, 4.  
 16, 24. insanity. Quintilian, *ib.*, 256 (furiosus trium filiorum pater).  
 16, 25. adultery. Calpurn., *Decl.*, 2.  
 16, 31. receive. Seneca, *Controv.*, x, 4.  
 16, 32. tragedy. Quintilian, *Inst.*, ii, 10, 15; Juv., *l. l.* Some themes apparently had 'a real background in the criminal records' (Moravsky, *Wiener Studien*, iv, 166) but probably not many.  
 16, 41. *Romanorum*. Cf. Appendix Iv.  
 17, 12. ill-treatment. Quintilian, *Decl.*, 10. *Mathematicus*, 4. *Odii potio*, 14, 15.  
 17, 16. suicide. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, ed. K., p. 270.  
 17, 23. figures. *Id. ib.*, ii, 4, ed. K., p. 246. Lucian, *De saltat.*, 65. Cf. W. A. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Denkfreiheit*, p. 425.  
 18, 5. Isaeus. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 3, 2.  
 18, 12. rhetoricians. Gell., xiv, 2, 1.  
 18, 17. situations. Ennodius, *Dictiones*, xxiv (*Ethica*, 1): dictio extempore, quam ipse Deuterius injunxit (Speech of Diomedes, who on returning finds his wife wedded to another man). The poem by Q. Sulpicius Maximus is of the same kind.  
 18, 19. verse. Examples (specially from the poems of Dracontius) in Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 45, 9.

- 18, 21. schools. Tertullian, *Adv. Valentin*, 8 (a rhetor Latinus at Carthage treats *virum fortem*). H. A., *Gordiani*, c. 3; XXX tyranni, c. 4. Bernhardt, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 568; Aur. Vict., 47, 4; Lactant., *Inst.*, i, 1; Auson., *Proff.*, i, 15; Apoll. Sidon., *Ep.*, 8, 11. Ennodius, *Controversiae*, 10, *Ethicae*, 5. The list of subjects treated by Libanius (specially for beginners) ed. Reiske, iv, pp. 1141-1145. M. Schmidt, *Georgii Cyprii declamationes e cod. Leidens. editae, Pars ii, Ind. lect. hib. 1875 Jenens.* (theme of the tyrant). R. Förster, *Achilleus u. Polyxena*, two inedited declamations of Choricus. *Hermes*, xvii, pp. 193-238 (where on p. 206 are mentioned the as yet unknown speeches of Choricus, *Λυδοί, Μιλτιάδης, Σπαρτιάτης*).
- 18, 23. pupils. Augustine, *Conf.*, i, 17: verba Junonis irascentis et dolentis, quod non posset 'Italia Teucrorum avertere regem'. Ennod., *Controvers.*, 7 (*dict.* 20) in eum qui in lupanar statuam Minervae locavit. *Ib.*, 3 (*dict.* 16) in eum qui praemii nomine Vestalis virginis nuptias postulavit.
- 18, 25. instruction. Cf. also Ebert, *Gesch. d. christlichen latein. Litt.*, i, 419.
- 19, 39. influences. Echoes of the rhetorical school in Velleius, L. Seneca, Tacitus: Moravsky, *loc. cit.* (see n. on p. 16, l. 32).
- 19, 3. justified. Quintilian, x, 1, 90.
- 19, 16. Virgil. Seneca, *Controv.*, i, 3, ed. Bursian, pp. 19-21.
- 10, 20. prose. *Id. ib.*, ii, 10, ed. B., p. 136.
- 19, 29. bricks. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 20.
- 19, 33. aphorisms. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 118.
- 19, 35. word. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 10: ego vero omnem eloquentiam omnesque ejus partes sacras et venerabiles puto; nec solum cothurnum vestrum aut heroici carminis sonum, sed lyricorum quoque jucunditatem et elegorum lascivias et iamborum amaritudinem et epigrammatum lusus et quamcumque aliam speciem eloquentia habeat, anteponendam ceteris aliarum artium studiis credo.
- 20, 3. influences. H. Kretschmann, *De latinitate L. Apuleji Madaurensis* (Regim. 1865), p. 17 sqq.
- 20, 16. classes. Sueton., *August.*, c. 88.
- 20, 20. Hadrian. *Hadrian.*, c. 3.
- 20, 27. Greek. Dio, lxxi, 5; *Exc. Vat.*, 106. On Bassaeus Rufus cf. Appendix viii.
- 20, 34. classes. Cf. vol. iii, p. 26.
- 20, 37. form. *Gell.*, xiv, 5: the quarrel of two grammarians non parvi in urbe Roma nominis, on the question whether the vocative of *egregius* is *egregie* or *egregi*.
- 20, 38. meaning. *Id.*, xvi, 5. Pler que sunt vocabula, quibus volgo utimur, neque tamen liquido scimus, quid ea proprie ac vere significant, sed incompertam et volgariam traditionem rei non exploratae secuti videmur magis dicere quod volumus, quam dicimus (on the meaning of *vestibulum*).
- 20, 41. advocates. *Id.*, i, 22: Superesse (for *advocatum esse*) dicitur non in compitis tantum nec in plebe volgaria, sed in foro, in comitio, apud tribunalia. Cf. on *deprecari*, vii, 16.

- 21, 3. inscriptions. Mommsen, *CIL*, iii, p. 919. Cf. *Hermes*, xiv, 71.
- 22, 35. proud. Verg., *A.*, vi, 848-854.
- 22, 39. strove. Lehrs, *Popul. Aufg.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 367.
- 23, 3. world. Eyssenhardt, *Römisch und Romanisch*, p. 112 f.
- 23, 8. Horace. Horace, *C.*, ii, 2.
- 23, 12. West. Ovid., *Tr.*, iv, 9, 19-24.
- 23, 14. Ovid. *Id. ib.*, iv, 10, 128.
- 23, 16. Borysthenes. Prop., ii, 7, 19.
- 23, 30. Hungary. Vellei., ii, 111.
- 23, 39. home. Bernhardt, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, n. 498.
- 24, 3. handling. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 20, 11-13.
- 24, 4. sea. *Id.*, *A. P.*, 345.
- 24, 25. household. Ribbeck's Vergil, ed. minor, p. xxiii; cf. vol. ii, p. 3 f.
- 24, 28. crowd. *Id. ib.*, p. xxiii.
- 25, 3. mottoes. Vol. i, p. 153.
- 25, 8. atrociously. Petron., *Sat.*, 39 and 68; cf. also Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 231, 2.
- 25, 11. destiny. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 102 f.
- 25, 12. Renascence. Burckhardt, *Cultur d. Renaissance*, p. 528.
- 25, 12. birthday. Martial, xii, 67; Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 7.
- 25, 15. Virgil. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 101, 1. On the partiality of the Christians for him cf. G. Boissier, *Relig. rom.*, i, 351 f.
- 25, 22. promenade. Zangemeister, *Inscr. Pompej. parietariae*, *CIG*, iv, Ind. 259-261. Besides Virgil: Propertius, Ovid, Lucretius (i, 1); an echo of Tibullus, ii, 6, 20; 1837 (cf. Lucian Mueller, *Tibull.*, p. 63 sq.); from an unknown epic poet probably 1069a (barbarus aere cavo tubicen); elegiac 11118, 1928. *Ephem. epigr.*, i, p. 53, n. 166. The beginning of the Aeneid, also *CIL*, ii, 4967, 31 (Italicae tegulae stilo inscr. Litterae sacculi primi, ni fallor, Huebner). Inscription on a tile 66 A.D., at Julia Concordia with reminiscences of Virgil and Ovid (*Memorie dei Lincei*, vi, p. 245. Jordan, *Programm Acad. Regim.*, 1882, ii, p. 4), two lines of Virgil on a brick from Unter-Esching (Tasgetium) deciphered by Zangemeister. F. Keller, *Anzeiger f. schweizer. Alterthumsk.*, 1877 (not accessible to me).
- 25, 30. old. J. Grimm, *Kl. Schr.* (Speech in Schiller's honour) i, 391. Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, i, 199.
- 25, 33. popular. Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, p. 96.
- 25, 34. Ariosto. *Journal du voyage de M. de Montaigne en Italie* (1580/81), III, 37.
- 25, 39. school. Vol. ii, p. 339.
- 26, 14. nightingale. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 10, p. 256) Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, 313, 1.
- 26, 26. Goethe. Goethe (on dilettantism), *Werke*, 31, 425.
- 27, 7. Helicon. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 118.
- 28, 24. Atreus. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 2: nam postero die quam Curiatius Maternus Catonem recitaverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur, tamquam in eo tragoediae argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonem cogitasset etc. Bernhardt, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, n. 201.



- 28, 31. oratory. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 10: illud . . . quod plerisque patrocinatur, tamquam minus obnoxium sit offendere poetarum quam oratorum studium.
- 28, 38. poetry. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 107-117.
- 29, 15. unpleasantness. *Mém. de Mme. de Rémusat*, ii, 131, 163, 406-409. Fournier, *Napoleon I*, vol. ii (1888), pp. 159 and 161. Reumont, *Gräfin von Albany*, ii, 14.
- 29, 28. ladies. Vol. i, p. 251.
- 29, 36. good-will. For the following cf. Bernhardt<sup>4</sup>, nn. 178-182.
- 30, 26. throne. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 10.
- 30, 27. frivolous. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 3, 5.
- 30, 32. comedies. Bernhardt, n. 195 and for the following n. 197 ff.
- 31, 33. property. Pers., *Sat.*, i, 51 sq.
- 31, 35. Verus. *H. A., Vit. Veri*, c. 2.
- 32, 1. Nero's. Jahn, *Proll. ad Pers.*, p. lxxv sqq.
- 32, 3. hair. The expression may have been suggested by the products of the expedition to the amber coast (vol. i, p. 309).
- 32, 11. poems. Martial, viii, 70, 8: carmina docti Neronis.
- 32, 15. festival. Vol. ii, pp. 119, 352.
- 32, 19. talent. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 21.
- 32, 28. public. Genthe, *De vita Lucani*, pp. 23, 73.
- 32, 32. poet. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 28 sq.: Montanum . . . quia protulerit ingenium extorrem agi; cf. Nipperdey's note.
- 32, 41. art. *Id. ib.*, xiv, 52.
- 33, 32. Flaccus. Valer. Flacc., *Argon.*, i, 12. Imhof, *Domitian*, 133, 5.
- 33, 25. war. Martial, v, 5:—

Ad Capitolini caelestia carmina belli  
grande cothurnati pone Maronis opus.

On the meaning of *caelestis* cf. Fincke, *De appellationibus Caesarum honorificis* (Regim. 1867), p. 42; but apparently there this passage, which hitherto has never really been understood, has been overlooked; cf. note in my edition.

- 33, 29. nine. Martial, v, 16, 18.
- 33, 32. trifles. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 3, 5.
- 33, 35. show. For 'show that . . . liked' read 'show that Nerva still, towards the end of Domitian's reign, liked'.
- 34, 1. poems. Martial, viii, 70; ix, 26.
- 34, 2. preserved. Apulei., *Apol.*, c. 11, p. 410, ed. Oudendorp. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 346, 5. The poem on the horse Borysthenes, *CIL*, xii, 1122.
- 34, 4. poetry. Bernhardt, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, n. 220.
- 34, 12. Aelius. *H. A., Vit. Ael. Veri*, c. 5.
- 34, 18. flames. Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, ii, 10, p. 34, ed. Naber.
- 34, 25. Numerian. Bernhardt, n. 233. *H. A., Maxim. et Balbin.*, 7. Cf. also *Macrin.*, c. 14.
- 35, 9. Gibbon. Gibbon, *History of the Decline*, ch. ii, end.
- 35, 14. dearth. See e.g. *Vit. Alex. Severi*, c. 34.
- 36, 7. Cicero. Cic., *De Orat.*, i, 5 (quae pueris aut adolescentibus nobis ex commentariolis nostris inchoata ac rudia exciderunt),

- and i, 94 in Hänny, *Schriftsteller und Buchhändler in Rom*, p. 25.
- 36, 8. Atticus. *Id.*, pp. 30–33 on the Ἀττικιανὰ ἀντίγραφα (of Demosthenes, Aeschines and Plato).
- 36, 10. rivals. *Id.*, p. 25; Cic., *Ad Attic.*, xiii, 22, 3: Ligarianam praeclare vendidisti. Posthac quidquid scripsero, tibi praeconium deferam.
- 36, 24. book. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, p. 356, 1. As the result of an experiment I estimate 450 hexameters in 2 hours.
- 36, 38. Pucelle. Taine, *Origines de la France contemporaine*, i, 319.
- 36, 39. Ferdinand. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Spaniens*, iii, 52.
- 37, 2. Seven. Braun-Wiesbaden, *Die Gebrüder Grimm*, in *Augsburg. Allg. Ztg.*, 1881, 5. February, suppl.
- 37, 2. Kossuth. Helfert, *Gesch. Österreichs vom Ausgange des Wiener Octoberaufstandes*, vol. iv.
- 37, 12. reached. Cic., *Pro Sulla*, 15, 42 sq.
- 37, 13. Varro. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 11.
- 37, 25. desert. Sulpic. Sever., *Dial.*, i, 23.
- 37, 37. 3<sup>d</sup>. Martial, i, 118, 67; xiii, 3. Géraud, p. 180: Ces prix paraissaient inférieurs à ceux qui ont cours aujourd'hui (1840). The estimates in Schmidt's *Gesch. der Denkfreiheit*, p. 136 f. are too low.
- 38, 2. 6d. Statius, S., iv, 9, 7: Noster purpureus novusque charta Et binis decoratus umbilicis Praeter me mihi constitit decussi (edd. *decussis*). Hultsch, *Metrol.*<sup>2</sup> 317.
- 38, 6. fish. Géraud, p. 144 s.
- 38, 15. existence. Vol. i, p. 14.
- 38, 23. Varro's. Pliny, *N. h.*, vii, 115.
- 38, 25. general. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 615. Horace, S., i, 4, 21: beatus Fannius ultro Delatis capsis et imagine. C., i, 1, 29: doctarum hederæ præmia frontium. Juv., 7, 129: ut dignus venias hederæ et imagine macra. Pers., *Prol.*, 5, with Jahn's note. Vilic(us) hermar(um) bybliothe(c)ae Grae(cae): Henzen, 6282.
- 38, 27. library. Apoll. Sidon., *Epist.*, ix, 16.
- 39, 10. reading. Rohde, *Griech. Roman*, p. 304 f.
- 39, 10. Pollio. Gierig, *Plin. Epp.* (1802), ii, p. 538. Exc. i. Géraud, pp. 186–194. Lehrs, *Populäre Aufsätze*. M. Hertz, *Schriftsteller und Publicum*.
- 39, 29. Celer. Martial, i, 63.
- 40, 28. poets. Horace, *A. P.*, 472–476; Seneca, *Epp.*, 95, 2. Petron., *Sat.*, 90, 91, 115; Martial, iii, 44 sqq.; ix, 83; Juv., 3, 19; i, 1 sqq.
- 41, 3. actor. Quintilian, xi, 3, 14; cf. i, 10 and 11.
- 41, 11. Suetonius. Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 34.
- 41, 17. solfaing. Persius, i, 15–18, 98 with Jahn's note.
- 41, 20. silence. Martial, vi, 41; cf. iii, 18; xiv, 142.
- 42, 8. hands. Géraud, pp. 190, 193; Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 14.
- 42, 13. August. Pliny, *ib.*, viii, 21; Juv., 3, 9.
- 42, 40. audience. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 13; Lehrs, *op. cit.*, p. 370.
- 43, 6. friend. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 17.
- 43, 10. offence. Epict., *Manuale*, 33, 11.

- 43, 20. success. Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- 43, 27. Claudius. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 41.
- 43, 30. theatre. Apparently theatres were commonly used for recitations in other cities as well as Rome. Petron., c. 90: immo quoties theatrum, ut recitarem aliquid intravi, hac me adventicia excipere frequentia solet. Recitation by an *Ennianista* in the theatre at Puteoli, Gell., xviii, 5, 2. Mau doubtfully explains the alleged *auditorium* of Maecenas (neither an *Auditorium* nor a theatre) as a greenhouse. *BdI*, 1875, p. 89 sqq. Richter, *Topogr. v. Rom* and Iwan Müller's *Handb.*, iii, 901.
- 43, 32. Capitol. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 10.
- 43, 32. Domitian. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 2.
- 43, 35. Athenaeum. The site of the building is unknown. Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 1, 61; 62a.
- 43, 36. purpose. Apoll. Sidon., ii, 9; ix, 14.
- 43, 36. Pertinax. *H. A.*, *Vit. Pertin.*, c. 11.
- 43, 38. Severus. *Vit. Alex. Sever.*, c. 34.
- 44, 9. Sévigné. Mayor, *Juv.*, 3, 9, ed. 2, p. 181.
- 44, 18. kind. Krause, *StRE*<sup>2</sup>, Augustalia.
- 44, 19. dress. Dio, lx, 6.
- 44, 22. judges. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 11.
- 44, 23. corn. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 6; v, 3, 225 sq. (*Chalcidicae Cerealia dona coronae*).
- 44, 28. *agon*. Vol. ii, p. 120.
- 45, 8. competition. Martial, ix, 35, 90.
- 45, 8. 94. Cf. Appendix lvi.
- 45, 13. name. M. Hertz, *De Scaevo Memore poeta trag.* (Vratisl. ind. 1, Easter, 1869).
- 45, 30. Muses. C. L. Visconti, *Il sepolcro del fanciullo Q. Sulpicio Massimo*, Roma, 1871. Henzen, *BdI*, 1871, pp. 98-115. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, no. 618.
- 45, 31. noticed. Vol. iii, p. 10.
- 46, 2. custom. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto nel t. dei Greci e dei Romani*, p. 153.
- 46, 24. apostles. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom*, iv, 207-216. Koerting, *Petrarcas Leben und Werke*, p. 155 f.
- 46, 31. competitions. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 4.
- 46, 32. olive. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 5, 28 (where Kerckhoff, *Duae quaest. Papinianae*, p. 28 sq. writes rightly *Tu* for *Ter*); iv, 2, 65; v, 3, 227. Cf. Martial, ix, 23 to a certain Carus crowned there, who had crowned a bust of Domitian with his wreath:—
- Albae live potest pia quercus olivae,  
cinxerit invictum quod prior illa caput.
- 47, 2. deserve it. Petron., c. 83.
- 47, 4. town. *CIL*, ix, 1663: C. Concordius Syriacus, eq. R. com(m)entariensis rei. p. Benevent. numerarius bidui, poeta Latinus, coronatus in mun(ere) patriae suae et (the name of another place is lost).
- 47, 6. Carthage. Appendix xlv.
- 47, 8. proconsul. Augustine, *Conf.*, iv, 1, 1 mentions contentiosa

carmina et agonem coronarum foenearum, in which he participated. He refused the offer of a *haruspex* to procure him victory in this 'theatricum certamen', but he consulted an astrologer. He won the prize through the proconsul, qui manu sua coronam illam agonisticam imposuerat non sano capiti meo (*ib.*, iv, 2 and 3).

- 47, 16. protected. Géraud, *S. les livres*, pp. 194-200. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 829, 2.
- 47, 19. Philip. *Cod.*, x, lii (liii) 3 Imp. Philippus A. Ulpiano : poetae nulla immunitatis praerogativa juvantur.
- 47, 20. Lucan. Juv., 7, 97 sq.
- 47, 22. Silius. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 7; Martial, vii, 63, 11 : Emeritos Musis et Phoebō tradidit annos.
- 47, 37. Homer. Ovid, *Trist.*, iv, 10, 21.
- 48, 2. idleness. *Id.*, A. a., iii, 403 sqq.
- 48, 14. ground. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 12 sq.
- 38, 37. reputation. *Id. ib.*, c. 9 sq.
- 48, 37. Eumolpus. Petron., c. 83. Cf. vol. iii, p. 47.
- 49, 9. repudiate him. Martial, i, 76; iii, 38; v, 56; x, 76.
- 50, 14. Saturnalia. Juv., 7, 16-97. Cf. Appendix lviii.
- 50, 16. philosopher. Jahn, on Pers., i, 24.
- 50, 17. Oppian. Martial, vii, 4.
- 50, 40. Martial. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 21.
- 51, 11. poet. Cic., *Pro Archia*, p. 9, 20; 11, 28 sqq.
- 51, 32. sung. Pliny, *Paneg.*, 54.
- 51, 39. equipped. Stat., *Theb.*, i, 17-33; *Silv.*, iv, 4, 95; *Achill.*, i, 19.
- 52, 1. wars. Cf. vol. iii, p. 46; also Appendix xi.
- 52, 3. explanations. Haube, *De carminibus epicis saeculi Augusti* (Vratisl., 1870), p. 4 sq.; cf. also Jahn on Pers., 5, 4 and p. lxviii.
- 52, 11. Carus. Nemesian., *Cyneg.*, 63 sqq.
- 52, 16. deeds. Julian, *Orat.*, i, 1, and 2 D.
- 52, 31. continue. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 226-228.
- 53, 7. sesterces. Macrob., *Saturn.*, ii, 4 sq.
- 53, 10. honour. Horace, *l. c.*
- 53, 11. *Thyestes*. Schneidewin, *Rh. Mus.*, 1842, p. 107.
- 53, 16. sesterces. Vergil, ed. Ribbeck, p. xxx.
- 53, 20. heir. Sueton., *Vit. Horat.*
- 53, 25. panegyrics. *H. A., Vit. Alex. Severi*, c. 35 : poetae panegyricos dicentes. *Gallieni*, c. 11 : cum omnes poetae Graeci Latinique epithalamia dixissent, idque per dies plurimos.
- 54, 7. amphitheatre. Haupt, *De carm. bucol. Calpurnii et Nemesiani* (1854), pp. 16-26. Calpurn, *Eccl.*, i (94), iv and vii. Cf. the panegyric on Nero, *Anth. Lat.*, ed. Riese, ii, 189 sqq. (Bücheler, *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1871, pp. 235, 491).
- 54, 17. *lèse-majesté*. Tac., *A.*, iii, 49 sq. Dio, lvii, 20. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 42 does not refer to the matter.
- 54, 17. Claudius. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 12, 13, v. 56.
- 54, 19. epigram. Lucilius, according to *cod. Vat.* and *Med.* author of the epigram Leonid. Tarent., 23. Jacobs, *Animadv. ad Anthol. Gr.*, ix, 98.
- 54, 23. Bassus. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 17 sq.; Tac., *Dial.*, c. 9.



- 54, 31. talent. Juv., 7, 1-21; cf. Appendix lviii.  
 54, 31. Oppian. Suid., s. Ὀππιανός. Bernhardt, *RLG*, ii, 2, 659;  
 Clinton, *Fasti Rom.*, ad an. 171.  
 55, 2. Mercury. Horace, *C.*, ii, 17, 29.  
 55, 10. poets. Tac., *A.*, iii, 30; xiv, 52, 54.  
 55, 22. any one else. Horace, *S.*, i, 9, 23 sq.  
 55, 28. another. *Id. ib.*, 48-52.  
 55, 40. time. *Id. ib.*, i, 6, 50 sqq.; cf. i, 5, 40 sqq.  
 55, 41. needed. *Id.*, *Epod.*, i, 31 sq.  
 56, 8. anger. *Id.*, *Epp.*, i, 7.  
 56, 9. Augustus. Sueton., *Vit. Horat.*  
 56, 27. floors. Becker, *Topographie*, i, 540 f.  
 56, 31. Fronto. Hertz, *Renaissance und Rococo*, n. 4.  
 57, 20. Aetna. Tibullus, iv, 1-8, 16 sq., 177 sqq.  
 57, 26. poets. Cf. vol. i, p. 115.  
 57, 28. master. Cf. vol. ii, p. 361.  
 58, 38. Lucan. Martial, iv, 40.  
 59, 1. queen. *Id.*, x, 64; vii, 21-23. She married later another  
 poet. Apoll. Sidon., *Carm.*, 23, 165: quid quos duplicibus  
 jugata taedis Argentaria Polla dat poetas? At the time when  
 Martial sang of her, apparently she was still single.  
 59, 3. Regulus. Martial, xii, 36, 8 sq. with my note.  
 59, 10. Domitian. *Id.*, i, 101 (on a slave who died at the age of  
 19).

Illa manus quondam studiorum fida meorum  
 et felix domino notaque Caesaribus,

*i.e.* probably Titus and Domitian. They are also referred to  
 in iii, 95, 5:—

Praemia laudato tribuit mihi Caesar uterque,  
 notorumque dedit jura paterna trium.

Also ix, 97, 5: tribuit quod Caesar uterque Jus mihi natorum.  
 He asks confirmation from Domitian, ii, 91, 5: Permite videri,  
 Natorum genitor credar ut esse trium. Cf. introd. to my ed.,  
 i, 6. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 888, 44, takes a different view.

- 59, 11. tribune. Vol. i, p. 142.  
 59, 12. claimants. Martial, iii, 95, 11.  
 59, 14. table. *Id.*, ix, 93.  
 59, 15. sesterces. *Id.*, vi, 10.  
 59, 20. aqueduct. Imhof, *Domitian*, p. 138. Martial, xi, 18.  
 59, 23. approval. *Id.*, iv, 27; v, 6; vi, 64, 14; vii, 12.  
 59, 29. Crispinus. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 223.  
 59, 37. homage. Martial, iv, 15.  
 59, 40. Sicily. *Id.*, vii, 44 sq. (Seneca, *Epp.*, 87, 2), ix, 52 sq., x,  
 44 (on a journey of Ovid's to Britain when he was already old).  
 He was Martial's neighbour at Nomentum: vii, 93; cf. i, 105;  
 ix, 98; xiii, 119. For the double form of the gentile name of  
 Maximus see Nipperdey on Tac., *A.*, xv, 71.  
 60, 3. sons. Mart., iv, 14 (perhaps the introductory poem). vi,  
 64, 10; vii, 63; viii, 66; ix, 86; xi, 48 sq.  
 60, 5. Nerva. Vol. iii, p. 33, and Martial, v, 28, 4.

- 60, 6. Regulus. *Id.*, i, 12, 82, 111; ii, 74, 93; iv, 16; v, 10, 63; vi, 38; vii, 16, 21; cf. v, 28, 6.
- 60, 8. Lucanus. *Id.*, i, 36; iii, 20; ix, 51 (Lucanus; Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 18, Tullus). Cf. v, 28, 3 and the notes to this passage in my edition.
- 60, 9. library. *Id.*, ix, Praef., x, 96. Henzen-Or., 6446.
- 60, 10. Frontinus. Mart., x, 48, 20, 58. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*; Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 327.
- 60, 11. Pliny. Mart. x, 19. Mommsen, *Zur Lebensg. d. j. Plinius*, in *Hermes*, iii, 108. The Caecilius Secundus of vii, 84 is another: Mommsen, p. 79, 1. But the 'doctus Secundus' of v, 80, 7 is perhaps Pliny.
- 60, 12. Stella. Cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 125 and intr. to my edition. Martial, i, 7, 44; iv, 6; vii, 11, 59; vi, 21, 47; vii, 14, 36; viii, 78; ix, 42, 55, 89; x, 48, 5; xi, 52; xii, 3, 11.
- 60, 14. Saturninus. *Id.*, ix, 74; Orelli, 772; Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*
- 60, 14. Sura. Mart., vi, 64, 13; vii, 47.
- 60, 16. Tolosa. Mart., x, 23.
- 60, 16. others. Cf. introd. to my edition, p. 7 f.
- 60, 18. knights. Mart., iv, 40, 3.
- 60, 20. Caelius. *Id.*, ii, 69; iv, 54, 8; vi, 28 sq.; viii, 38. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 3, 1. Cf. also my introd., p. 3.
- 60, 25. centurions. Cf. vol. i, p. 143.
- 60, 30. divinity. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, *praef.*
- 60, 32. table. Cf. vol. i, p. 94 f.
- 60, 34. Alba. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 2, 61 sqq.
- 60, 37. Abascantus. Cf. vol. i, p. 53 f.
- 60, 40. readings. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 2, 160.
- 61, 5. Naples. Cf. Appendix lvi.
- 61, 14. cattle. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 5.
- 61, 16. city. *Id. ib.*, iii, 5, 12.
- 61, 18. Nomentum. Martial already owned his Nomentum in the year 84 (xiii, 42 and 119; cf. introd. to my edition, i, p. 5). If i, 55 was compared before he owned it, then this is one of his earlier poems included in Book i, and the possession of the Nomentum was no reason for omitting it. Seneca owned a large vineyard near Nomentum (vol. i, p. 160 f.), and considering that Q. Ovidius (who was a friend of Seneca's most intimate friend Caesonius Maximus, see note on vol. iii, 59, l. 40) had also a vineyard near Nomentum (Mart., i, 105; vii, 93; x, 44) the supposition is plausible, that Seneca's heirs had given parts of the principal estate to both of them.
- 61, 20. lead. Martial, xii, 57; x, 58, 9; xiii, 15; x, 48, 9; x, 94, 4; vii, 91; xiii, 42.
- 61, 22. Stella. *Id.*, vi, 43, 4; vii, 36.
- 61, 25. rest. *Id.*, ii, 38; vi, 43; xii, 57.
- 61, 26. mules. *Id.*, viii, 61.
- 61, 27. Quirinal. First mentioned ix, 97. It was situated like his earlier lodging (i, 117; v, 22; vi, 27) on the Quirinal (x, 58, 10).
- 61, 28. storey. *Id.*, i, 117, 7.
- 61, 29. fifty-seven. *Id.*, x, 24.

- 61, 34. content. *Id.*, xii, 6, 18. A property given by Marcella (xii, 21), xiii, 31.  
 62, 2. money. Martial, i, 107; v, 16; viii, 56, 73; xi, 108.  
 62, 3. like. *Id.*, vi, 82; vii, 36; cf. viii, 28; ix, 49; x, 73.  
 62, 6. something. *Id.*, vii, 16.  
 62, 10. taken me in. *Id.*, v, 36.  
 62, 12. amuses me. *Id.*, v, 15.  
 62, 17. immortality. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 21.  
 62, 24. subjects. Martial, xi, 42.  
 62, 47. carousals. *Id.*, v, 16 :—

Seria cum possim, quod delectantia malo  
 scribere, tu causa es, lector amice, mihi etc.

At nunc conviva est commissatorque libellus etc.

Cf. ii, 1, 9; 6, 8.

- 63, 11. spirits. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 1, 30 sq.; v, 5, 38. Epithalamium (for Stella) i, 2 = Mart., vi, 21. On the births of sons: iv, 7 and 8 (for Maximus Junius and Julius Menecrates). *Consolationes*: ii, 1 (Glaucias Atedii Melioris = Mart., vi, 28 sq.); iii, 3 (Lacrinae Claudii Etrusci = Mart., vii, 40); ii, 6 (Cons. ad Flavium Ursum de amissione pueri delicati); v, 1 (Abascanti in Priscillam pietas).  
 63, 16. lion. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 4 and 5.  
 63, 22. Syria. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 4; iv, 11; iii, 2.  
 63, 24. festivals. *Id. ib.*, i, 6 (Kalendae Decembres).  
 63, 25. buildings. *Id. ib.*, iv, 3 (Vita Domitiana).  
 63, 27. Forum. *Id. ib.*, i, 1 and i, *praef.*  
 63, 30. journalism. So also Renan, *L'antechrist*, p. 131, 2: Les epigrammes de Martial—représentent en beaucoup d'égards les petits journaux du temps.  
 63, 33. valuables. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3 (Villa Tiburtina Manilii Vopisci); i, 5 (Balneum Claudii Etrusci = Mart., vi, 42); ii, 2 (Villa Surrentina Polii Felicis); ii, 3 (Arbor Atedii Melioris); iii, 1 (Hercules Surrentinus Polii Felicis); iv, 6 (Hercules Epitrapezios Novii Vindicis = Mart., ix, 43 sq.).  
 63, 37. dine. Mart., ix, 19.  
 63, 39. do so. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 4 (Epistula ad Vitor. Marcellum); iv, 5 (Carmen lyr. ad Septimium Severum); v, 2 (Protrepticon ad Crispinum). Martial, iv, 31 :—

Quod cupis in nostris dicique legique libellis  
 et nonnullus honos creditur iste tibi etc.

- 64, 5. Gallienus. *H. A., Vit. Gallieni*, c. 11.  
 64, 13. honoraria. *Mém. sur Napoléon et Marie-Louise*. Par la générale Durand, 1886, p. 66 f.  
 64, 20. love. Stat., *S.*, i, 2, 248 sqq. In Lucian, *Lapithae*, 21 a Stoic, prevented from appearing at the wedding feast, sends a letter asking for it to be read to the guests: Φιλ. Ἦπου, ὦ Λυκίνε, τῆς νύμφης ἐγκώμιον ἢ ἐπιθαλάμιον, οἷα πολλὰ ποιοῦσιν; Λυκ. ἀμέλει καὶ ἡμεῖς τοιοῦτον ψήθημεν. After that a grammarian who was present read a ridiculous elegiac epithalamium.

- 64, 38. Martial. Genethliacon Lucani, Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 7 = Martial, vii, 21-23. Capilli Flavii Earini, Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 4 = Martial, iv, 11-13, 16, 36. For the other parallel poems of the two see notes on iii, p. 63, lines 11 and 33.
- 65, 30. many others. Martial, iv, 49 (where, however, as in v, 53, tragedies may also be meant); viii, 3; ix, 50; x, 4. Cf. also xiv, 1. The epigrams date from the years 88 to 97. The *Thebais*, on which Statius worked 12 years, was still incomplete in 89/90 (S., i, 5, 8) but already published at the beginning of 92 (S., i, *praef.*). This fact is wrongly contested by Kerckhoff, *Duae quaest. Papinianae*, Berol. 1884, pp. 25-27. For it is impossible to understand the words 'pro Thebaide mea, quamvis me reliquerit, timeo' to refer to a complete, but unpublished poem (K., p. 27) nor is there any reason to be found why Statius should have postponed the publication of the completed poem for three years (on p. 26 K. says that it was not completed till the end of 94). In the passage iv, 4, 87 sqq. written in the summer of 95, Statius informs Vitorius Marcellus that he has begun the *Achilleis*; and adds that the *Thebais* is already safe in harbour, and that he has made a thank-offering, no doubt for its good reception by the public. He is not speaking of its completion but of its success. Cf. Nohl, *Quaest. Statianae*, p. 23 sq. and Appendix lvi. For a correction of Martial in Statius see note on vol. ii, p. 190, 8. In the other parallel passages of the two poets, mentioned by E. Wagner, *De Martiale poet. Aug. aetat. imitatore* (Regim. 1880), p. 38, 1, and by H. Nohl (in the *Philol. Rundschau*, i, no. 20, p. 632 f.), the similarity is only based on the fact that it is not possible to avoid certain poetical expressions and reminiscences, while the divergences (Martial, i, 41, 4 = Stat., i, 6, 73; Mart., iv, 75 = Stat., ii, 2, 145) rather betray the intention to avoid or to surpass the expressions of the other.
- 65, 39. brilliancy. Stat., *Silv.*, *praef.*, ii and iv; *Theb.*, xii, 819.
- 66, 9. benevolent. Martial, i, 3.
- 66, 11. epigrams. *Id.*, xi, 20.
- 66, 13. case. *Id.*, viii, 69 (to Regulus, who probably made the same complaint); v, 10.
- 66, 15. works. *Id.*, xi, 24.
- 66, 17. cooks. *Id.*, ix, 81.
- 66, 20. competence. Martial, ix, 97; viii, 6; vi, 61.
- 66, 22. plundered. *Id.*, xi, 94.
- 66, 25. theft. *Id.*, i, 29, 38, 52, 53, 66, 72. Cf. xii, 63.
- 66, 30. rank. *Id.*, vii, 12, 72; x, 3, 5, 33. For 'rank' read 'blameless life'.
- 66, 35. view. Cf. also i, *praef.*
- 66, 37. poets. *Id.*, iii, 20; iv, 61.
- 66, 38. Quirinus. *Id.*, xi, 1.
- 67, 23. fleece. Juv., i, 1 sqq.
- 67, 23. Varro. Martial, v, 30.
- 67, 25. Rufus. *Id.*, iii, 20, 5 :—



An aemulatur improbi jocos Phaedri?  
 Lascivus elegis an severus herois?  
 An in cothurnis horridus Sophocleis?

See on him i, 61; iii, 64.

67, 26. Vopiscus. Stat., *Silv.*, 13, 100 sqq.

67, 27. Felix. *Id. ib.*, ii, 2, 144 sq.

67, 30. mimiambus. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 21 (Vergilius Romanus).

67, 31. Greek. So Brutianus, Martial, iv, 23 (epigrams); Arrius Antoninus, Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 3 (epigrams); Vestricius Spurinna (lyrics); viii, 4, Caninius Rufus (epic on the Dacian war).

67, 33. considerable. Quintilian, x, i, 94: Sunt et clari hodie, et qui olim nominabuntur. 96: (Caesium Bassum) longe praecedunt ingenia viventium. 98 (tragic poets): eorum, quos viderim, longe princeps (Pomponius Bassus). Lyric poets besides the above are Septimius Severus, Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 5, 60 and Passennus Paullus, Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 22, 2. Of satiric poets only Turnus is mentioned.

68, 3. Hylas. Juv., i, 162-164.

68, 17. rainbow. Horace, *A. P.*, 15.

68, 18. sunset. Seneca, *Apocol.*, c. 2 with Bücheler's note.

68, 20. Mars. Juv., i, 7 sqq.

68, 26. Ariadne. Lucil., *Aetna*, 8 sqq.

68, 31. legends. Nemesian., *Cyneg.*, 12-47. Of the deeds of Hercules sang, or intended to sing, Novius Vindex, Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 6, 100 sqq.

68, 38. poetically. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 293, 5.

68, 40. Virgil. Martial, xi, 52, 7.

68, 41. Albinus. *H. A.*, *Clod. Albin.*, c. 11.

69, 3. life. Cornel. Nepos, *Atticus*, 18, 5: attigit quoque poeticam: credimus ne expers esset ejus suavitatis.

69, 27. metre. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 9, 8-15.

70, 6. kind. A. Zingerle, *Zu spätern lateinischen Dichtern*, p. 100 ff.

70, 7. poets. Wilmanns, *Ex Inscr.*, 2480, 2481.

70, 16. temple. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 7.

70, 19. awe. Stat., *Theb.*, xii, 816 sqq.

70, 27. fidelity. Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 22; cf. vi, 15.

70, 29. odds and ends. *Ibid.*, iv, 14, 9: proinde sive epigrammata sive idyllia sive eclogas sive ut multi poematia—vocare malueris etc. Of the versatile amateur says Martial, ii, 7, 3: componis belle mimos, epigrammata belle. Epigrammatic poets: Cosconius (without obscenities), iii, 69. Cerrinius, viii, 18. Arrius Antoninus, Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 3, 18; v, 15 (Greek epigrams and iambs). *Poematia* in the style of Catullus's *Sentius Augurinus*, Pliny, iv, 27; ix, 8. Also the poems of Proculus (Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 15) and Faustinus (Martial, i, 25) belong to the lesser kinds (*libelli*).

70, 35. Virgil. Martial, iv, 14. Cf. introd. to my edition.

70, 37. number. Martial, i, 109. *Hermes*, i, 68. *CIL*, xiv, 3565 is also in the style of Catullus.

70, 40. sparrow. Martial, i, 7.

70, 40. Unicus. *Id.*, xii, 44.

71, 6. Calvus. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 16.

- 71, 19. predecessors. *Id. ib.*, iv, 27; ix, 8.  
 71, 23. song. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 105 f.  
 72, 13. hint. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 4.  
 72, 36. thinking. *Ibid.*  
 72, 38. metres. *Id. ib.*, viii, 21.  
 73, 2. friends. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 106, 3.  
 73, 16. birth. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 17.  
 73, 23. Gallicus. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 4, 29 sq. *CIL*, ix, 1571 sq. (Beneventi); M. Caecilio Novatiliano c. v. praetori et poetae inlustri allecto inter consulares etc.  
 73, 30. excellent. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 1. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 39 f.  
 73, 35. men. Pliny, *ib.*, i, 17; viii, 72. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*; vol. i, p. 55 and Appendix viii.  
 73, 39. poetry. Martial, xii, 11. Cf. vol. i, p. 57 f.  
 74, 9. education. Petron., *Sat.*, cc. 34, 41, 55.  
 74, 14. verses. Martial, ii, 20:—

Carmina Paullus emit : recitat sua carmina Paullus.  
 Nam quod emas, possis jure vocare tuum.

xii, 46:—

Vendunt carmina Gallus et Lupercus.  
 Sanos, Classice, nunc nega poetas.

- cf. i, 29, 66; xii, 63; vii, 77.  
 74, 30. world. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, pp. 311, 314, 1. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 335–337. Cf. Aristid., *Or.*, xxvii, ed. Dindorf, i, 542.  
 75, 1. mannerism. Rohde, *op. cit.*, p. 290.  
 75, 7. Attic. Lehrs, *Popul. Aufs.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 373 ff. Bernhardt, *GrLG*, i<sup>2</sup>, 519 ff.  
 75, 12. easy. Philostrate., *Vitt. Soph.*, i, 25, 7.  
 75, 20. family. *Id. ib.*, i, 25, 6.  
 77, 2. repeated. Lehrs, *op. cit.*, p. 374 f.  
 77, 3. Proaeresius. Eunap., *Vitt. Sophist.*, 165.  
 77, 22. story. The above I take mostly *verbatim* from Rohde, *D. griech. Roman*, pp. 332–336.  
 77, 38. teachers. Gell., xvii, 20, 1: Taurus mihi: heus, inquit, tu rhetorisce—sic enim me in principio recens in diatriben acceptum appellitavat, existimans eloquentiae unius extundendae gratia Athenas venisse.  
 78, 4. distinctions. Occupants of this chair were: the Cilician Philager, Philostrate., *V. soph.*, ii, 8, ed. K., p. 251s: the Phoenician Hadrianos, ii, 10, p. 256: the Cappadocian Pausanias of Caesarea, ii, 13, p. 258: the Smyrnaean Euhodianos, ii, 16, p. 200: Aspasio of Ravenna, ii, 33, p. 274.  
 78, 8. presumptive. *H. A.*, *Vit. Antonini*, c. 2. *Verus*, c. 2 (Herodes Atticus). Philostrate., *ib.*, ii, 24, 2 (Antipater).  
 78, 21. talent. *Vit. Hadriani*, c. 16. Philostrate., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 8, 22, 3.  
 78, 37. Polemo. Philostrate., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 24, 3.  
 79, 8. tears. *Id. ib.*, ii, 9, 2.  
 79, 17. Isaeus. *Juv.*, 3, 74.

- 80, 3. rhetorician. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 3; in Lehrs, *Pop. Aufs.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 372 f.
- 80, 10. Greek. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 8; ii, 10, 5.
- 80, 34. collections. Gell., ix, 2, 1. Keil, *Atticus*, in *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 2100.
- 80, 35. Polemo. Fronto, *Epp. ad M. Caes.*, ii, 10 (Polemonis tui quoniam meministi) cf. Verus' letter about him, ii, 5, ed. N.
- 80, 37. style. Fronto, *De fer. Als.*, p. 228, ed. N., and p. 237, ed. N. (Arion).
- 81, 6. Greek. This is rightly noted by Kretschmann, *De latinitate Apuleji*, p. 7.
- 81, 38. riddles. Apulej., *Florid.*, i, 9, 37.
- 82, 23. enemies. Raumer, *Gesch. der Pädagogik*, i<sup>4</sup>, 101. Strauss, *Ulrich v. Hutten*, i, 49 ff. G. Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, i, 219; ii, 266. *Id.*, *Wiederbelebung des Class. Alterth.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 399. Fr. Haase, *Philologie*, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclop.*, p. 379, 17. Melanchthon (*Declam.*, t. i, p. 409) in defending Latin poetry specially points out the fact, that, as in Roman times contempt of poetry was followed by general ignorance and extreme *infantia*, so in Germany the reconciliation with *meliores litterae* only set in, after the most educated men ceased to be shy of making *versiculos*.
- 82, 28. practice. *Corp. Reform.*, i, 783 in Paulsen, *Gesch. d. gelehrten Unterrichts*, p. 239; cf. p. 240: the belief that the art of poetry may be learnt 'is one of the fundamental ideas of humanism, it dominates the whole of poetical literature until the so-called 'Sturm und Drang' period, which regarded from this standpoint appears as the revolt against the aesthetic views of humanism.

## II. RELIGION.

- 85, 10. satisfaction. Gibbon, *History*, ch. xv. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 22: cupidine ingenii humani libentius obscura credendi (of Otho's belief in astrology).
- 85, 17. indifference. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 70 f.
- 85, 19. creed. Horace, *C.*, 134, 2.
- 85, 32. gods. Cic., *De har. resp.*, c. 9; cf. on Cicero's attitude towards religion Gaston Boissier, *La religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins* (1874), i, 61ss.
- 85, 38. stories. Strabo, i, 2, p. 19 C.
- 86, 3. crime. Epictet., *Diss.*, ii, 20, 32-35.
- 86, 3. statesmen. Maecenas in Dio, lii, 36.
- 86, 12. assistance. Lucret., iii, 48-58.
- 86, 14. Sulla. Plutarch, *Sulla*, c. 29.
- 86, 18. believers. Boissier, i, 67ss.
- 86, 18. Juvenal. *Juv.*, 6, 342.
- 86, 38. prompt. Lucret., i, 62-101.
- 87, 10. fathers. Zeller, *Philosophie d. Griechen*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 398, 2.
- 87, 11. Sextus. *Ibid.*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 2, 47, 2.
- 87, 26. Tacitus. I do not, like Nipperdey, recognize in *Hist.*, v, 5, *Germ.*, c. 9 a silent approval of Jewish and German worship, although in other respects I follow his commentary (Tac., *Ann.*<sup>3</sup>, pp. xiv-xvi).

- 87, 31. interfered. Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 78: nec sine ope divina mutatis repente animis terga victores vertere. *A.*, xiv, 22: Nero desecrated the *aqua Marcia*, by bathing in it, secutaque anceps valetudo iram deum affirmavit.
- 87, 36. so doing. Babucke, *De Quintiliani doctrina* (Regim. 1866), pp. 11-16.
- 88, 9. due. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxiv, 1; xxvii, 8 (with Sillig's note); xxxvii, 205; ii, 12-27. In xxxvii, 60 he asks how it was possible to discover that the blood of a he-goat softens diamonds, and answers: numinum profecto muneris talis inventio est nec quaerenda ratio in ulla parte naturae, sed voluntas.
- 89, footnote. So Sillig.
- 90, 5. theology. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 288-323.
- 90, 11. demons. *Ibid.*, 667.
- 90, 13. interpretations. The 'salubres interpretationes' of the tradition 'de vita deorum moribusque' which Augustine (*ep.* 91) heard read 'in templis populis congregatis' (Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 10, 4) are obviously such allegorical interpretations.
- 90, 18. Marcus. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 679.
- 90, 20. reason. Réville, *La religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, p. 118.
- 91, 8. account. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 2, 122.
- 91, 14. Plutarch. *Id.*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 157 f.
- 91, 20. matter. Plutarch, *Def. oracc.*, 10.
- 91, 25. gods. *Id.*, *Romul.*, c. 29, 18; *Def. oracc.*, *ib.*; *Is. et Osir.*, c. 30.
- 91, 30. overseers. *Id.*, *De fato*, c. 9.
- 91, 37. Penelope. *Id.*, *Def. oracc.*, c. 17.
- 92, 1. demons. *Id. ib.*, c. 15; *Is. et Osir.*, c. 25.
- 92, 4. name. *Id.*, *Def. oracc.*, c. 25.
- 92, 9. blessings. *Id.*, *Is. et Osir.*, c. 26 (Plato, *Sympos.*, c. 23).
- 92, 16. bodies. *Id.*, *De fac. in orbe lunae*, c. 30.
- 92, 19. former. Apulei., *De deo Socratis*, cc. 6-13.
- 93, 2. Tyre. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 187 f.; Max. Tyr., *Diss.*, xvii, 5 and 11.
- 93, 15. sovereignty. Max. Tyr., *Diss.*, xiv, 8.
- 93, 25. body. *Id. ib.*, xv, 6, 7. Sir Walter Scott also believed that the souls of good men act as guardian spirits: Eberty, *Leben W. Scotts*, ii, 149.
- 93, 36. belief. Orig., *C. Cels.*, v, 4 sq., p. 233. Philo, *De gigant.*, p. 221: οὗς ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι δαίμονας, ἀγγέλους Μωσῆς ἐῴωθεν ὀνομάζειν· ψυχὰς δ' εἰσὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα πετόμεναι.
- 94, 14. Juvenal. Cf. especially Juv., 10, 346 sqq.
- 94, 14. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 26, says that illness makes people better: tunc deos, tunc hominem esse se meminit.
- 94, 19. Helvina. Mommsen, *IRN*, 4312 = *CIL*, x, 5382. Cf. also Juv., 12, 87 sq.
- 94, 20. Pliny. Vol. i, p. 116.
- 94, 25. Gellius. Cf. *Praef.*, 22 (deum voluntate diis bene juvantibus); see Appendix lx.
- 94, 28. Fronto. Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, v, 25 (40), *Ad Verum*, ii, 6, ed. Naber, p. 83.
- 94, 41. Galen. Zeller, *G. d. gr. Ph.*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 738.
- 95, 3. torches. Galen, xviii<sup>b</sup>, 19.



- 95, 8. creatures. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, i, 732. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxix, p. 485 sq. M.
- 95, 9. Epictetus. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, i, 666 f.
- 95, 10. Arrian. Arrian, *Pont. Euxin.*, 32-34, says that Achilles helped the navigators near his island, as the Dioscuri did everywhere, *καὶ μοι δοκεῖ οὐκ ἄπιστα εἶναι*.
- 95, 16. endangered. Plutarch, *Amator.*, xiii, 2 and 3 (where Volkmann, *Leben, Schriften u. Philosophie des Plutarch*, ii, 53 reads *πᾶσα* instead of *(ἐπι)σφαλῆς γίνεταί*) *πᾶσι*.
- 95, 23. man. Plutarch, *Camill.*, c. 6, 3 and 4; *Coriolanus*, c. 38. Cf. *Marcell.*, c. 5, 6. Herodian, II. *μον. λεξ.*, *πραεφ.*, ed. Lehrs, p. 13: *καὶ πρῶτος ἡμῖν θεὸς παρέστω. δίκαιον γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι, ὡς καὶ ὁ Σολεὺς ἀρχόμενος ἔφη ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα*.
- 96, 11. Trajan. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 52.
- 96, 14. Hadrian. Pausan., i, 5, 5. Ammian., xxv, 4, 17; *prae-sagiorum sciscitationi nimiae deditus* (like Julian).
- 96, 16. Pius. *Antonin. P.*, c. 11. Pausan., xiii, 43, 3: *τοῦτον Εὐσεβῇ τὸν βασιλέα ἐκάλεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι ἐς τὸ θεῖον μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο χρώμενος*.
- 96, 20. religion. Orelli, 844 = *CIL*, vi, 1001.
- 96, 20. Marcus. Marc. Anton., *Comment.*, vi, 30. *H. A.*, *Vit. M. A.*, c. 13.
- 96, 29. rites. *M. Antonin.*, c. 13.
- 96, 30. lions. Lucian, *Alexander*, 48.
- 96, 33. lost. Ammian., xxv, 4, 17.
- 96, 38. Praeneste. He mentions the death of Verus, *fr.* 206, ed. Hercher, ii, 259.
- 97, 2. children. Aelian, *fr.* 29.
- 97, 9. myth. *Id.*, *fr.* 31.
- 97, 12. accursed. *Id.*, *fr.* 33.
- 97, 31. others. *Id.*, *fr.* 89.
- 98, 4. better. *Id.*, *fr.*, 101.
- 98, 19. creation. *Id.*, *fr.*, 98.
- 98, 24. died. *Id.*, *fr.*, 43.
- 98, 30. body. *Id.*, *fr.*, 10.
- 98, 32. lice. *Id.*, *fr.*, 53.
- 98, 37. profit. *Id.*, *fr.*, 62.
- 98, 40. example. Lehrs, *Pop. Auf.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 220. Cf. also Plutarch in Jacobs, *Aelian.*, pp. xlv-xlviii (Ambros., *Hexaem.*, v, 10, p. 34: Animals err less, because they 'inspiratione naturae [utuntur], quae vera magistra est').
- 98, 41. Elephants. *Hist. an.*, vii, 44.
- 99, 9. gods. *Ibid.*, vi, 40.
- 99, 13. Diagoras. *Var. hist.*, ii, 31.
- 99, 20. Aristides. *StRE*, i<sup>2</sup>, 340: Welcker, *Kl. Schr.*, iii, 89-156 (Incubation: Aristides the rhetor.). The dates from observations of Baumgart, *Aelius Aristides* (1874), p. 10 f. against Waddington, *Chronologie de la vie du rhéteur Ael. Aristide*, *Mémoires de l'Institut*, xxvi (1867), p. 203 ss.
- 100, 3. dictated. Welcker, *op. cit.*, 139 f.
- 100, 7. weaker. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
- 100, 13. understand. Aristid., *Or.*, xxiv, p. 298 Jebb.

- 100, 20. God. *Ibid.*, p. 269; Welcker, p. 146.  
 100, 24. commiserated. Aristid., *Or.*, xxiv, p. 304.  
 100, 26. pride. Cf. Baumgart, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 and 71.  
 100, 40. will. Aristides, *Or.*, xxvi, p. 333. Baumgart called my attention to Welcker's mistake in the translation (εἰ instead of εἰς).  
 101, 4. mankind. *Id.*, *Or.*, xlii, p. 520.  
 101, 10. this or that. Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 133.  
 101, 11. Smyrna. *Ibid.*, p. 129.  
 101, 16. illness. Aristid., *Or.*, xxiii, p. 290.  
 101, 19. soul. *Ibid.*, xxvii, p. 351 (where l. 5 συντρόφου should be read for τροφου) and p. 352.  
 101, 22. epidemic. Waddington, p. 249s.  
 101, 23. Verus. See vol. i, p. 28.  
 101, 26. Athene. Aristid., *Or.*, xxvi, p. 323.  
 101, 32. done. *Ibid.*, xxiv, p. 300.  
 101, 36. fancies. Welcker, p. 116, 35.  
 102, 8. general. Grimm, *Mém. inéd.*, vol. ii, p. 381: 'Much has been said, and rightly, about the great influence of Voltaire, Rousseau and the Encyclopaedists, but the people themselves did not read them much'. P. Lacroix, *XVIII siècle*, p. 359s.: On voit par cet aveu de Mercier (en 1782) que le peuple de Paris affluait dans les églises tous les dimanches et les jours de fête. Taine, *Origines de la France contemp.*, *Revolution*. T. ii, p. 390: À cette date (1792) le petit peuple, même à Paris, est encore très religieux, bien plus religieux qu'aujourd'hui.  
 104, 5. entertained. Ammon, who was known to the Greeks earlier than any other barbarian god, Adonis and Cybele perhaps excepted, had a temple at Thebes, at least from Pindar's time, who dedicated to him a statue of Kalamis (Pausan., ix, 16, 1). E. Plew, *Die Griechen in ihrem Verhältniss zu den Gottheiten fremder Völker*, pp. 16 and 21. A list of the shrines at the Piraeus in G. Hirschfeld, *Die Peiraeusstadt*, in *Berichte der Sächs. Ges.*, 1878, notes 46<sup>a</sup> and 46, p. 27 f.  
 104, 22. proselytes. I give a few examples. *CIL*, vii, p. 97 (Corstopitum—Corbridge)—a: 'Ἀσράτης βωμὸν μ' ἐσορᾶς, Ποῦλχερ μ' ἀνέθηκεν; b: 'Ἡρακλεῖ Τυρίῳ Διοδώρα ἀρχιέρεια. *CIL*, iii, 3414 s. (Aquincum): Deo Arimano. *Ib.*, 4300 (Brigetio): Deo Sol. Alagabal. Ammodati (Commodian., *Instr.*, i, 18) mil(ites) leg. i. adj. *Ephem. epigr.*, ii, p. 376, n. 675 (ex Buda vetere): Balti diae divinae et Diasuriae (deae Syriae); *ib.*, p. 390, 722 (Pannon. inf.): Dis patriis Manalpo et Theandrio etc. *CIL*, viii, 2627, 2628 (Lambaesis): Jovi O. M. Heliopolitano. An idol representing the Syro-phoenician sun-god at Carnuntum in *Osterr. Mitth.*, p. 61 ff.  
 10, 30. Esquiline. F. Hettner, *De Jove Dolicheno* Bonn, 1877. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 84, 2.  
 104, 40. city. Schaafhausen, *Ueber den römischen Isisdienst am Rhein*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxvi, 1883, p. 31 ff. with pl. i. Arnoldi, *Römischer Isiscult an der Mosel* (finds at Bertrich), *ibid.*, lxxxvii, 1889, p. 33 ff.  
 105, 5. significance. Wiedemann, *Die ägypt. Denkmäler d. Prov.*

- Mus. zu Bonn u. d. Mus. Wallraff-Richartz zu Köln, ibid.*, lxxviii, 1884, p. 88 ff. *Ibid.*, lxxxiii, 1887, p. 247 (Egyptian statuettes from Württemberg).
- 105, 4. represented. In the acts of the three martyrs of Nonsberg (*Acta SS.*, xxix Mai, p. 44) the valley of the Anauni is called 'plena Isidis amentia, Serapis fuga'. Jung, *Römer und Romanen*, p. 121, 3.
- 105, 25. Serapis. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 77.
- 105, 27. superstition. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 49.
- 105, 29. unpunished. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 8.
- 105, 30. temples. Martial, ix, 80, 5.
- 105, 32. divinities. Sueton., *Dom.*, c. 15. Dio, lxvii, 1.
- 106, 4. Capital. Read 'Capitol'. *CIL*, i, 1034 (sac. Isid. Capitolin.).
- 106, 6. Tiberius. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 18 ff. Preller, *RM*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 378 f.
- 106, 10. Roman. Minuc. Felix, *Octav.*, 21. Cf. Lafaye, *Hist. des cultes des divinités d'Alexandrie—hors de l'Égypte depuis les origines jusqu'à la naissance de l'école néoplatonicienne* (1884), pp. 262–264.
- 106, 21. pirates. Plutarch, *Pompei.*, c. 24.
- 106, 23. Antonines. Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 412. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 84 f. Cf. also De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1870, pp. 153–168 (*Mithraeum* under the basilica of Clement); *Bull. comun.* 1873, p. 112 (under the Palazzo Caffarelli).
- 106, 31. comparison. Orig., *C. Cels.*, vi, 23 (αἰρέσεως ἀσημοσύνης).
- 107, 2. temples. Plutarch, *De superst.*, 3 and 12.
- 107, 11. contempt. Sueton., *August.*, c. 93.
- 107, 13. Livia. Joseph., *B. J.*, v, 13, 6. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 23, 40.
- 107, 15. bull. Philo, *ib.*; Schürer, *Neut. Zeitgesch.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 245–248.
- 107, 17. Rome. Schürer, *Neut. Zeitg.*, i, p. 393 f.
- 107, 20. professed. Réville (*La religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, p. 126) referring to the respect in which Egyptian cults were held, remarks that this factor could be neutralized by others; but it must have had some importance.
- 107, 30. goddess. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 83.
- 107, 38. cults. *Vit. Hadriani*, c. 22.
- 108, 2. ceremonies. *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 13.
- 108, 5. gods. Juv., *Sat.*, xiii, 46.
- 108, 11. moon-god. Lucian, *Jup. tragoed.*, 7.
- 108, 15. Corybantes. *Id.*, *Icaromenipp.*, 27.
- 108, 39. so forth. *Id.*, *Deor. concil.*
- 109, 17. Apollo. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, vii, 2, 2, 1. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter den Römern*, ii, 166.
- 109, 23. peoples. Plutarch, *De Is.*, 67.
- 109, 26. names. *Id. ib.*, 66.
- 109, 28. Typhon. *Id. ib.*, 57.
- 109, 35. truth. *Id. ib.*, 31–45.
- 110, 2. truth. *Id. ib.*, 9.
- 110, 3. sphinxes. *Id. ib.*, 11.
- 110, 10. legends. *Id. ib.*, 55.
- 110, 11. worship. *Id. ib.*, 71–75.

- 110, 12. lamentation. *Id. ib.*, 69.
- 110, 14. *sistrum*. *Id. ib.*, 63.
- 110, 35. tragedies. Pausan., i, 3, 2.
- 111, 8. Zeus. *Vit. Alex. Sev.*, c. 17: ο Μάρνα, ο Ἰούπυτερ, δι ἰμμερταλες etc. Apparently both apostrophes are meant for the same god.
- 111, 9. Dionysus. Schürer, *Neut. Zeitgesch.*, pp. 378–385, and ii<sup>2</sup>, 20. On the cult of Dusaris cf. Lebas-Waddington, p. 478s. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 481; cf. n. on *CIL*, x, 1566. Julian, *Orat.*, 4, p. 150 C.: οἱ τὴν Ἑδεσσαν οἰκοῦντες (Ἑλλῶ) Μόνιμον καὶ Ἀξίζον συγκαθεδρεύουσιν—Μόνιμος μὲν Ἑρμῆς, Ἀξίζος δὲ Ἀρῆς. Cf. p. 154 B. Also the Tyche worshipped in Arabia and Syria, L.-Wadd., 2413 F. must be a Hellenized goddess of the country.
- 111, 13. children. Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii, 27, p. 149 sq. ed. Rhoer. Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 9: Infantes penes Africam immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatum Tiberii, qui ipsos sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui obumbraticibus scelerum votivis crucibus exposuit, teste militia patriae nostrae, quae id ipsum munus illi proconsuli functa est. Sed et nunc in occulto perseverat hoc sacrum facinus. Apparently Tiberius (?) had been proconsul shortly before, and the soldiers who took part in the crucifixion of the priests were still alive at the time of Tertullian. Borghesi puts him in the year 657 = 97, because of the SC ne homo immolaretur (in magic rites, cf. Sillig's note), a law which referred only to Rome and Italy, Pliny, *N. h.*, xxx, 12; Tissot, *Fastes des prov. Afric.* (*Bullet. trimestr. des antiq. Afric.*, Juli, 1882, p. 81), agrees with Borghesi.
- 111, 15. god. Henzen, *Inscr. dell' Algeria*, *AdI*, 1860, p. 83 sq. *CIL*, viii, 4583: Deo frugum Saturno frugifero Aug.; cf. 2666. *H.*, 840 Plutoni Aug. frugifero. 8826 Deo sanc(to) frug(ifero) Aug. Cf. *Eph. ep.*, v, no. 572; 815. It is very unlikely that the 'Saturnus Aug. Achaiae' of *Eph. ep.*, vii, no. 86 ought to be distinguished on account of this designation from the Punic one, considering the slight veneration of Κρόνος in Greece.
- 111, 28. Provence. Seneca, v, 17. Thierry, *H. d. Gaulois*, iii, 289; cf. ii, c. 1.
- 111, 33. preservers. *Eph. ep.*, vii, n. 530: Dis patriis et Mauris conservatoribus.
- 111, 37. Grannus. Dio, lxxvii, 15. Inscription from the city of Rome, *CIL*, vi, 36: Apollini Granno et Sanctae Sironae sacrum.
- 112, 4. Romans. Especially Oriental cults; cf. vol. iii, p. 104. Marucchi, *Il culto delle divinità peregrine nelle nuove iscrizioni degli equites singulares* (northern and eastern), in *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, pp. 124–147.
- 112, 7. Medaurus. *CIL*, viii, 2581; cf. iii, p. 285.
- 112, 9. Noreia. *CIL*, viii, 4882.
- 112, 15. Zimidrenus. Mommsen, *CIL*, vi, p. 720, Tituli sacri a praetorianis, dedicati: 2797 ss. For the Thracian Heron or Heros cf. O. Hirschfeld, *Epigr. Nachl. zu CIL iv* (1874), p. 41 f. (first Latin stone, at Bucharest). Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL iii*. *Eph. epigr.*, ii, 300, 368. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, no. 841 (epigram of the year 149 A.D.).



- 112, 17. Camulus. *CIL*, vi, 46: Arduinne Camulo Jovi Mercurio Herculi NN. Remus miles coh. vii.
- 112, 26. people. M. Ihm, *Der Mütter- oder Matronencultus und seine Denkmäler. Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiii, 1887, pp. 1-200, pp. 37, 60-63, 70.
- 112, 30. Suleviae. Siebourg, *De Sulevis Campestribus Fatis*, Bonn, 1886; Ihm, p. 78 ff.
- 112, 32. honours. Henzen, *AdI*, 1860, p. 82. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 622, 2.
- 112, 34. Aulisua. Henzen, *ib.*, p. 82. Inscriptions of Bacax, *CIL*, viii, 5504-5518. Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 24: Unicuique etiam provinciae et civitati suus deus est, ut Syriae Atergatis, ut Arabiae Dusares, ut Noricis Belenus, ut Africae Caelestis, ut Mauretaniae Reguli sui.
- 112, 36. Harmogius. *CIL*, iii, 4014, 5097s., 5320 (Marti Latobio Harmogio), 5672.
- 113, 2. Jupiter. Caesar, *BG*, vii, 17. Of the deities Mercury and Rosmerta who were so often worshipped together (Ch. Robert, *Epigraphie de la Moselle*, p. 65ss.), the former is apparently always called by the Roman name, the latter never. Cf. also Boissier, *Rel. Rom.*, i, 381s. Desjardins, *Géogr. de la Gaule*, ii, 505, 513. O. Hirschfeld, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Narbonens. Provinz*, in *Westd. Zeitschr.*, viii, 1889, p. 17 ff. Isis Noreia in Noricum, *CIL*, iii, 4806ss.
- 113, 6. Mars. Hirschfeld, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Narbonens. Provinz*, in *Westd. Zeitschr.*, 1889, p. 19 (worshipped not only as war-god, but also as protecting genius).
- 113, 7. Proserpina. Huebner, *CIL*, ii, 462.
- 113, 26. Douro. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 68.
- 113, 34. Celtic. *ib.*, 94. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 17 ff.
- 113, 40. Reims. Hettner, *Zur Cultur von Germania u. Gallia Belgica*, in *Westd. Zeitschr.*, ii, 1883, p. 8. Mommsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 94 f. Hirschfeld, *Gallische Studien* (1884), p. 48 f.
- 114, 10. empire. Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 258 f. Representations also in Gruter, 81, 10. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 128, 4.
- 114, 25. bakers. Orelli, 1810 = *CIL*, vi, 22.
- 114, 28. Rome. Mommsen, *CIL*, viii, p. 684.
- 114, 30. city. Renier, *IdA*, 2174 = *CIL*, viii, 7970. Preller, *op. cit.* Hirschfeld, *Philolog.*, xxix, 75, 113. Cf. *CIL*, viii, 7959 (Rusicade): Gen. col. Put. Aug. sac.
- 114, 39. snake. The jinn were also imagined as snakes: Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 257.
- 114, 41. unions. De Rossi, *Bull. com. d. R.*, p. 348: Il genio degli equites singulares è barbato e di tipo peregrino, come coloro il cui munus esso personificava.
- 115, 4. beings. Dis cultoribus hujus loci Ju(lius) Victor. trib. Habitancium (Risingham), *CIL*, vii, 980.
- 115, 4. deserts. Genio devii (Moguntiae), Henzen, 6823.
- 115, 7. goddess. Preller, *op. cit.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 195 ff.
- 115, 10. trade. *CIL*, iii, 1351 (vol. i, p. 312).
- 115, 11. paths. Deo qui vias et semitas commentus est. *CIL*, vii, 271.

- 115, 14. lamp. Jerome (d. 420) on Isaiah, c. lvii. Vol. iv, 672 Vallars. In Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 126, 1. *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 240, 5.
- 115, 17. Christian. *Cod. Theodos.*, xvi, 10, 12 (392): Nullus omnino—secretiore piaculo Larem igne, mero Genium, Penates odore veneratus, accendat lumina, imponat tura,serta suspendat. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 126, 2.
- 115, 29. Augustus. Marquardt, *ibid.*, p. 206, 2; cf. p. 463 ff.
- 115, 39. West. Mommsen, *StR*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 2, 755–760. Hirschfeld, *Zur Gesch. d. Röm. Kaisercultus*, in *Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Acad.*, xxxv, 1888, pp. 833–862.
- 115, 41. demi-gods. C. Keil, *De mortuis publice pro heroibus vel dis ap. Graecos cultis epilogus*, *Anall. epigr. et onomatol.*, pp. 39–63, Lehrs, *Pop. Aufsätze*<sup>2</sup>, p. 320 ff. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 58, 4.
- 116, 6. god. Plutarch, *Lycurg.*, 31. Keil, p. 46.
- 116, 13. Augustus. Keil, p. 63. Cf. vol. i, p. 83.
- 116, 16. Tyana. Lactant., *Inst. d. v.*, v, 3: cum eum (Apollonium) dicas et adoratum esse a quibusdam sicut deum, et simulacrum ejus sub Herculis Alexicaci nomine constitutum ab Ephesiis etiam nunc honorari.
- 116, 21. Tullia. Lehrs, *op. cit.*, p. 352 ff.
- 116, 25. Epiphanes. Gieseler, *Lehrb. d. Kirchengesch.*<sup>4</sup>, i, 1, 190. According to inscriptions on a tombstone at Ostia, *ann.* 203, (*CIL*, xiv, 324: NN. fil. dulcissimo NN. pater; in latere dextro: NN. pontif. Volk. et aedium sacrar., statuam poni in campo Martis deum infantilem permisi), and *CIA*, iii, 2, 1460 (epitaph on a 5 year old boy: καὶ ὁ πατήρ με ἀνέστησε ἥρῳα συγγενείας) apparently the souls of deceased children were sometimes worshipped by their relatives.
- 116, 30. paeans. Keil, *op. cit.*, p. 61s.
- 116, 38. Marius. Plutarch, *Mar.*, c. 27.
- 117, 3. impostor. Strabo, vii, pp. 298, 304; xvi, p. 762. Cf. Ihm, *Der Mütter- oder Matronencult.*, *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiii, p. 102.
- 117, 3. Mariccus. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 61. Cf. on Sostratus Lucian, *Demonax*, c. 1; Philostr., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 1, 12–16.
- 117, 36. subjects. The above follows Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, mostly verbally.
- 117, 40. gods. Veget., *R. m.*, ii, 5: imperatori tamquam praesenti et corporali deo etc.
- 118, 6. comet. Sueton., *C. Jul.*, c. 88.
- 118, 14. visions. *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 17.
- 118, 21. worshipped. *Vit. Alex. Sev.*, c. 29.
- 118, 27. power. Pausan., viii, 2, 2.
- 118, 28. Antinous. Hegesipp., *apud Euseb.*, *H. e.*, iv, 20.
- 118, 29. Belesticha. Plutarch, *Amator.*, 9, 9.
- 118, 36. Athenagoras. Athenag., *Leg. pro Christo*, 30: καὶ Ἀντίνους φιλανθρωπία τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους εὐτυχέως νομίζεσθαι θεός· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς ὀβασανίστως παρεδέξαντο.
- 118, 40. temple. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 36, p. 132.
- 119, 30. Napoleon. Boissier, *Rel. rom.*, i, 207. Bossuet: 'il faut obéir aux princes comme à la justice même: ils sont des dieux et participent en quelque façon à l'indépendance divine'.

Of the dedication of an equestrian statue in the Place Vendôme Saint Simon says: 'Le duc de Gesvres, gouverneur de Paris, à cheval, à la tête des corps de la ville, y fit les tours, les révérences et autres cérémonies tirées et imitées de la consécration des empereurs romains. Il n'y eut à la vérité ni encens ni victimes: il fallut bien donner quelque chose au titre de roi très-chrétien'. Cf. Döllinger, *Academ. Vorträge*, i, 275. At a feast given by the city of Paris a few years after Napoleon's coronation, over the throne was the inscription in golden letters, 'Ego sum qui sum', and nobody took offence. *Mém. de Mme. de Rémusat*, ii, 80.

120, 14. astray. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 38; iv, 92; v, 2; vii, 69; viii, 31, 62. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i, 14. Commodianus, *Instr.*, 13; Lactant., *Div. Inst.*, ii, 14 sqq.; Augustine, *C. D.*, xviii, 8, 2; Gibbon, *History*, ch. xv; Champagny, *Les Antonins*, ii, 290, 1; Soldan-Hoppe, *Gesch. d. Hexenprocesse* (1880), i, 88-89.

121, 7. Lystra. *Acts Apost.*, xiv, 11-18. Hausrath, *Neut. Zeitgesch.*, ii, 545 f., believes the narrative is fictitious. I have proved (*De narratione in Actis Apost.*, *loc. cit.*, *Index Regim. aest.*, 1875) that his reasons are quite invalid. To my mind the narrative bears all the marks of truth.

121, 22. Athene. Herodot., i, 60.

121, 27. benefactress. Ruffini who has introduced a similar scene in his *Doctor Antonio*, remarks (ed. 1890, p. 187): 'We beg the reader to believe that this is no picture drawn from fancy, but a real sketch from nature. Had not such a scene as we have described, with all the particulars related, come to pass under our own eyes, we should never have ventured to put it on paper.'

121, 31. Paphlagonia. Lucian, *Alexander*, 9.

121, 40. faith. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 7; Dio, lxvi, 8; Tac., *H.*, iv, 81 sq.

122, 27. Tyana. Baur, *Apollonius v. Tyana and Christus*, pp. 124, 132, 141. Aubé, *Hist. d. perséc. de l'église*, ii, 462ss. The theory of an intentional contrast is contested by Réville, *Religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, p. 227ss. See also Apollinar. Sidon., *Epp.*, viii, 3, in Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 428, 1. Lactant., *Instit. div.*, v, 2 and 3.

123, 17. victory. Dio, lxxi, 9.

123, 28. meant. All the passages in Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, vol. ii, Appendix, p. 23ss. Renan, *Marc Aurèle*, p. 273, 1. Themist., *Or.*, xv, p. 191 B: εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐν γραφῇ εἰκῶνα τοῦ ἔργου, τὸν μὲν αὐτοκράτορα προσευχόμενον ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι, τοὺς στρατιώτας δὲ τὰ κράνη τῷ ὄμβρῳ ὑποτιθέντας κ.τ.λ.

123, 30. Jupiter. Themist., *Or.*, xxxiv, c. 21; Claudian, *IV Cons. Honor.*, 342; *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 24; *Orac. Sibyll.*, xii, 196 ss.; Aubé, i<sup>2</sup>, 365.

123, 34. Hermes. Dio, *loc. cit.*

123, 36. legion. Euseb., *H. e.*, v, 5.

123, 37. Tertullian. Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 5. Cf. *Ad Scapulam*, c. 4.

123, 40. Celsus. Orig., *C. Cels.*, viii, 45. Cf. Minuc. Felix, *Octav.*, c. 7.

- 125, 8. gift. Zeller, *G. d. Ph.*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 315.  
 125, 13. Livy. Livy, xliii, 13.  
 125, 29. 51. Nipperdey, *Tacit.*, i<sup>3</sup>; *Einleitung*, xv.  
 125, 33. Bedriacum. *Hist.*, ii, 50.  
 126, 25. Augustus. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 92-97.  
 127, 5. happened. Cic., *Div.*, ii, 24; cf. i, 26.  
 127, 12. Tiberius. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 63.  
 127, 18. employment. Tac., *A.*, xi, 15. The 'ordo haruspicum Augustorum' (in which were men of equestrian rank) probably owed its formation to Claudius. Cf. Marquardt, *St V*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 410 ff.  
 Dio, lii, 36 (speech of Maecenas) πάντως τινὰς καὶ ἱερόπτας καὶ οἰωνιστὰς ἀπ'δείξον, οἷς οἱ βουλόμενοι τι κοινώσασθαι, συνέσονται.  
 127, 20. entrails. Pliny, *N. h.*, viii, 102.  
 127, 25. undertaking. Tac., *H.*, i, 27.  
 127, 39. concerned. Epictet., *Diss.*, ii, 7; cf. i, 1, 17; iii, 1, 37; iv, 4, 5.  
 128, 2. divination. Herodian, viii, 3, 7.  
 128, 7. birds. Artemidor., *Onirocr.*, ii, 69.  
 128, 13. trial. Pliny, *Ep.*, vi, 2, 2; cf. ii, 20, 4.  
 128, 16. feet. Juv., 6, 385-397.  
 128, 16. Gordian. Victor, *Caesares*, 26.  
 128, 17. Diocletian. *De mort. persec.*, c. 10 sq.  
 128, 26. immemorial. Ammian., xxi, 1, 62, 4; cf. xxiii, 5, 10-13; xxv, 6, 1.  
 128, 28. multiplied. *Vit. Sept. Sev.*, c. 24; *V. Floriani*, c. 2; *Cod. Theodos.*, xvi, 1, 2, 4, 6; Firmic. Matern., *Math.*, ii, 33: Scire enim te convenit, quod haruspices quotiescumque a privatis interrogati de statu Imperatoris fuerint et quaerenti respondere voluerint, exta semper quae ad hoc fuerint destinata ac venarum ordines, involuta confusione conturbent. Prudent., *C. Symmach.*, ii, 892. Augustine, *C. D.*, iv, 2, 3 (a *haruspex* offers to procure him the prize at a poetic *agon* through witchcraft). Inscriptions, *CIL*, vi, 2161-2168; v, 1, 99; v, 2, 5598, 5704; *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 111; Brambach, *CIRh*, 769 (haruspices publ., Trèves); 1002 = Henzen, 6024. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*  
 128, 35. excludes. Firm. Matern., *Math.*, i, 3: Nos enim timeri deum nos coli facimus.  
 128, 37. Panaetius. Zeller, iii, 1, 317, 2.  
 128, 41. astrology. Tac., *A.*, vi, 22; cf. iv, 20; *H.*, i, 18.  
 129, 5. divinity. Pliny, *N. h.*, ii, 22; cf. vol. iii, p. 89.  
 129, 9. fate. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 69.  
 129, 27. signs. Strabo, xvii, 1, 43, p. 843 E. Gustav Wolff, *De novissima oraculorum aetate*, p. 1.  
 129, 39. distress. Minuc. Felix, *Octav.*, c. 7.  
 130, 2. dumb. Arnob., *Adv. Gentes*, i, 1; Euseb., *Praep. evang.*, v, 1; Prudent., *Apotheos.*, 435 sqq.  
 130, 7. false ones. Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 46.  
 130, 10. intentions. Lactant., *Inst. div.*, ii, 16.  
 130, 10. Petrarch. Körting, *Petrarcas Leben und Werke*, p. 613, 1.  
 130, 25. Colophon. E. Hübner, *Bericht über eine epigraphische Reise nach England*, in *Monatsber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1866, p. 791 f.; *CIL*, vii, 633.



- 130, 28. oracle. *CIL*, iii, 2880; viii, 8351. An Oriental at Vasio, who erected there an altar to Bel, τῶν ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ μνησάμενος λογίων (*CIL*, xii, 1277), probably received the oracle before his immigration.
- 130, 39. repute. G. Wolff, *loc. cit.*
- 131, 15. Mopsus. Plutarch, *De def. oracc.*, c. 45.
- 131, 22. Paphlagonia. Cf. Clinton, *F. Rom.*, *ad an.* 182. A. v. Sallet, *Ein Lügenpfaffe des Alterthums*, in *Im Neuen Reich*, 1874, p. 292. Ed. Zeller, *Alexander u. Peregrinus, ein Betrüger u. ein Schwärmer*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Jan. 1877, p. 62. Fr. Cumont, *Alexandre d'Abonotichos (Extr. du T. xl des Mémoires de l'Acad. royale de Belgique)*, 1887.
- 131, 23. c. 175. Cumont, p. 52s.
- 132, 20. existence. If the catastrophe of P. Aelius Severianus Maximus was brought about by his foolish confidence in the oracle of Alexander, this must have been very much respected (161 A.D.: Napp, *De rebb. imp. M. Aurel. Antonino in oriente gestis* (Bonn, 1879), pp. 15-18). In the passage of Lucian Gutschmid suggests the emendation Ὅσρῶν for (ὕπὸ τοῦ) Ὅθρῶν [B. Ὅθρῶν] (κατακοπέις). Mommsen ascribes gross ignorance to Lucian's authority (*RG*, v, 406).
- 133, 9. Rutilianus. Lebas-Waddington, *Voyage en Asie mineure*, p. 734s. *Fastes des provinces Asiatiques*, no. 153. *CIL*, xiv, 3601 (172, p. 40), 4244. Cumont without sufficient reason puts Rutilianus' consulate after 161 (p. 48).
- 133, 16. Victorinus. *Marc. Antonin.*, c. 14. Lebas-Waddington, *op. cit.*; cf. vol. iii, p. 96.
- 133, 19. Avitus. Pausan., x, 36, 1; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 314, 2.
- 133, 21. Rutilianus. Lucian, *Alexand.*, 57, where for αὐτός and ἀνεκτός, the readings of the *codd.*, Ἀούειτος should be read. 'The inscription *CIG*, 4152d, p. 1113 (Amastris) contains according to the revisions of the elder Mordtmann and G. Hirschfeld and a later copy by Capt. von. Diest, the name of the *legat. pr. pr.* Δολλιανὸς Ἀούειτος (*sic*) and the date ἐν τῷ ἑκστῷ ἔτει (229 of the Pompeian era) = 165/6 A.D., as G. Hirschfeld has shown (*Inscripfen aus dem Norden Kleinasiens, in Sitzungsber. der Berliner Acad.*, xxxv, 1888, p. 875 f.). In the year 169 Avitus was no longer governor of Bithynia. Cumont, p. 50, 4.
- 133, 22. epidemic. Vol. i, p. 28.
- 133, 31. oracles. Athenagoras (wrote between 177 and 180), c. 26.
- 133, 39. Abonuteichos. Eckhel, *D. N.*, ii, 383. Cumont, p. 53. (The last coins with the name Abonuteichos and the portrait of Antoninus Pius, the first with Ionopolis and the portrait of L. Verus.)
- 133, 40. Ineboli. Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 429, 5.
- 134, 3. penetrated. Cumont, p. 42s.
- 134, 5. Africa. *Eph. ep.*, v, 545, 1247 (Thubursicum Bure): Draconi Aug. sacrum. *Ib.*, viii, n. 741 (Mascula): numini-(bus ny)mpharum et Draconis. Quite enigmatical is *CIL*, viii, 9326 (Caesarea): Deo manu (? numini?) | Draconis | M. Iunius (Asclepia | des | v. s. l. m. Does this refer to the serpent of Aesculapius?

- 134, 7. command. *CIL*, iii, 1021, 1022.
- 134, 9. Alexander. Mommsen, *Ephem. epigr.*, ii, p. 331, no. 493. Cf. also *CIL*, vi, 112 (*CIL*, vi, 143 = Orelli, 1797: 'Sanctis draconibus' is unconnected; cf. note).
- 134, 11. Lucian. Amulets on which the figure of Glycon is to be recognized with more or less probability in Cumont, pp. 43-45.
- 134, 19. serpents. Dio, lxxii, 7; cf. vol. ii, p. 275.
- 134, 24. Aristotle. Zeller, ii<sup>2</sup>, 2, 424 and 625.
- 134, 24. Democritus. *Ib.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 644.
- 134, 29. undecided. Pliny, *N. h.*, x, 211.
- 134, 29. later. *Id. ib.*, xxv, 17.
- 134, 41. divinity. Vol. iii, p. 87 f.
- 135, 9. Origen. Orig., *C. Cels.*, i, 48.
- 135, 15. Felix. Minuc. Fel., *Octav.*, c. 7.
- 135, 24. impure. Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 46 sqq.
- 135, 35. mathematics. Galen, ed. K., ii, 812.
- 135, 36. Germany. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 5.
- 135, 39. profession. Sprengel, *Gesch. d. Medicin*, ii, 136; cf. 145a, Galen, vi, 833; Daremberg, *La médecine, histoire et doctrine*, p. 948.
- 136, 3. of itself. Galen, ed. K., xvi, 222.
- 136, 4. birds. *Id. ib.*, xv, 443 sqq.
- 136, 10. own. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 18.
- 136, 15. coins. Sueton., *August.*, c. 91. (Dio doubts it.)
- 136, 18. blood-spitting. Marc. Antonin., *Commentat.*, i, 17.
- 136, 21. bronze. Herodian, ii, 9.
- 136, 22. graciously. Dio, lxxii, 23.
- 136, 25. ear. *Id.*, lxxiv, 3; cf. *Vit. Severi*, c. 3.
- 136, 30. immortality. Dio, lxxii, 23.
- 136, 32. literature. Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 46. Artemidorus, *Onicror.*, ed. Reiff., i, pp. 441-446.
- 136, 41. famous man. Artemidorus, iii, 66 sq.
- 137, 4. descent. Aristid., *Ad Capitonem*, p. 315 Jebb, ed. Dindorf, ii, 415. Artemidor., ii, 70 sq. Cf. *Progr. Acad. Alb.*, 1868, v, p. 4. O. Hirschfeld's supposition in his preface to the translation of Artemidorus by S. Kraus (Vienna, 1881), that Cassius Maximus is identical with the philosopher Maximus of Tyre, is in my opinion not plausible (Gomperz, *Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymnas.*, 1881, p. 501).
- 137, 6. palmistry. Cf. Diels, *Atacta*, in *Hermes*, xxiii, 1888, p. 287 f. (Galen, xv, 444 K; 'Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Φωκᾶ ἄλλων τε τινῶν οἰωνιστῶν ἐνδόξων βιβλίου).
- 137, 15. thanksgiving. Artemidor., iv, 2, ed. Reiff., p. 318 sq. and i, *prooem.*, *init.*
- 137, 28. language. Artemidor., i, *prooem.*; ii, 60 and 70.
- 137, 32. dreams. *Id.*, iv, 63 and 23.
- 137, 39. degree. *Id.*, ii, *prooem.*
- 138, 12. Isis. Α λυχνάπτρια καὶ ὄνειροκρίτις apparently of Isis, *CIA*, iii, 162.
- 138, 19. cure. Aristid., *Or.*, xviii, ed. Dind., i, p. 413.
- 138, 31. heal. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 24.
- 138, 33. places. Arist., *Or.*, vii, ed. Dind., i, p. 78.

- 138, 36. daylight. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 802 (where, however, *πᾶσι γὰρ [ἐν τεκέ]εσσιν ἐμοῖς ἀνα[φ]ανδὸν ἐπέστης* gives no sense).
- 139, 5. prescriptions. Artemidor., iv, 22.
- 139, 39. letters. Aristid., *Or.*, vi, p. 39 J. Cf. Baumgart, Aristides, pp. 50-55.
- 140, 3. used. Galen, ed. K., vi, 41; *ib.*, 869: ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἰάσατο.
- 140, 6. fortnight. Vol. i, p. 174.
- 140, 10. emperor. Galen, Π. τ. ἰδίων βιβλίων, c. ii, xix, 19.
- 140, 12. Greece. B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Griechen*, p. 77 f.
- 141, 10. departed. Καββαδίας, Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολ., 1883, p. 197; 1885, p. 1. K. Zacher, *Zu den Heilurkunden von Epidauros*, in *Hermes*, xxi, 473. Wilamovitz, *Hippys von Rhegion*, in *Hermes*, xix, 441. *Id.*, *Isyllos von Epidauros*, in *Philol. Untersuch.*, ix, 1886, pp. 116-124. Diels, *Antike Heilwunder*, in *Nord und Süd*, Jan. 1888, p. 29 ff. That Apellas was a sophist is not proved by his φιλολογεῖν. An inscription of a Τι. Κλαύδιος Σεουήρος, in Ἐφημ. ἀρχ., 1883, p. 237; an inscription of the temple of Aesculapius on the Tiber island, *CIG*, 5980.
- 141, 27. ear. P. Bortolotti, *Iscriz. votive a Minerva Cabardiacense*, in *BdI*, 1867, p. 219ss. (3, 4), 237ss. (6, 8), *CIL*, xi, 1, 1292-1309.
- 141, 31. vault. Gatti, *Trovamenti risguardanti la topografia e la epigrafia urbana*, in *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1887, p. 154ss., and Visconti, *Trovamenti di oggetti d'arti etc.*, *ibid.*, p. 192 (1-36 list of votive offerings). Cicero, *De Divinat.*, ii, 59, 123, had already said: Et sine medico medicinam dabit Minerva; Musae scribendi legendi ceterarum artium scientiam somniantibus non dabunt?
- 141, 38. lady. Orelli, 1518 = *CIL*, iv, 68; cf. Wilmanns, 71 (Bonae deae oclatae: similarly Ἀρτεμις Θερμία εὐάκοος in Lesbos, *Hermes*, vii, 411). Μητρὶ θεῶν εὐαντήτῳ ἰατρειῇ εὐχάν, *CIA*, 134; cf. 137.
- 142, 5. worshipped. Lehrs, *Pop. Aufs.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 158 ff.
- 142, 13. Asclepius. Aristid., *Or.*, vi, in *Aesculap.*, ed. Dind., i, p. 68.
- 142, 18. Pan. Lebas-Waddington, 1891-94.
- 142, 18. Leto. *Id.*, 1273.
- 142, 19. Carthage. Cf. *e.g. Eph. ep.*, v, p. 457, no. 948 (inscription of Auzia in Mauretania).
- 142, 27. deserve. Pausan., viii, 37, 8.
- 142, 35. erected. Lebas-Waddington, 519s. The temple of Zeus Panamaros with 400 inscriptions was discovered by Deschamps and Cousin, *Inscr. du temple de Z. P.*, in *Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, xi, 1887, pp. 373-391.
- 142, 37. observed. Cf. vol. iii, p. 116.
- 143, 2. Antinous. Cf. vol. iii, p. 118.
- 143, 5. physician. G. Hirschfeld, *Zwei athenische Inschriften welche den ἥρωι ἰατρὸς angehn*, in *Hermes*, viii, 350 ff. Cf. A. Michaelis, in *Archäol. Zeitg.*, N. F., viii, 48 f.
- 143, 8. fever. Lucian, *Scythia*, 2.
- 143, 11. panegyric. Plutarch, *Flaminin.*, c. 16.

- 143, 13. Alexandria. For the priest of Alexander at that place cf. Wilcken, in *Hermes*, xxiii, 1888, p. 602 f.
- 143, 13. places. Lebas-Waddington, 57, 58 (Erythrae), 490 (Bargylia), 496, 57: *ιερέα θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου*—T. Φλ. *Αὐροή(λιον) Ἀλέξανδρον*. *Vit. Alex. Sev.*, c. 5: in templo dicato apud Arce-nam urbem Alexandro Magno natus—die festo Alexan-dri.
- 143, 17. Virgin. Procop., *De aediff.*, vi, 2; ed. D., iii, 333.
- 143, 21. sicknesses. Pausan., vi, 11, 2.
- 143, 29. garlands. Athenagoras, c. 26 (Lobeck., *Aglaopham.*, p. 1171). Lebas-Waddington, p. 703.
- 143, 34. gifts. For 'were . . . put to death' read 'perished miserably'. Lucian, *Philopseud.*, 18-22.
- 144, 26. good. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 290 f.
- 144, 30. body. Juv., 10, 346 sqq.
- 144, 33. temples. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 3.
- 144, 40. protection. Fronto, *Ad M. Caes. et inv.*, v, 25, Naber 83: Pro Faustina mane cotidie deos appello: scio enim me pro tua salute optare et precari.
- 145, 7. Martial. Martial, viii, 24, 5, 6.
- 145, 19. sail. Plutarch, *De superst.*, c. 8.
- 145, 33. alike. Lebas-Waddington, 686 (Gordus): . . . Ἑλλῆς Ἀνδρονίκου εὐξαμένη ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμιόνου εὐχήν. *CIL*, viii, 2232-2236 (Mascula): Saturno Aug. de pecoribus (i.e. ob pecora) v.s.l.a.
- 146, 13. chapel. Orelli, 1523 = *CIL*, xiv, 3530 (88 A.D.).
- 146, 13. frequently. Mommsen, *Eph. epigr.*, iv, 1881, p. 260, no. 723<sup>a</sup>: Bona dea inter deas eodem fere loco est, quem inter deos obtinet genius loci et ad aedificia potissimum refertur (cf. the inscriptions quoted and Preller, *RM*, i<sup>3</sup>, 404 f.).
- 146, 18. divinity. Weisbrodt, *Griech. und latein. Inschr. v. d. Untermosel*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxvii, 1884, p. 48.
- 146, 24. Meles. *CIG*, 3165.
- 146, 27. power. *Eph. ep.*, v, 443, no. 900 (civitas Celtianensium); also Appendix liv, p. 294.
- 146, 33. condition. Brambach, *CIRh*, 43 = Orelli, 2029; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 635, 4.
- 146, 39. prayer. Orelli, 1613 = *CIL*, xii, 103 (where Hirschfeld explains l. 2 differently). Cf. *CIL*, ix, 2164 (Silvano—quot se et suos incolumes habet).
- 146, 39. Silvanus. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldculte*, ii, 121.
- 147, 9. inscriptions. Mone, *Gesch. d. Heidentums im nördl. Europa*, p. 416 ff. Mommsen, on *CIL*, v, 1, 732; numen proprie Carnicum, non Noricum. *CIL*, v, 1, 1827 (Julium Carnicum): restoration of his temple.
- 147, 18. credible. Herodian, vii, 3, 3; *Vit. Maximini*, c. 22.
- 147, 31. essences. Apulei., *Florida*, i, 1.
- 147, 34. adoration. Vol. i, p. 380 ff.
- 147, 37. kind. Orelli, 1650; cf. 1651, 469.
- 147, 40. gods. *CIL*, i, 623.
- 148, 2. Urbssalvia. Orelli, 1870.
- 148, 5. Nemausus. Herzog, *Gallia Narb.*, App. 240 = *CIL*, xii, 3072.



- 148, 14. Nile. Vol. i, p. 362 ff. Franz, *Elem. epigr.*, 336 sqq.; *CIG*, 4832 sqq.
- 148, 18. temple. *CIG*, iii, 5042 sq.; cf. 5039. Greek and Latin *Proskynemata* at the temple of Baal Markod in Phoenicia at the time of Severus: Lebas-Waddington, 1855-1863a.
- 148, 22. Julia. Orelli, 1580.
- 148, 31. nitre-springs. *CIL*, x, 6786, p. 679; Preller, *RM*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 145, 5. *CIL*, iii, 1396 sq. (Thermae of Zazwaros); *Devotio* to the *Nymphae* of the *aquae ferventes* (found in the spring of Poggio Bagnoli) Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2749 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 1823.
- 148, 34. others. Ihm, *Mütter- oder Matronencultus*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiii, 94 f.
- 148, 36. fire. Henzen, 5689.
- 148, 39. springs. Orelli, 1560 sq.
- 149, 3. Lymfa. *IRN*, 7146 (aliena).
- 149, 7. spring. Orelli, 1632, 1634, 1637; *CIL*, v, 1, 3106; *ib.*, iii, 3047 (Nymphis Aug.—pro salute municipii balneo effecto).
- 149, 9. Lambaesis. Henzen, 5758a.
- 149, 12. storms. *CIL*, viii, 9180.
- 149, 17. Numidian. Read 'Nimidian'. Herzog, *Gall. Narb.*, App., 283 (Henzen, *Bull.*, 1862, p. 142s.). Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 73, 3.
- 149, 20. boar. Orelli, 1603 = *CIL*, vii, 451.
- 149, 22. timber-merchants. Orelli, 4278 = *CIL*, v, 1, 815: Silvano sacrum sectores materiarum Aquileienses. *CIL*, xi, 1, 363 (Arimini): Silvano Aug. sacrum NN. negotians materiar. d.d. In rocky Dalmatia Silvanus appears as Pan; the votive-reliefs of Pan and the nymphs are specially characteristic of Dalmatia, Schneider, *Oesterreich. Mitth.*, ix (1885), pp. 36-47.
- 149, 29. skin. *CIL*, ii, 2660.
- 149, 33. shirt. *CIL*, ii, 462.
- 149, 38. temple. Hübner, *Das Heiligthum des Nodon*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lvii (1879), p. 29 ff.
- 150, 4. grant. Chthonic deities invoked in curses: Lebas-Waddington, 1499.
- 150, 10. angels. Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 37: nos officia divina angelos (*l. angelis*) credimus.
- 150, 16. Statina. *Id. ib.*, c. 39.
- 150, 19. Celtic. Jordan, *De Genii et Eponae picturis Pompei.*, in *AdI*, 1872, p. 49ss.
- 150, 24. existence. Preller, *RM*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 227 f. Cf. Ihm, *Mütter- und Matronencultus*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiii, 1887, p. 56, 2. The continuance of the cult of Epona (and Cloacina) is attested by Prudent., *Apoth.*, 197.
- 150, 26. Mefitis. Preller, *ibid.*, p. 144 f. 'Quartana' in a votive inscription of Nemausus, *CIL*, xii, 3129 (Quartane votum reddet (*sic*) libens merito Byrria Severilla) Hirschfeld believes to be the goddess of the quartan ague.
- 150, 37. Mars. *E.g.* Orelli, 1348.
- 150, 37. Neptune. *Id.*, 1336.
- 150, 39. profits. *Id.*, 1404; *CIL*, ix, 3307 (erection of a statue of Mercury in an *atrium auctionarium*).
- 150, 40. Minerva. The very numerous monuments dedicated to

- Minerva along the whole *limes* are only exceeded in number by those of Mercury: Keller, *Vicus Aureli*, p. 25.
- 150, 40. Ceres. Horace, *S.*, ii, 2, 124.
- 150, 41. Lucina. Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 39.
- 151, 5. Eros. Plutarch, *Amator.*, c. 2, 1.
- 151, 10. sickness. Lobeck., *Aglaoph.*, p. 1172.
- 151, 12. god. Henzen-Orelli, Index, p. 31 sq.
- 151, 15. rain. Petron., *Sat.*, 44; Preller, *RM*, i<sup>3</sup>, 194, 2.
- 151, 20. Poeninus. Livy, xxi, 38 sq.
- 151, 25. Jovis. Saussure, *Voy. d. l. Alpes*, iv, 189ss.
- 151, 27. passes. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, p. 160.
- 151, 30. travellers. Ex Galliae parte septentrionali Germanisque Raetiaque: Mommsen, *CIL*, v, 2, 761. Cf. H. Meyer, *Die röm. Alpenstrassen in der Schweiz*, in *Mitth. d. antiq. Ges. zu Zürich*, xiii, 19 ff.
- 151, 32. return. Promis, *Antichità d'Aosta*, p. 61 ss.; *CIL*, v, 2, 6865-6895.
- 151, 34. destinies. Orelli, 1269 = *CIL*, iii, 1, 1090.
- 151, 36. danger. Lebas-Waddington, 2573 (Palmyra): *Δὴ Ὑψίστῳ* (husband and wife) — *εὐξάμενοι καὶ ἐπακουσθέντες*. *CIL*, iii, 1918 (Novae in Dalmatia): J.O.M. NN. centurio—hoc in loco majestate et numine ejus servatus etc.
- 151, 41. health. Orelli, 1267.
- 152, 3. Brescia. Henzen-Orelli, 5619 = *CIL*, v, 1, 4241 (224 A.D.).
- 152, 7. Trocni. Lebas-Waddington, 1192 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 793 (apparently 163 A.D.).
- 152, 11. Dacia. *CIL*, iii, 1, 1504.
- 152, 22. preserver. Orelli, 3726.
- 153, 10. events. Juv., 13, 86.
- 153, 14. intelligence. Philo, *T.* i, p. 262 Pfeiff.
- 153, 17. Providence. Tac., *A.*, vi, 22.
- 153, 32. superstition. Plutarch, *De superstitione*, c. 13.
- 153, 35. Tyre. See vol. iii, p. 93.
- 154, 4. godlessness. Apulei., *De deo Socrat.*, ed. Oudendorp, ii, 122.
- 154, 18. barbarians. Lucian, *Jup. Tragoed.*, in *f.*
- 155, 11. gifts. Minuc. Fel., c. 7.
- 155, 34. unintelligible. Quintilian, i, 6, 40.
- 156, 2. 382. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 433, 1.
- 156, 6. Rome. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, 362.
- 156, 9. cross. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldculte*, ii, p. xxxvii.
- 156, 13. spring. *Ibid.*, p. 265 ff.
- 156, 16. contended. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 315. Cf. *id.*, *Mythol. Forschungen*, in *Nachlass*, pp. 159 f., 192-197.
- 156, 20. Mary. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 446, 1.
- 156, 24. association. The following chiefly (in part verbally) from Mommsen, *Ueber die römischen Ackerbrüder*, in *Grenzboten*, 1870, i, p. 161 ff.
- 156, 38. metal. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arval.*, p. 132; Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 447 ff.; Jordan, *Topographie*, i, 396.
- 157, 36. Celtic. *CIL*, v, 1, 725 (Aerecura), 763, 1809, 4935 (Cautus Pates), 4297 (Alus), 4200ss. (Bergimus) etc.
- 157, 36. Raetian. *Ib.*, p. 390 (Cuslanus, Jupiter Feluennis).

- 157, 38. Bolsena. *CIL*, xi, 1, 2686 (Volsinii), Dis deabusq. Primitivus deae Nort. ser. act. ex voto.
- 157, 39. Sejanus. Preller, *RM*, i<sup>3</sup>, 189, 2; Juv., 10, 74.
- 158, 1. Nortia. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 420, 1.
- 158, 4. Feronia. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 33, 6.
- 158, 5. Italy. Preller, *ibid.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 426 ff.; Henzen-Orelli, *Ind.*, p. 27; Lanciani, *BdI*, 1870, p. 26ss.; *CIL*, 1, 776; vi, 146s.
- 158, 10. Veline lake. Preller, i<sup>3</sup>, 408; Horace, *Epp.*, i, 10, 49; *CIL*, ix, 4636, 4751.
- 158, 16. Sutrium. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 24; *Ad Nation.*, ii, 8.
- 158, 18. Hadrian. Preller, *ibid.*, 280; *CIL*, ix, 2594 = Orelli, 1852. Cf. in the same work, p. 502, Mommsen on the name of the city.
- 158, 19. quarters. Feast of Juno at Falerii, *ibid.*, 280; of Diana at Nemi, 316.
- 158, 25. slaves. Pausan., ii, 27, 4; Preller, 315.
- 158, 33. ground. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands u. d. Herrschaft der Römer*, ii, 477 ff.
- 159, 6. animals. Pausan., vii, 18, 7.
- 159, 20. Dionysus. *Id.*, vii, 19, 20.
- 159, 28. lot. *Id.*, vii, 25, 8.
- 159, 40. Medea. *Id.*, ii, 11, 6; 12, 1.
- 160, 10. temple. *Id.*, ii, 31, 5; 32, 1.
- 160, 23. blows. *Id.*, iii, 16; Plutarch, *Lycurg.*, c. 18, 2.
- 160, 25. altar. Lebas-Waddington, ii, 175b (Sparta): ἡ πόλις τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον καὶ εὐγενέστατον καὶ ἀνδρείοτατον Μ. Αὐρ. Κλεώνυμον τὸν καὶ Ὑμνον Βωμονείκην ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα.
- 160, 27. flogged. Pausan., viii, 23, 1.
- 160, 37. election. Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.*, 38; Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 259.
- 160, 38. Cyprus. Lactant., *Inst. div.*, i, 21 *init.*
- 161, 2. Rome. Cf. also *Confessio S. Cypriani* (bishop of Antioch, who is said to have suffered martyrdom under Claudius or Diocletian) concerning the mysteries and different kinds of divination of that time. Preller, *Beitrag z. Religionsg. d. Alterth.*, in *Philologus*, i, 349. For the survival of old cults in the fourth century, see Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, iii, 310 f.
- 161, 8. times. Cf. vol. iii, p. 102 f.
- 161, 12. islands. Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, ii, 267 ff., 485. Isis worship already in Athens c. 350, iii, 120 (Köhler, *Hermes*, v, 371 ff.).
- 161, 13. Atergatis. G. Hirschfeld, *Delos (Deutsche Rundschau)*, xli, October 1884, p. 113).
- 161, 16. Thera. Preller, *RM*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 411, 3.
- 161, 23. ascendancy. I cannot agree with Mommsen's opinion, *RG*, v, 257, that this age had long lost the old national religion, which 'became more and more the special possession of the learned class', nor can I find any support for this view in the passage he quotes from Plutarch, *Praec. ger. reip.*, 30.
- 161, 28. Demonax. Lucian, *Demonax*, 11.
- 162, 2. garlands. Apulei., *Apol.*, ed. Oudend., ii, p. 518 sq.
- 162, 11. wish. Martial, x, 92.
- 162, 20. prayers. Prudent., *C. Symmach.*, i, 188 sqq.
- 162, 25. senator. Vol. i, p. 131 f.

- 162, 30. return. Seneca, *Beneff.*, iii, 27.  
 162, 32. mentioned. Vol. iii, p. 96.  
 162, 38. gift. On the *stipes* cf. Marquardt, *St V*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 143, 3; 369, 5; 385, 3; 456, 2; *CIL*, iv, 7; Allmer et Terrebasse, *Inscr. de Vienne*, iii, 533 = *CIL*, xii, 2388: Matris Aug. ex stipe annua den. xxxv et. d.  
 162, 41. Minor. Mommsen, *St R.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 66 f.; Dionys. Halic., *Ant. Rom.*, ii, 24; Tertullian, *Ad nat.*, i, 10; *Apol.*, 13, 42; Lebas-Waddington, ii, p. 124 ad 243 (Gythion). Lehmann, *Quaestiones sacerdotales*, P. i., *De titulis ad sacerdotiorum apud Graecos venditionem pertinentibus* (Regimenti, 1888). Sale of the priesthood, *μυστῶν θεῶν τῶν ἐν Σαμοθράκη—χρυσῶν ἐπὶ τὰ χαλκῶν ἐξήκοντα*. Tocilescu, *Inscripfen aus d. Dobrudscha, in Oesterreich. Mittheilungen*, vi, 1882, p. 8.  
 163, 1. Ptolemies. Wilcken, *Kaiserl. Tempelverwaltung in Aegypten*, in *Hermes*, xxiii, p. 592 ff.  
 163, 2. existence. Henzen, 6113 = *CIL*, vi, 820.  
 163, 11. Christians. Pliny, *Ad Tr.*, 96, 10; Mommsen, in *Hermes*, iii, 50, 3.  
 163, 15. months. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 14.  
 163, 17. oxen. Prudent., *C. Symmach.*, i, 215 sqq. List of eight animals sacrificed by two priests of Saturn to eight gods: *CIL*, viii, 8246 sq.  
 163, 28. visitors. Lucret., v, 1161–1168.  
 163, 33. individuals. Marquardt, *St V*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 67.  
 163, 35. eighty-two. *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 86 (nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat). Under Tiberius another restoration was necessary. Tac., *A.*, ii, 49.  
 164, 5. dream. E.g. Orelli, 1344, 1790.  
 164, 9. building. E.g. 100,000 HS for a temple of the *Dea Calva* (Gerolstein in the district of Trier) 124 A.D. Henzen, 5681 = Brambach, *CIRh*, 853. For a temple at Gabii A.D. 140 in tutela et orationibus (*sic*) 5000 sest.; *CIL*, xiv, 2795.  
 164, 13. Aricia. Appian, *B. C.*, v, 24: ἐν αἷς μάλιστα πόλεσι καὶ νῦν εἰσι θησαυροὶ χρημάτων ἱερῶν δαψιλεῖς. *CIL*, xiv, 3679, 3679a = Dessau, *Due Iscr. Tiburtine*, *AdI*, 1882, p. 116 sqq. (sub thes-[auro] Herculis et August[orum]).  
 164, 16. towns. Orelli, 781 (*Ummidia Quadratilla*), vol. i, p. 116 (Pliny); vol. i, p. 46 (Cleander etc.); cf. vol. ii, p. 249.  
 164, 22. Tiber. Mommsen, *Tituli Ostienses P. Lucilii Gamalae*, in *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, 319ss.; *CIL*, xiv, 375, 376.  
 164, 24. Sassina. Martial, ix, 58.  
 164, 27. Apollo. Henzen-Or., 6124, 6126. Other examples *CIL*, xiv, 2795; viii, 1574 (Mustis, prov. proc. 164 A.D., a temple for 70,000 S.); 993 (col. Julia Karpis): a temple praised by a 'flaminica divae Plotinae'; maritus et filius (aedem) suo sumptu a solo aedificatam d.d. marmoribus et museis (cf. *ib.*, 2657, 209/211 A.D. marmoribus et musaeo) et statua Pudicitiae et thorace Caelestis Augustae ornaverunt.  
 164, 30. estates. Vol. i, p. 116.  
 164, 31. sanctuaries. E.g. Orelli, 1515; Henzen, 5669 etc.  
 164, 33. kitchens. *IRN*, 5435 = *CIL*, ix 3075 (Sulmo); *ib.*, xiv,



- 3543 = Or., 2006 (Tibur) Herculi Saxano sacr.—aedem zothecam culinam; *ib.*, viii, 1267 (Chisiduo):—aram et ollam aer. caldar. et urceum et lucernam.
- 164, 33. capitals. Lebas-Waddington, 1881 = Orelli, 1951 (Helio-  
polis): capita columnarum duo aerea auro inluminata).
- 164, 39. Felicitas. *IRN*, 1092 = *CIL*, ix, 1154.
- 165, 1. accessories. *IRN*, 4093 = *CIL*, x, 6102.
- 165, 7. Scaevola. *D.*, xxxiv, 3, 38, § 2.
- 165, 12. Vienne. See Appendix liii, p. 287.
- 165, 15. beard. *Pers.*, 2, 55, ed. Jahn, p. 134.
- 165, 15. Corfinium. *IRN*, 534 = *CIL*, ix, 3146. Cf. Lucian, *Philops.*, 19. Partial gilding and silvering of a sacred picture in modern Greece: B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 72 f.
- 165, 21. clothing. Gatti, *Iscr. di Segni*, in *BdI*, 1883, pp. 190–192: (A)urunceia Sp. f. Acte mag(istra sc. collegii Bonae deae) Bone (sic) deae tunicas duas et palliolum raras Calleinas (Calenas?) et lucerna aerea (sic) d.d.
- 165, 31. gifts. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 4 and 18.
- 165, 35. expense. *IRN*, 6314 = *CIL*, x, 1599.
- 165, 38. weight. Orelli, 1484 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 358. Cf. note.
- 166, 6. tablet. Orelli, 1572 = *CIL*, xii, 354.
- 166, 14. shoes. Orelli, 2510 = *CIL*, ii, 3386.
- 166, 16. temples. E.g. Pliny, *Ep.*, iii, 6; Letronne, *Sur l'usage des anciens de consacrer la statue d'un dieu à un autre dieu*, in *Rev. archéol.*, i, 439ss. Allmer et Terrebasse, *Inscr. ant. de Vienne*, iii, 355: Castori et Polluci—Apollin(em) ex stipe dupla.
- 166, 22. pictures. *IRN*, 5 = *CIL*, x, 6. Cf. the interesting catalogue of offerings in two temples of Isis and Bubastis (in the enclosure of the temple of Diana at Nemi): Henzen, *Scavi di Nemi*, *BdI*, 1871, p. 53ss. = *CIL*, xiv, 2215.
- 166, 25. mentioned. *CIL*, xiv, 3, 8, 21, 34, 35, 36, 69, 71, 72 (clupeum argent. cum imagine aurea) 119 (offerings of 1 to 15 pounds of silver, all at Ostia). *ib.*, 2861 (11½ pounds, a votive offering, for the Fortuna at Praeneste).
- 166, 28. sesterces. *RGDA*<sup>2</sup>, p. 88.
- 166, 31. silver. *CIL*, xiv, 2088 = Orelli, 2503.
- 166, 32. considerations. Figures of Artemis and her stags in gold and silver, weighing 3 to 7 pounds were given by Salutaris, 104 A.D.; Wood, *Ephesus*, in Newton-Imelmann, *Die Griechischen Inschriften*, pp. 41, 50. Silver Victories at Olbia etc., see n. on vol. ii, p. 263, 20. Synopsis (inventory) of 'res sacrae Cirtensium': *CIL*, viii, 6981–6984 (among them 'argenteum in Kapitolio ex HS CCCXII'). *CIL*, ix, 4512 = *IRN*, 5751 (ager Amiterninus: 100 pounds of silver bequeathed by will by the mother of C. Brutius Praesens, consul in 180).
- 166, 38. posts. Tertullian, *Apol. adv. gentes*, c. 29; *De corona*, c. 11; *Arnob.*, vi, 20. In Clemens Rom., *Homil.*, x, 8: θεοὺς—ὑπὸ κυνῶν φρουρουμένους, ὑπ' ὀχλῶν φυλασσόμενους P. de Lagarde (*Clementina*, pp. 102, 127) rightly emends to ὑπὸ μόχλων. Cf. *Recognit.*, v, 15: sicque et a furibus canum vigiliis et claustrorum munitionibus conservantur.

- 167, 4. Smyrna. For 'the Mother of the Gods from Sipylus at Smyrna' read 'the Nemesis at Smyrna'. Jahn's emendation: *Matrem Deorum Sipylenen, Nemesisim, quae Smyrnae colitur*, has been rightly adopted by P. Krüger (*Coll. libr. jur. Antejustiniani*, ed. Krüger, Mommsen, Studemund, ii, pp. 24, 26).
- 167, 5. Carthage. Ulpian, *Fragm.*, xxii, 6 (Huschke, *Jurisprud. Antejustin.*<sup>5</sup>, p. 597).
- 167, 11. annually. *D.*, xxxiii, 1, 20, § 1.
- 167, 16. face. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 292.
- 167, 26. God. Max. Tyr., *Diss.*, viii.
- 167, 32. Panagias. B. Schmidt, *Volksl. d. Neugriechen*, p. 49; Welcker, *Gr. Götterlehre*, ii, 121; Grimm, *D. Mythol.*, *Vorr.*, xxxiii.
- 167, 41. agriculture. B. Schmidt, *Demeter in Eleusis*, and Fr. Lenormant, *N. Rhein. Mus.*, 1876, p. 278 f.; Cic., *Verr.*, iv, 51, 114. For the veneration of the images of Greek deities in the Middle Ages cf. Sathas, *Docum. inéd. relat. à l'hist. de la Grèce au moyen âge*, i. Série, T. i (1880), p. xiv.
- 168, 2. devout. Lucret., i, 316 with Munro's note (where Cic., *Verr.*, iv, 43, 94 is quoted). Eunap., *Vitt. sophist.*, 148: *καὶ τὰ στέφνα τοῦ σοφιστοῦ περιλιχμισάμενοι καθάπερ ἀγάλματος ἐνθέου πάντες οἱ παρόντες, οἱ μὲν πόδας οἱ δὲ χεῖρας προσεκύνουν, οἱ δὲ θεὸν ἔφασαν, οἱ δὲ Ἑρμοῦ λογίου τύπον.*
- 168, 4. hearing. Seneca, *Epp.*, 41, 1.
- 168, 5. secret. Jahn, on Pers., 2, 4 sqq.
- 168, 8. desires. Intpp. on Juv., 10, 55 and on Apulei., *Apol.*, 515, Oudend.
- 168, 10. saints. Rückert, *Culturgesch. des deutschen Volkes*, iii, 196 f.
- 168, 14. abuse. Paul. Nolan., *Carm.*, 18, 220-465.
- 168, 16. Jupiter. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 4, 7.
- 168, 23. Pan. Theocrit., 7, 107. Cf. also the fable in Babrius, 119, where some one in a rage breaks his wooden Hermes to pieces and finds a treasure inside.
- 168, 25. idols. Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, p. 528 f.
- 168, 28. water. Mayer, *Neapel und die Neapolitaner*; Meiners, *Gesch. aller Religionen*, i, 128; Schömann, *Gr. Alt.*, ii, 167.
- 168, 29. cease. Schlicht, *Bairisch Land u. bairisch Volk*, 1875.
- 168, 30. Sicily. Schneegans's tale, *Die Schicksale des h. Pancrazius von Evolo* (*D. Rundschau*, March 1883) is founded on a true occurrence, as the author informs me.
- 168, 34. march. Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, i, 357.
- 168, 37. arms. Bernhardt, *Reiseerinnerungen aus Spanien*, p. 476.
- 169, 10. streets. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 5 sq.
- 169, 17. Capitol. Seneca, in Augustine, *C. D.*, vi, 10; ed. Haase, iii, p. 426; cf. Preller, *RM*, i<sup>3</sup>, 144, 1. 'Alius nomina' (so Haase for *numina*) 'deo subicit' means perhaps as Hertz supposes: 'announces the names of the suppliants'.
- 169, 23. day. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 256, 4.
- 169, 34. offices. On coins of Byzantium certain divinities (Demeter, Dionysos, Nike, Tyche, Diva Faustina) are indicated as officials of the city by a prefixed *ἐπί*, and hold the office for

the second, third, or even seventh time ; a thing which no doubt happened elsewhere. So in Samothrake : Regibus Jov(e et Augusto) | iterum M.' Acilio etc. (124 A.D.). Sallet, *Beitr. z. antiken Münz- und Alterthumsk.*, 1881, p. 10 ff. Cf. Hirschfeld, in *Oesterreich. Mitth.*, 1881, p. 224 f. and Dürr, *ibid.*, 1886, p. 119 f.

- 169, 36. processions. Tertullian, *De idolol.*, c. 18 : cum praeterea ipsis etiam idolis induantur praetextae et trabeae et lati clavi fascesque et virgae praeferantur.
- 169, 41. horses. Bernhardi, *Reiseerinnerungen aus Spanien*, p. 476.
- 170, 3. Hidalgo. Sealsfield, *Der Virey*, note on part i.
- 170, 36. Tacitus. Tac., *H.*, v, 4.
- 170, 39. religion. *Id. ib.*, 13.
- 170, 41. demons. Cf. for the Jewish popular faith and Philo's relations to paganism Zeller, *G. d. Ph.*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 2, 298 ; Selig Cassel, *Juden (Geschichte)*, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopädie*, p. 20 f.
- 171, 10. religion. Lucian, *Alexand.*, 25 and 37. Justin Mart., *Apol.*, i, 6, 13 ; Euseb., *H. e.*, iv, 16.
- 171, 24. Gibbon. Gibbon, *Hist.*, ch. xv. Hillel arranged under eighteen heads the prescriptions of the Torah, which till then were divided into 248 commands according to the number of parts of the human body, and into 365 prohibitions according to the number of the days in the year. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, i 417 ; cf. also Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, p. 438 ff.
- 171, 38. people. Schürer, ii<sup>2</sup>, 495-513. Cf. 1 *Maccab.*, xv, 16-24 (139/138 B.C.). *Oracc. Sibyll.*, iii, 271 (composed 140 B.C. according to Schürer, ii<sup>2</sup>, 494, and 124 B.C. according to Guttschmid).
- 171, 38. Strabo. Strabo in Joseph., *A. J.*, xiv, 7, 2 ; cf. xv, 13, 1.
- 171, 41. Josephus. Joseph., *B. J.*, ii, 16, 4. Cf. also Philo, *De execrationibus*, §§ 8 and 9, and *De praemiis et poenis*, §§ 15-20 in Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, pp. 573, 589.
- 172, 6. Arabia. *Acts Apost.*, ii, 5-11.
- 172, 14. Libya. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, p. 587 M.
- 172, 17. idea. Vol. i, p. 313.
- 172, 19. commercial. Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden des Alterthums*, p. 204 f. Babylonian trade of the Jews, *ibid.*, p. 218 f.
- 172, 28. life. Delitzsch, *Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu* (1868), pp. 25 and 36. Slave-trade of the Jews, Herzfeld, p. 128.
- 172, 41. arms. The above nearly verbally from Döllinger, *Die Juden in Europa*, *Akad. Vorträge*, i, 224 f.
- 173, 6. Parthia. Dio, lxvi, 4.
- 173, 14. government. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 346.
- 173, 16. seats. Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 497.
- 172, 19. empire. S. Cassel, *op. cit.*, p. 175 f. Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, p. 621. Herzfeld, p. 336 f. Burning of a Jewish synagogue at Callinicum (Mesopotamia) by the Christians : Ambrose, *Epp.*, 40.
- 173, 19. Palmyra. A Jewish ἀρχέμυρος 257 A.D. : *CIG*, 4486. Cf. for the Jews at Palmyra, Vogüé, *Inscr. Palmyr.*, nos. 13 and

- 63; Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'hist. et la géogr. de Palest.*, I, 22, 224; Lebas-W., 2619.
- 173, 21. A.D. Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, p. 47.
- 173, 24. inscription. Landauer, *Ueber eine von Dr. Euting in Palmyra gefundene Inschrift einer Synagoge*, in *Ber. d. Berl. Akad.*, 31 Juli 1884, p. 993 f.
- 183, 28. Egypt. Mommsen in Sallet's *Zeitschr. f. Numismatik*, v, 229-231 (Derenbourg, *Journal Asiat.*, Mars-Avril, 1869, p. 373s. was not accessible to me).
- 173, 29. Arabia. S. Cassel, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
- 173, 36. Axumites. Gutschmid in Sharpe, *Gesch. Aegyptens*, ii, 221 f., 285.
- 173, 38. Justinian. Procop., *B. Pers.*, i, 19, ed. D., i, 99, 7.
- 173, 41. population. M. Flad, *Kurze Schilderung der abessynischen Juden* (Falasha), 1869. Cf. Krapf, *Reisen in Ostafrika*, i, 216.
- 174, 3. Syria. Philo, *In Flacc.*, 582 M.: καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν παμπληθεὶς Ἀστας καὶ Συρίας. Schürer, p. 621.
- 174, 5. contingent. Renan, *Les apôtres*, p. 223.
- 174, 6. magnificence. Schürer, p. 636.
- 174, 10. development. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 465.
- 174, 14. physicians. Usener, *Religionsgesch. Unters.*, i (1889), p. 227 ff.
- 174, 15. war. Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 498, 17 (Jos., *B. J.*, ii, 20, 2; vii, 8, 7).
- 174, 18. *Diaspora*. Evidence from the time of Aristotle, Mueller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.*, ii, 323; Gutschmid, *Neue Beitr. z. Gesch. d. alten Orients*, p. 77.
- 174, 20. Phrygia. Josephus, *A. J.*, xii, 3, 4.
- 174, 22. Cilicia. *Acts Apost.*, vi, 9.
- 174, 24. privileges. Bernays, *Die Heraklitischen Briefe*, p. 28; *Acts Apost.*, xix, 8-20.
- 174, 26. Smyrna. Πουφείνα Ἰουδαία ἀρχισυνάγωγος, Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 490, 1, from Reinach, *Revue des études juives*, 1883, p. 161; *CIG*, 9897.
- 174, 28. honour. Reinach, *Synagogue juive à Phocée*, in *Bull. de corr. Hellen.*, x, 1886, pp. 327-335. (For προεδρία cf. *St. Matth.*, xxiii, 6; James, ii, 2, 3.)
- 174, 38. Apamea. Eckhel, *D.N.*, iii, 132-139.
- 175, 3. Pergamus. Cic., *Pro Flacco*, c. 28.
- 175, 12. Lycaonia. *Acts Apost.*, xiii, 14; xiv, 1.
- 175, 14. Armenia. S. Cassel, *op. cit.*, p. 174. According to Gutschmid there is no value in the testimony of Moses of Chorene, 486 A.D. (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ii, 294.) To him also I owe the information that another historian of Armenia, Faustus of Byzantium, iv, 55 (Langlois, *Collection des historiens de l'Arménie*, i, 274) states, that incredible masses of Jews were carried away by the Persians, when Artaxarta (367) and other Armenian towns were conquered.
- 175, 20. extinct. Tcheng-Ki-Tong [Ch'en Chi-t'ung], *The Chinese Painted by Themselves* [1884], p. 191. Also Richthofen, *China*, i, 513, 1, regards the immigration of Jews from Persia at the time of the Han dynasty as certain.



- 175, 21. Melos. Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenland*, ii, 3, 499.
- 175, 26. Herod. Joseph., *A. J.*, xvii, 12, 1; *B. J.*, ii, 7, 1.
- 175, 28. island. *Id.*, *Vita*, 76.
- 175, 29. Delos. *Id.*, *A. J.*, xiv, 10, 8.
- 175, 29. Paros. *Ib.*, 7, 2; 10, 15.
- 175, 34. again. Dio, xlviii, 32.
- 175, 37. Acts. Jewish inscriptions in Aegina, *CIG*, 9894, *Patrae*, 9896, Athens 9900 = *CIA*, iii, 2, 3547, *ibid.*, 3545, 3546. Jewish *proskynemata* in Syra (Grammata), De Rossi, *Atene, suoi monumenti cristiani e giudaici*, in *Bull. crist.*, 1876, p. 116.
- 175, 40. injured. *Cod. Theodos.*, xvi, 8, 12 and 21. (S. Cassel, *op. cit.*, p. 121.)
- 176, 2. workshops. S. Cassel, p. 53.
- 176, 5. Kertch. *CIG*, ii, 2. *Add.*, p. 1005, no. 2114<sup>b</sup> and 2114<sup>bb</sup>. Cf. p. 1006 (2126<sup>b</sup>); p. 1008 (2131<sup>b</sup>).
- 176, 6. Anapa. Stephani, *op. cit.*, p. 244 ff.
- 176, 8. Judaism. The Jewish sepulchral inscriptions (*Hebräische Grabsteine aus der Krim*, *Mém. de l'Ac. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, viii. série, ix [1866], no. 7) edited by Chwolson, are not genuine. Cf. A. Harkavy and H. L. Strack, *Catalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der kais. öff. Bibl. in St. Petersburg*, 1875; Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 499, 22.
- 176, 10. population. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 523 M.
- 176, 12. Alexander. Schürer, ii<sup>2</sup>, 505, 53.
- 176, 15. Ptolemies. Schürer, pp. 621, 623 f.; Gutschmid-Sharpe, i, 226, 267, 269; ii, 3 etc. Cf. index. Προσευχὴ ἄστυλος in Alexandria at the time of Ptolemy Euergetes I or II, *Eph. epigr.*, iv, 26. Cf. vol. iii of this work, p. 173.
- 176, 15. Philo's. Schürer, ii<sup>2</sup>, 501. Later only one? Mommsen, *RG*, v, 524, 1.
- 176, 18. trees. Vol. i, p. 357.
- 176, 24. Scriptures. Lumbroso, *Recherches*, p. 62 (Ewald, *Gesch. Israels*, iv, 274; Philo, *In Flaccum*, p. 528).
- 176, 25. navigation. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 564 M. Ἐργαστήρια in Alexandria, *id.*, *In Flacc.*, p. 525 M. Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden*, p. 236.
- 176, 26. trades. Delitzsch, *Handwerkerleben z. Z. Jesu*, p. 38.
- 176, 29. century. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 26 (Josephus, *C. Apion.*, ii, 5: fluminis custodiam totiusque custodiae. A Μαλχαῖος under Trajan guardiano e gabelotto del porto di Siene).
- 176, 29. Delta. *Bull. d. corresp. Hellén.*, xiii, 1889, p. 178.
- 176, 41. hierarchy. Ewald, *op. cit.*, 405.
- 177, 1. Cyrene. Josephus, *A. J.*, xvi, 6, 1. Thrige, *Cyrene*, p. 219 sq.
- 177, 5. Lucullus. Schürer, p. 623.
- 177, 6. Jonathas. Josephus, *Vita*, c. 76.
- 177, 9. 13 B.C. *CIG*, 5301 with Böckh's note.
- 177, 13. countries. Dio, lxxviii, 32; S. Cassel, p. 13; Euseb., *Chron.*, Ol. 224 (according to which the revolt spread to the Thebaid).
- 177, 18. Christianity. Procop., *De aedif.*, vi, 2 (ed. D., iii, 334).

- 177, 19. Carthage. Tertullian, *Adv. Judaeos*.  
 177, 22. inscriptions. For 'later' read 'late'. *Eph. Epigr.*, v, pp. 537, 1222. Cf. p. 538 and vii, no. 147.  
 177, 23. Sitifi. Henzen-Or., 6145 = *CIL*, viii, 8499 (pater synagogae) and 8423.  
 177, 24. Cirta. *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 2072 = *CIL*, viii, 7155 (Cirta): Pompeio Restuto Judeo etc. Other Jewish inscriptions there, *CIL*, viii, 7150, 7530, 7710.  
 177, 27. Valerius. Valer. Max., i, 2, § 3.  
 177, 31. Rome. Schürer, ii<sup>2</sup>, 505, 53.  
 177, 33. Sabazius. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 82, 1.  
 177, 34. Sabaoth. According to a communication from Schürer, who had formerly wrongly disputed the identification. Cf. my *programm*, *De Judaeorum coloniis*, *Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1876, ii.  
 177, 38. liberty. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 1014.  
 178, 1. allies. Cic., *Pro Flacco*, 28, 1.  
 178, 2. Tiber. Philo, *loc. cit.*  
 178, 3. synagogue. Inscription of a man twice chief of a synagogue ('Ιάσων δις ἀρχων—as elsewhere, Schürer, ii<sup>2</sup>, 518, 112) found in Trastevere.  
 178, 8. Sardinia. Vol. i, p. 257.  
 178, 9. Rome. Schürer, p. 625; cf. ii<sup>2</sup>, 505 f.  
 178, 12. disturbances. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 25: Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit. On Chrestus=Christus see Schürer, p. 625, 4; cf. ii<sup>2</sup>, 509, 70; Lactant., *Inst. div.*, iv, 7: sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio est propter ignorantiam eorum, qui eum immutata littera Chrestum solent dicere. Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 3 and De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1873, pp. 21 and 62.  
 178, 13. extent. Dio, lx, 6. Tillemont, *H. d. E.*, ii, 481.  
 178, 14. Paul. *Acts Apost.*, xxviii, 17.  
 178, 17. seven. Garrucci, *Cimitero—in vigna Randanini*, p. 38: those of the Campenses (*CIG*, 9905, Orelli, 2522); Augustenses (*CIG*, 9902 sq., *Nuove Epigr. Giud.*, p. 11); Agrippenses (*CIG*, 9907); Siburenses (*ib.*, 6447); a new ἀρχων Σουβουρησιών, N. Müller, *Le catacombe degli Ebrei presso la via Appia Pignatelli*, in *Bull. d. Ist. Germ.*, i, 1886, pp. 49–56. Cf. Gomperz, *Oesterr. Mitth.*, x, 1886, p. 213 f.); Volumnenses (Orelli, 2522, more correctly Spon, *Misc.*, x, 220. Fabretti, 465, 101); Elaeenses (*CIG*, 9904) and Hebraei (συναγωγή Ἀιβραίων, *CIG*, 9909). Cf. Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit* (1879), pp. 15–17 and *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 516 ff. Burning of a synagogue in Rome, Ambrose, *Epp.*, ii, 17. A church in Rome claimed by the Jews as an old synagogue, Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iii, 45. Burning of synagogues, *id.*, *ib.*, iv, 43. The συναγωγή 'Ελαίας refers to Elaea in Mysia, where now stands a Roman ruin called *Tchifout-Kalessi*, 'Castle of the Jew' ('Εβρεοκάστρο, a not uncommon name in Anatolia), Reinach, *Bull. d. corr. Hellén.*, x, p. 330. Derenbourg (Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 439s.) supposes these Hebraei to be the community of the Samaritans in Rome (mentioned under Theodoric the Great by Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iii, 45; Schürer, ii<sup>2</sup>, 511, 81).

- All the synagogues were situated outside the Pomerium. Jordan, in *Hermes*, vi, 319 f.
- 178, 26. post. Schürer, *Geweindeverfassung*, p. 18 ff.
- 178, 27. grounds. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- 178, 27. five. Garrucci, p. 38. (Juv., 3, 17 sqq.). De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1867, p. 16; 1883, p. 79 f. Cf. Schürer, *ib.*, p. 13 f.
- 178, 28. inscriptions. Garrucci, p. 63.
- 178, 31. language. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 490 f., who believes that the kings imposed the Greek language on the Jewish communities of the Macedonian towns. Latin inscription of a Jew in Rome, *CIL*, vi, 3, 18,532 (Samsō Barochō). *Eph. epigr.*, iv, p. 291, 838: Aemilio Va(l)enti eq. Romano metuenti (Bernays, *Comment. Mommsen.*, p. 563 sq.).
- 178, 34. soothsayers. Renan, *Apôtres*, p. 289s. A Jewish soothsayer δόξαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλὰν ἔχων, Procop., *B. G.*, i, 9. 'Many women, many enchantments,' a saying of Rabbi Hillel. Haus-rath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, i, 299.
- 178, 38. chandelier. Bosio, *Roma sotterr.*, p. 142 sq.
- 179, 1. symbolical. Garrucci, *Cimitero*, 65s. *Nuove Epigr.*, 2s.
- 179, 2. Portus. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, iv, 40.
- 179, 5. Italy. J. Derenbourg, *Elazar le Peitan*, in *Mélanges Renier*, pp. 429-441. Four unpublished inscriptions, probably from Portus, among them παρ. συν. Καρκαρασιῶν (?), p. 438 sqq.
- 179, 6. Puteoli. Vol. i, p. 351.
- 179, 11. Pliny. *CIL*, iv, 2569; Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxi, 95: (garum) castimoniarum superstitioni etiam sacrisque Judaeis dicatum quod fit e piscibus squama carentibus. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 440, 80.
- 179, 13. Christian. *Bull. d. Inst. archeol.*, 1885, p. 97.
- 179, 14. Solomon. *Bull. dell' Inst. archeol.*, 1883, p. 37s. Lum-broso, *Mem. dell' Acad. dei Lincei*, Ser. 3, vol. xi, 3 giugno 1883, connects the picture with the legendary Egyptian King Bocchoris. Overbeck, *Pompeji*<sup>4</sup>, p. 583 f. De Rossi (like Marini) also connects 'princes libertinorum' in a Pompeian inscription (*CIL*, iv, 117) with a Jewish community, because the Italian or Roman Jews (*Acts Apost.*, vi, 9) were so called: *Bull. crist.*, ii, 69ss. and 92, 5. Cf. Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.*, ii (1854), p. 8.
- 179, 17. Capua. *IRN*, 3657 = *CIL*, x, 3905; cf. S. Cassel, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
- 179, 18. Venusia. O. Hirschfeld, *BdI*, 1867, p. 149. Ascoli, *Iscr. inedite o mal note Greche Latine Ebraiche di antichi sepolcri Giudaici del Napolitano*, 1880. Out of 47 inscriptions of the *ipogeo di Venosa*, Hebrew words occur in 21; the Hebrew inscriptions above ground are about two centuries later. Cf. Mommsen, *CIL*, ix, p. 660ss., 6195-6241.
- 179, 20. physician. *Ib.*, 6213—Ascoli, 55, 10.
- 179, 20. Naples. Procop., *B. G.*, i, 8 and 16; *IRN*, 6467 = *CIL*, x, 1971 = Henzen-Orelli, 5302: (Cl)audia Aster Hierosolymitana (ca)ptiva, curam egit (Ti.) Claudius Aug. libertus Masculus etc.
- 179, 23. Fundi. *CIL*, ix, 6400-6402; cf. *Not. d. scavi*, 1882, p. 386s. (mediaeval ones at Taranto). *CIL*, x, 6299.

- 179, 27. decree. S. Cassel, p. 141. *Cod. Theod.*, xii, 1, 157 sq.
- 179, 31. Brixia. *CIL*, v, 1, 4411 : Coelia Paterna mater synagoges Brixianorum.
- 179, 34. Genoa. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, ii, 27.
- 179, 35. Milan. *Id. ib.*, v, 37.
- 179, 36. Ravenna. Anonym. Valesii, 81.
- 179, 41. Ambrose. Ambrose, *Exhortat. virginitat.*, c. 1.
- 180, 1. Pola. Orelli, 2523 = *CIL*, v, 1, 88 (Pola):—Aureliae Soteriae matri pientiss. religioni Judaicae metuenti (?). Two Jewish inscriptions from Mediolanum : Renan and Le Blant, *Rev. archéol.*, 1860, p. 348.
- 180, 3. *gerusiarch*. Garrucci, *Cimitero in vigna Randanini*, p. 62.
- 180, 6. slaves. S. Cassel, p. 147.
- 180, 7. Caecilius. Plutarch, *Cic.*, c. 7 (ἀπελευθερικὸς ἄνθρωπος, ἐνοχὸς τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ)—Suidas : Καϊκίλιος Σικελιώτης—ρήτωρ σοφιστεύσας ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπὸ δούλων (ex servitute manumissus : Kuester h. l. Perizon. ad Aelian., *Var. hist.*, xii, 1) ὥς τινες ἱστορήκασι, καὶ πρότερον καλούμενος Ἀρχάγαθος, δόξαν δὲ Ἰουδαῖος. Following Müller, *Hist. Gr. fr.*, iii, 331, who recalls the Servile wars and the many Syrians in Sicily, I regard as improbable Bernhardt's assumption of a confusion with the quaestor of Verres. A Jewish inscription at Syracuse, *CIG*, 9895.
- 180, 16. taxes. Cassel, p. 141. Zunz, *Z. Gesch. u. Litteratur*, p. 484 f.
- 180, 18. Cagliari. Cassel, p. 147, 65.
- 180, 20. Spain. *Romans*, xv, 23 sq.
- 180, 22. intention. Renan, *L'antechrist*, p. 106, 3 ; Ranke, *Weltgesch.*, iii, 1, 192, 1 after the letter of Clement, *Opp. patr. apost.*, ed. V. Funk, p. 63 : κήρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει —ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών.
- 180, 25. Spain. Josephus, *A. J.*, xviii, 7, 2 ; *B. J.*, ii, 9, 6.
- 180, 28. Jews. Cassel, p. 55. *Concil. Illib.*, can. 49, 50, 78.
- 180, 31. century. Huebner, *CIL*, ii, 1982 : . . . nia Salonula an. I | mens. IIII. die I | Judaea. Cf. also Cassel in Frankel's *Ztschr. f. Wissenschaft d. Judenthums*, 1846, p. 227.
- 180, 32. Minorca. Letter of Severus (or Severinus), bishop of Majorca (Migne, *Patrol.*, xx, 730) ; Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, vi, 420.
- 180, 32. Sisebut. Dahn, vi, 421. Le Blant and Renan put the inscription of a Jewess at Tortosa (Dertosa) in three languages (Greek, Latin, Hebrew) in the time before the persecutions of the Jews, about the sixth century ; Chwolson, *op. cit.*, p. 83 (on account of the Greek) in the time before the immigration of the Visigoths.
- 180, 36. Archelaus. Josephus, *A. J.*, xvii, 13, 2 ; Cassel, p. 61.
- 180, 40. Gaul. Cassel, p. 12 f., note 37. According to Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, p. 418, Akiba is said to have visited the ports of the Mediterranean, Zephyrium in Cappadocia, Nisibis, Iberia or Georgia and other countries.



- 180, 40. Hilary. Aronius, *Regesten zur Gesch. der Juden*, Erste Lief. (1887), 5: quod inter mortales valde videtur difficile esse, tam cautum esse, qui se a Judaeis vel haereticis cibo suspendat.
- 181, 4. decurionate. *Cod. Theodos.*, xvi, 8, 3 and 4. Cassel, p. 64.
- 181, 9. 383. Aronius, *op. cit.* (Simeon a man of Jewish extraction, seventh bishop of Metz).
- 181, 10. Sidonius. Sidon. Apoll., iii, 4; iv, 5 (with Sirmond's note; vi, 11; viii, 13. Jewish epitaph at Narbo of the time of King Egizaz (867), *Rev. archéol.*, *loc. cit.*; *CIL*, p. 929: Tituli Judaici saeculo vii. antiquiores in Gallia Narbonensi adhuc desiderantur.
- 181, 12. Narbo. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, vi, 21, 33.
- 181, 15. Spain. Stark, *Städteleben in Frankreich*, p. 162.
- 181, 22. Marseilles. Gregor. Tur., *Hist. Francor.*, v, 11; cf. Venant. Fortunat., *Carm.*, v, 4.
- 181, 24. Paris. Gregor., *ib.*, vi, 17.
- 181, 24. Guntram. *Ibid.*, viii, 1 (vol. i of this work, p. 314). Cf. also Gregor., *ib.*, iv, 12 and 35; vi, 5; vii, 23.
- 181, 27. Pannonia. *CIL*, iii, 1, 3688: D. m. Septimae Mariae Judeae vixit an. xviii Actia Sabinilla, mater. Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL III*, no. 593: Deo aeterno pro sal. d. n. Sev. A(lexandri) — — Cosmus pr(ae)positus sta(tionis) Spondilla synag. (In other dedications to the *deus aeternus* a Jewish source is not to be assumed: Orelli *ad* 2141.) According to Cumont, *Rev. archéol.*, 1881, p. 184ss., *dei aeterni* are always (?) Syrian gods.
- 181, 31. century. Goldschmidt, *Gesch. d. Juden in England*, i (1886: eleventh and twelfth centuries).
- 181, 34. existence. Cassel, p. 141.
- 181, 36. world. Jerome, *Commentar. in Amos*, 3, 1443. Cassel, p. 24.
- 181, 41. Rhine. Jerome, *ad Isai.*, xv, 66, ed. Vallars., iv, 823s.
- 182, 5. leniently. Cassel, p. 6 f.
- 182, 5. tax. Schürer, *Gemeindeverfassung*, p. 11; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 202.
- 182, 11. superstition. *Digg.*, i, 2, 3, § 2; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 548 f.
- 182, 12. service. Josephus, *A. J.*, xiv, 10, 6.
- 182, 13. later. Schürer, ii<sup>2</sup>, 528 f.
- 182, 15. emperors. *Ibid.*, 529 f.
- 182, 15. respects. *Alexander Sever.*, c. 22: Judaeis privilegia reservavit, Christianos esse passus est.
- 182, 20. Sabbath. Josephus, *A. J.*, xvi, 6, 2 and 4.
- 182, 23. day. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 1015 P.; cf. Schürer, p. 635, 2.
- 182, 26. Mucianus. Josephus, *A. J.*, xii, 3, 1; Schürer, ii<sup>2</sup>, 529.
- 182, 27. religion. The decrees granting the free practice of their religion in Schürer, ii<sup>2</sup>, 523 ff.
- 182, 29. jurisdiction. *Ibid.*, 526-528.
- 182, 38. Judah. Schürer, *Gemeindeverfassung*, p. 12 f.
- 182, 40. nation. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 548.
- 183, 1. Philo. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, p. 1018.
- 183, 8. Tacitus. Pliny, *N. h.*, xiii, 46; Quintilian, iii, 7, 2; Tac., *H.*, v, 4, 5, 8.

- 183, 15. mankind. Renan, *Apôtres*, 289, 1. Schürer, p. 387 ff.
- 183, 19. origin. Gieseler, *Lehrb. d. K. G.*<sup>4</sup>, i, 1, 51, 4. Schürer, p. 388 ff. On these Posidonius also is dependent (= Diodor., xxxiv, 1). Arnold, *Neron. Christenverfolgung* (1888), p. 47 f.
- 183, 20. outbursts. Schürer, p. 633.
- 183, 23. sisters. Tac., *H.*, v, 5.
- 183, 25. Jew. Juv., 14, 98.
- 183, 29. Greeks. Josephus, *C. Apion.*, ii, 7.
- 183, 39. life. Authorities in Renan, pp. 288-291.
- 184, 2. households. Rönsch, *Zu Juvenal* (3, 14; 6, 542). *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 1881, p. 692 ff.; 1885, p. 552. Schürer, ii<sup>2</sup>, 486: The regulations of the Rabbis allow food to be kept warm for the Sabbath in dry herbs.
- 184, 4. theatres. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, iii, 76.
- 184, 12. confidence. Josephus, *C. Apion.*, ii, 39, 41.
- 184, 16. philosopher. Schürer, ii<sup>2</sup>, 553 f.
- 184, 27. faith. Vol. i, p. 257. Renan, p. 202s.
- 184, 30. conquerors. Seneca, *De superst.*, ed. Haase, iii, p. 427. Inscription of Beturia Paulla—proselita an. xvi nominae Sara mater synagogarum Campi et Bolumni (cf. note on p. 178, 17) in Rome. Orelli, 2522. Cf. also Schürer, p. 645.
- 184, 36. Jerusalem. Horace, *S.*, i, 9, 69 (where Stowasser and Graubart [*Zeitschr. f. Öst. Gymn.*, xl, 1889, pp. 289-295] punctuate 'hodie Tricesima, sabbata' and understand it as the day of the new moon—*Rosh Chodesh*). Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 415; *Rem.*, 210; *Pers.*, 5, 179 sqq. Cf. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, v (1867), p. 14; Juv., 14, 97 sqq. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 82. Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, ed. Naber, p. 32: Nec aliter Kal. Sept. expecto, quam superstitiosi stellam qua visa jejunium pollutum (Athen., iv, p. 156). Tertullian, *De jejunio*, c. 16: Judaicum certe jejunium ubique celebratur et stellae auctoritatem demorantis suspirant. *Apologet.*, c. 16: eis qui diem Saturni otio et victui decernunt exorbitantes et ipsi a Judaico more quem ignorant. *Ad nationes*, i, 13: vos . . . ex diebus ipso (die Solis) priorem praelegistis, quo die lavacrum subtrahatis aut in vesperam differatis aut otium et prandium curetis. Quod quidem facitis exorbitantes et ipsi a vestris ad alienas religiones.
- 185, 7. world. Joseph., *C. Apion.*, ii, 39.
- 185, 13. world. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, i, 164 (Philo, *Vita Mos.*, p. 136 sq. M.).
- 185, 24. edict. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 5, 3; cf. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1865, p. 90.
- 185, 25. Horace. Horace, *S.*, i, 4, 142: ac veluti te Judaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.
- 185, 28. proselyte. Cf. Hausrath, *op. cit.*, ii, 116 f.
- 185, 32. Israel. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 551 f. Renan, *Évangiles*, p. 98s.
- 185, 35. Jews. When Hadrian made the prohibition of castration more stringent, it seems to have been regarded as such. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 549.
- 185, 36. force. Gieseler, *Lehrb.*<sup>4</sup>, i, 1, 157 f.
- 185, 37. conversions. Orig., *C. Cels.*, ii, 13: οἱ Σικάριοι διὰ περιτομὴν,

ὡς ἀκρωτηριάζοντες παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας νόμους καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίους συγκεχωρημένα μόνοις ἀναιροῦνται· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι δικαστοῦ πυνθανομένου, εἰ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν νομιζομένην θεοσέβειαν ὁ Σικάριος ἀγωνιζόμενος βιοῦν, μεταθέμενος μὲν ἀπολυθήσεται, ἐμμένων δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπαχθήσεται. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ δειχθεῖσα ἡ περιτομή πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ πεπονθότος αὐτῆν.

- 185, 41. food. Schürer, ii<sup>2</sup>, 564-575.  
 186, 23. another. Eusebius, *H. e.*, iii, 37.  
 186, 25. Origen. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 9, ed. Klotz.  
 186, 36. weed. Vol. i, p. 259.  
 187, 1. Christians. G. Boissier's assumption of a law against the Christians issued between 64 and 112, is considered very probable by Arnold, *Neronische Christenverfolgung*, 1888, p. 112. But cf. Trajan's answer to Pliny's report (*Ad. Traj.*, 97).  
 187, 11. gods. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 522 f., note.  
 187, 25. image. See Gieseler, *Lehrb.*<sup>4</sup>, i, 1, 107. Cf. the very cautious and pertinent statement in Aubé, *Histoire des persécutions de l'église jusqu'à la fin des Antonins* (1875), especially i<sup>2</sup>, 74-185.  
 187, 31. law. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 10: sacrilegii et majestatis rei convenimur. Cf. Renan, *Évangiles*, 401-403. Cf. Le Blant, *Comptes-rendus de l'acad.*, 1866, p. 358; De Rossi, *Bull. cr.*, 1867, p. 28.  
 190, 34. denunciations. Pliny, *Ad Traj.*, 96; cf. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1865, p. 94s.  
 193, 4. Commodus. Hippolyt., *Ref.*, ix, 11.  
 193, 8. chastisement. See De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1868, p. 17ss.: De' cristiani condannati alle cave di marmi etc. Cyprian, *Epp.*, 76, 2, 79 (letter of the *commorantes apud metallum Siguensem* to Cyprian); Artemidor., *Onirocr.*, i, 21; Cyprian, *Epp.*, 77; Clinton, *F. R.*, ad a. 173, 183; Euseb., *Chron.*, 2185; *H. e.*, iv, 23, 10; Tertullian, *Apol.*, 39; *De pudic.*, 22.  
 193, 34. rest. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 8.  
 194, 22. Netherlands. Cf. Buckle, *Hist. of Civilisation in England*, 1869, ii, 445 ff.; Niebuhr, *Beitr. über röm. Gesch.*, iii, 295 (*Histor. polit. Vortr.*, i, 3, 295). On the fabulous statements of the numbers of Christian martyrs in the martyrologies cf. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.* iii, 391 f. Kraus, *Roma sotterranea*, 149, 2, alleges 13,825 martyrs in Rome alone.  
 194, 36. end. Clem. Al., *Cohort. ad gent.*, c. 10, p. 85; *Stromateis*, iv, 18, p. 827; Tzschirner, *Fall des Heidenthums*, p. 524 f.  
 195, 13. master. Keim, *Rom u. d. Christentum*, 1881, p. 360, 1.  
 195, 19. unfortunate. Cels., in Orig., *C. C.*, iii, 59.  
 195, 26. camp. Rönsch, *Itala u. Vulgata*, p. 1 f.  
 195, 40. law. 1 *Corinth.*, xi, 5; xiv, 34; cf. Hausrath, *Paulus*, p. 389 f.  
 196, 2. attractive. Vol. iii, p. 184.  
 196, 5. afford. Of all the reasons for the spread of Christianity, mentioned by Voltaire, *Hist. de l'établissement du christianisme*, ch. xiii (*Impr. de la société littéraire-typogr.*, 1784, vol. xxxv, *Philosophie*, iv, p. 301) this is the only one which betrays 'a deeper knowledge of human nature and of the nature of Chris-

- tianity than Gibbon's' (J. Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii, 1885, p. 225) Herder says that Gibbon judges Christianity very mildly (*Ideen z. Philos. d. Gesch.*, Th. iv (1820), p. 97).
- 196, 8. Tacitus. Tac., *A.*, i, 22.
- 196, 16. century. Gieseler, *Lehrb.*, i, 1, 225.
- 196, 29. ministers. Iren., *Adv. haeres.*, ii, 32, 4, p. 166 (Euseb., *H. e.*, v, 7). Gibbon, *Hist.*, ch. xv. Other passages in Tzschirner, p. 524 f. Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 529s. Cf. *Évangiles*, p. 65.
- 196, 37. sick. Arnob., i, 42 sqq.
- 196, 38. heal. Vol. iii, p. 138.
- 197, 6. north. Dehio, *Gesch. d. Erzbisthums Hamburg-Bremen*, i, 83.
- 197, 11. Marnas. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 461 f. (Jerome).
- 197, 26. men. Riese, *Anthol. lat.*, i, 2, 893.
- 197, 39. ceased. Augustine, *Epist.*, 227.
- 198, 9. himself. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 50; Gieseler, i, 70, 21.
- 198, 13. Pliny. Vol. iii, p. 190.
- 198, 24. meal. Pliny, *Ad Tr.*, 96 and 97. Hausrath's opinion, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, iii, 383, that the form of faith in that place was the Essene, is refuted by Arnold, *Studien z. Gesch. d. Plinian. Christenverfolgung*, 1887, p. 56.
- 198, 30. virtue. Gieseler, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
- 198, 35. Crete. Hausrath, *Paulus*, p. 330 f., 410 f.; *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, iii, 542 f. Cf. Heinrichi, *Die Christengemeinde Korinths*, in *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, xix, 508 ff. On the degeneration of the *agape* (Cyprian, *Epp.*, 65, 3) *id.*, *Die Anfänge paulinischer Gemeinden*, *ibid.*, xx, 129 f.
- 199, 1. lewdness. Gieseler, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
- 199, 4. advantages. People who abandoned their occupation because it was incompatible with the Christian faith (e.g. actors) were supported by the community, Cyprian, *Epp.*, 2 (61), ed. Hartel, p. 467. Hatch-Harnack, *Gesellschaftsverfassung d. christl. Kirche im Alterth.*, 35, 37.
- 199, 10. church. Prudent., *Peristeph.*, ii, 65ss., 77: *Addicta avorum praedia Foedis sub auctionibus Successor exhaeres gemit Sanctis egens parentibus. Haec oculuntur abditis Ecclesiarum in angulis, Et summa pietas creditur Nudare dulces liberos.*
- 199, 10. Paul. *II Cor.*, xi, 13-30; Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, ii, 559.
- 199, 14. fraud. Hausrath, *Paulus*, p. 416.
- 200, 9. time. Lucian, *Peregrin.*, 11-13.
- 200, 11. faith. Gieseler, p. 245, 41. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 12.
- 200, 11. Ambrose. Ambrose, *De offic.*, ii, 16.
- 200, 26. Celsus. Gieseler, p. 195 ff.
- 200, 30. 235. Bunsen, *Hippolyt u. seine Zeit.*, p. 101; De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1866, p. 97. *Epilogo sull' autore de' Filosofumeni.*
- 200, 41. follows. *Refut. haeres.*, ix.
- 201, 40. 190. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1866, p. 7.
- 202, 35. judgment. This has been done in great detail by Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1866, no. 1. *Esame archeol. e critico della storia di S. Callisto narrata nel libro nono de' Filosofumeni.* P. ii. *Della dottrina dommatica e della disciplina ecclesiastica.*



- 203, 7. reproach. De Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- 203, 27. period. Reumont, *Gesch. d. St. Rom.*, i, 550.
- 203, 29. other. So Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 39.
- 203, 30. cities. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 30.
- 204, 2. assemblies. Cf. Hausrath, *Paulus*, p. 373. See the chapter *Korinthische Wirren* (363-392), and *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, iii, 537-550 (*Christliche Gemeindeordnungen*).
- 204, 7. persons. Clemens Rom., *Ep. ad Corinth.*, c. 47.
- 204, 12. drunkenness. G. Heyne, *Quo tempore Hermae pastor scriptus sit* (Regim. 1872), p. 25s.; cf. also the complaints against the clergy, p. 21s., and generally Keim, *Rom u. d. Christenthum*, p. 338 f.
- 204, 32. usury. Cyprian, *De lapsis*, cc. 5 and 6. At first the bishops were artisans and tradesmen. Hatch-Harnack, *Gesellschafts-verf. d. christl. Kirche*, 1883, p. 152 f.
- 204, 35. them. In *i. Epist. ad Timoth. hom.*, x, 3 (xi, 602) in V. Schultze, *Gesch. d. Unterganges des gr. röm. Heidenthums*, p. 315.
- 204, 40. acted so. Augustine on *Psalms xxvi* (iv, 116), *ibid.*
- 205, 5. another. Ammian. Marcell., xxii, 5, 4; cf. xxvii, 3, 12.
- 205, 11. resistance. Zeller, *Röm. u. gr. Urtheile über d. Christenthum*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, April, 1877, p. 66.
- 205, 16. Lactantius. Lactant., *Inst. div.*, vii, 1.
- 205, 18. socialistic. Schiller, *Nero*, p. 607. Socialistic passages in the Fathers, Baudrillart, *Hist. du luxe*, ii, 404ss. Le Blant, *La richesse et le christianisme à l'âge des persecutions*, in *Rev. arch.*, N. S., xxi, 1880, p. 320ss.
- 205, 22. Rome. Baur, *Das Christenthum u. d. christliche Kirche in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (2 Aufl.), p. 62 f.
- 205, 23. considerable. Tac., *A.*, xv, 44.
- 205, 25. catacombs. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, iii, 1865, p. 33ss.; esp. pp. 36 and 41s. (with illustration) and 1875, pp. 12-16 (*Insigni scoperte nel cimitero di Domitilla*). But according to Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, 536, 1 'le caractère primitif de ce monument est très incertain'. See also De Rossi, *Roma sotterr.*, 196, 319-321; Reumont, *Gesch. d. St. Rom.*, i, 382 ff.
- 205, 29. Pliny. Vol. iii, p. 163.
- 205, 35. West. Hirschfeld, *Beiträge z. Geschichte d. Narbonens. Provinz*, in *Westd. Ztschr.*, 1889, pp. 20-22.
- 205, 37. Christianity. The passages in Gieseler, i, 1, 159.
- 206, 14. population. Tertullian, *Ad Scapul.*, c. 2.
- 206, 24. forum. *Id.*, *Apol.*, 37.
- 206, 28. world. According to Max Müller (*Essays*) the Christians in 1865 amounted to 30.7 per cent. of the total population of the world. In 1885 there are said to have been 445 million Christians [30.8 per cent.] and 1004 million non-Christians. [The *Blue Book of Missions*, 1907, estimates the Christians at 559 millions (34.4 per cent.) out of a total of 1623 millions. TRL.] Chastel, *Hist. de la destruction du paganisme dans l'Orient*, p. 36, estimates the Christians [in the West?] at the time of Constantine at  $\frac{1}{15}$ , in the East perhaps at  $\frac{1}{10}$ , on an average at  $\frac{1}{12}$  of the population (so also La Bastie); Gibbon at  $\frac{1}{20}$ ; Keim (*Rom. u. d. Christenthum*, p. 419) at  $\frac{1}{8}$  (a

- little over 16 millions); and V. Schultze, *Gesch. d. Untergangs d. griechisch-röm. Heidenthums*, p. 22 f. does not think this too high.
- 206, 32. empire. Orig., *C. Cels.*, viii, 69.
- 207, 3. women. Vol. i, p. 257.
- 207, 6. rabble. Jerome, *Epistola ad Galatas*, c. v.
- 207, 9. Eusebius. Euseb., *H. e.*, v, 21.
- 207, 13. Origen. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 9.
- 207, 23. community. Vol. i, p. 258.
- 207, 29. domains. Cyprian, *Epp.*, 80; Clinton, *F. R.*, ad a. 258.
- 208, 5. theatrical. Epictet., *D.*, iv, 7; M. Anton., xi, 3.
- 208, 6. Lucian. Vol. iii, p. 199 f.
- 208, 7. Galen. Cf. vol. iii, p. 198.
- 208, 9. contempt. Galen, ed. K., viii, 579, 657; *ib.*, p. 171.
- 208, 22. writers. Phlegon apparently mentioned the solar eclipse and the earthquake during the crucifixion of Christ without any expression of doubt (13th or 14th book of the *Chronica*), Orig., *C. Cels.*, ii, 33; a prophecy of St. Paul (which was fulfilled) he attributed to Christ, *id. ib.*, ii, 14. With an author who was so full of interest in all sorts of marvels, no conclusion can be drawn from these passages respecting his attitude towards Christianity, or indeed his knowledge of it.
- 208, 24. mob. Minuc. Felix, *Octav.*, c. 13; Fronto, ed. Naber, p. 263.
- 208, 25. Celsus. Cf. Aubé, *Hist. des perséc.*, ii, 196ss., who thinks he can find in Tertullian reminiscences of Celsus, p. 193ss. Keim, *Celsus' wahres Wort, Älteste Streitschrift antiker Weltanschauung gegen das Christenthum vom J. 178 (1873)*; O. Heine, *Ueber Celsus' ἀληθὴς λόγος (Schriften f. M. Hertz, pp. 197-214)*, who believes Celsus to have been a Greek freedman because of his knowledge of Greek literature.
- 208, 31. shadow. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 1.
- 208, 35. Domitilla. Vol. i, p. 258. Renan, *Évangiles*, pp. 228-233, supposes Clemens and Domitilla to have professed a kind of Jewish Christianity, and the latter at least to have been a real Christian.
- 208, 40. plans. Dio, lxvii, 14. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 10. It is therefore incomprehensible why De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1865, p. 20, says: Il biografo di Agricola (c. 45) manifestamente allude in specie ai consoli Flavio Clemente ed Acilio Glabrione uccisi, alle due (?) Domitille ed agli altri ad un tempo dannati per la causa medesima. A paper by him: *Les nouvelles fouilles du cimetière de Priscille, sépulture des Acilii Glabriones* (contained in the *Congrès scientifique international des catholiques tenu à Paris 8-13 Avril, 1888, Tome II, Bureaux des Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 1888, pp. 261-267 was unfortunately inaccessible to me. De Rossi believes also that the Apollonius who was beheaded as a Christian under Commodus (Euseb., *H. e.*, v, 21: ἄνδρα τῶν τότε πιστῶν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ βεβοημένον) was a senator, relying on the untrustworthy statement in Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 42; ed. Vall., ii, 883. For these traditions cf. Aubé, *Les chrétiens dans l'empire Romain de la fin des Antonins au milieu du 3 siècle*, 1881, p. 35ss. In the inscrip-

tion: εὐμοιπεῖτω Οὐάρλα θυγάτηρ. Ἡρώδης, De Rossi finds no less a person than Herodes Atticus (*Bull. crist.*, 1872, p. 65 s.). Aubé, *H. des perséc.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 161-185, has clearly demonstrated that the tradition of Domitian's persecution is baseless.

- 209, 11. Tertullian. Tertull., *De anima*, c. 20.  
 209, 13. faith. Lactant., vi, 24; cf. v, 22.  
 209, 16. studies. Augustine, *C. D.*, vi, 10 sq.  
 209, 17. hated. Vol. iii, p. 184.  
 209, 18. God. Augustine, *ib.*, 11 (ed. Haase, iii, 427, 43): mirabatur haec dicens et quid divinitus ageretur ignorans.  
 209, 21. feelings. Augustine, *C. D.*, vi, 11. Casaubon says: multa Seneca scribit quae intellegi aut credi sine verae pietatis sensu non queunt: quo bono cum ipse caruerit, sequitur ut ea dicamus ab illo scripta non ex certa scientia aut fide, sed veluti *μαντευόμενον* et more poetarum *ἐνθουσιάζοντα* (Wiese, *Tagebuch des Casaubonus*, in *Zeitschr. f. Gymnasialwesen*, 1851, p. 289).  
 209, 24. forgeries. E. Westerburg, *Der Ursprung der Sage, dass Seneca Christ gewesen sei* (1881), has made it very probable that only letters 10-12 date from the fourth century, and all the others from the Carolinian age, and that the basis of the latter (and of the Pseudo-Linus) was a conciliatory treatise based on Ebionite fables, in which Seneca played the part of mediator between Nero and the apostle. Afterwards, he thinks, anti-Pauline tendencies connected Seneca with the latter. Kreyher's work, *Seneca und seine Beziehungen zum Urchristentum*, 1887, I only know from the review by Gertz (*Berliner philol. Wochenschr.*, 1887, nos. 2 and 3). The author sees in the M. Anneus Paulus Petrus of the inscription in Ostia a son of the philosopher!  
 209, 35. Christians. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, v (1867), p. 6. The inscription stands in *CIL*, xiv, 566 among the pagan ones.  
 210, 11. sources. Zeller, *G. d. Phil.*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 637, 1 and 644 f.  
 210, 22. yourselves. Minuc. Felix, c. 12.  
 210, 37. understanding. Orig., *C. Cels.*, viii, 69-72.  
 210, 41. paganism. Lasaulx, *Untergang des Hellenismus*, p. 51.  
 211, 21. senators. *Ibid.*, p. 99 f. Also in Firmic. Matern. there is evidence of a strong survival of heathen cults, e.g. iii, 6, 9: fabricatores deorum—vel divinatorum cultores simulacrorum aut deorum ornatores sive templorum conditores aut hymnologos. Cf. iii, 7, 9; 11, 5 (sacrorum sculptores); 11, 9 (vestitores divinatorum simulacrorum—aut divinarum bajulos caerimoniae); 12, 3; 13, 3; 13, 9. According to Augustine, *Epp.*, 91 (202), 'in templis populis congregatis—salubres interpretationes,' i.e. allegorical explanations, were read concerning the obnoxious legends about the gods (recitari—heri et nudius tertius audivimus). Marquardt, *St.*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 10, 4.  
 211, 27. only one. V. Schulze, *Untergang des Heidenthums*, i, 316, 1. See vol. iii, p. 197 (dei Magni qui colitur solus in urbibus).  
 211, 29. persecution. Cf. De Rossi, *Il culto idololatratico nel 394*, and *Il trionfo del cristianesimo in Occidente nel 394*. *Notizie rac-*

- colle da un inedito carme scoperto in Parigi, in *Bull. crist.*, 1868, p. 49 ss. and 61 ss. Morel, *Recherches sur un poème latin du IV siècle*, in *Rev. archéol.*, 1868, Juin, Juillet. Mommsen, *Carmen cod. Parisini* 8084, in *Hermes*, iv, 350 ff.
- 212, 1. Libanius. Lasaulx, p. 101 f.
- 212, 17. rescript. *Id.*, p. 131 f.
- 212, 18. martyrs. *Id.*, p. 140.
- 212, 19. Hypatia. The instigation by bishop Cyril is at least doubtful. V. Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 348.
- 212, 21. mob. Lasaulx, p. 128 f.
- 212, 29. Christianity. But also Tribonian "Ἑλλήν ὑπῆρχε καὶ ἄθεος καὶ ἀλλότριος πάντα τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως (Suidas s. Τριβωνιανός; the other accusations brought against him there ought therefore to be received with great caution.
- 212, 33. death. Lasaulx, p. 145 f.
- 213, 14. prayers. Sathas, *Monum. inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, Série i, T. i, 1880, p. xiv. Cf. also vol. iii, p. 167.
- 213, 26. days. Augustine, *Epp.*, 22, 1; 29; Baur, *Die christliche Kirche vom Anfang d. 4. bis Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts*, p. 274; Grimm, *D. M.*, xxxi; Lasaulx, p. 141 f.; Wachsmuth, *Griechenland im neuen das alte*, p. 22 ff.; Lecky, *History of European Morals*. On the shifting of Christmas to the time of the Saturnalia cf. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, 410 (25 December); and on that of the Purification to the time of the Lupercalia cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 446, 4. The pagan original of Candlemas was the very ancient expiatory procession, called *amburbale*. Usener, *Religionsgesch. Forschungen*, i, 305 ff.
- 213 37. erroneous. Baur, *op. cit.*, p. 271 ff.
- 214, 7. Maries. Ihm, *Der Mütter- oder Matronencultus*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiii, pp. 74 and 162, 385.
- 214, 10. Elijah. Lebas-Waddington, on 2497. Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 21, 85. On the tendency to substitute for pagan divinities (especially in the Greek Church) the archangel Michael, the healer of the sick, cf. Gothein, *Culturentwicklung Südtaliens*, p. 63.
- 214, 14. Attica. Döllinger, *Hippolyt und Callistus*, p. 55 f.
- 214, 15. Theodoret. Baur, *op. cit.*

### III. PHILOSOPHY AS A MORAL EDUCATOR

- 215, 18. fraud. Lactant., *Inst. div.*, v, 10 in f.
- 215, 18. Augustine. Augustine, *C. D.*, ii, 10 and 25.
- 215, 25. sin. Horace, *Carm.*, iii, 7, 9.
- 215, 30. lawful. Dionys. Hal., *Ant. R.*, ii, 20.
- 216, 8. chains. Aristophanes, *Nub.*, 904.
- 216, 19. gods. Clemens Roman., *Homil.*, v, 9-19 (μοιχείας ἐγκώμιον); 21-26 (ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς Ἀπίωνα ὡς παρ' ἐρωμένης).
- 216, 31. anything. Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 287-302.
- 216, 34. minds. Seneca, *De vita beata*, 26, 6: quibus nihil aliud actum est, quam ut pudor hominibus peccandi demeretur, si tales deos credidissent.



- 216, 38. interpretations. Both also in Clemens Rom., *Hom.*, v, 23; vi, 2 sqq.
- 216, 40. demons. Cf. what Dionysius of Halicarnassus remarks concerning the story of Mars and Rhea Silvia. Lehrs, *Popul. Aufss.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 166.
- 217, 3. evidence. Cf. e.g. Nägelsbach, *Nachhomer. Theol.*, p. 27 ff.
- 217, 10. Byblis. For 'They even quote' read 'Appeal is even made to'. Ovid, *Met.*, ix, 497 sqq. The other passages mentioned by Tzschirner, *Fall des Heidenthums*, p. 26, are Meleagr., *Epigr.*, 10, 14, 40; Terence, *Eunuch.*, iii, 5, 34 (on which see Augustine, *Confess.*, i, 16, 26; *C. D.*, ii, 7) and Martial, xi, 43.
- 217, 14. asserted. As is done by von Seume (*Spaziergang nach Syrakus*).
- 217, 15. apologists. Tzschirner, *op. cit.*, p. 540 f. They solved the most difficult problems of this kind; even Lot and his daughters were exculpated. Ambrose, *De Abraham*, i, 6, 56.
- 217, 31. period. B. Constant, *Du polythéisme Romain* (1833), i, 578.
- 219, 26. Titans. Cf. Lobeck., *Aglaoph.*, 568.
- 219, 37. smiter. Cf. Aristot., *Eth. Eudem.*, iii, 3 (Bekk., 1231<sup>b</sup>); *Eth. Nicomach.*, iv, 11 (Bekk., 1126<sup>a</sup>).
- 220, 2. man. Plato, *Phaedo*, 67 E.; Cic., *Tusc.*, i, 30.
- 220, 14. life. Seneca, *Epp.*, 111 5.
- 220, 16. nothing. Lucian, *Demonax*, 20.
- 220, 34. state. Zeller, *G. d. Ph.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 586; ii, 2, 574.
- 221, 16. empire. *Ib.*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 12.
- 221, 40. initiative. *Ib.*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 572.
- 221, 41. circumstances. *Ib.*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 539.
- 222, 2. freedom. *Ib.*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 284-288; 649; 692.
- 222, 6. mercy. Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, 386s. (on Justin).
- 222, 20. pagans. Paulsen, *Gesch. d. gelehrten Unterrichts*, p. 189. So also Aristotle, pp. 71 and 134. Luther, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*, Erlanger Ausg., 21, 345.
- 222, 24. opinion of it. C. Merk, *Clemens Alexandrinus in seiner Abhängigkeit von der griechischen Philosophie dargestellt* (1880), pp. 5-23.
- 222, 29. progress. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 50 and 51. G. Boissier, *Religion rom.*, ii, 7.
- 223, 2. Quintilian. Quintilian, x, 1, 123-131.
- 223, 19. science. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 2.
- 223, 19. commendation. *Id.*, *De orat.*, c. 19.
- 223, 23. senator. *Id.*, *Agric.*, c. 4.
- 223, 29. name. *Id.*, *H.*, iv, 5.
- 223, 35. soldiers. *Id. ib.*, iii, 81.
- 224, 2. rules. Quintilian, xi, 1, 35; xii, 2, 6, 7.
- 224, 8. busy. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 22, 6.
- 224 13. philosophy. V. Avid. Cass., cc. 1, 4, 14.
- 224, 25. sciences. V. *Alex. Sev.*, c. 14.
- 224, 28. Chaerephon. Zeller, *G. d. Ph.*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 611.
- 224, 29. rule. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 52.
- 224, 37. philosophers. Dio, lii, 36.
- 225, 7. Seneca. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 611 f.

- 225, 14. danger. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 57.  
 225, 28. liberty. *Id. ib.*, xvi, 22.  
 225, 31. Cassius. Juv., 5, 36.  
 225, 34. school. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 2.  
 225, 39. Suetonius. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 15.  
 226, 7. Mucianus. Dio, lxvi, 12 sq.; *Fr. Vat.*, 102.  
 226, 24. 75. Clinton, *F. R.*, a. 74.  
 226, 27. islands. Dio, lxvi, 13.  
 226, 28. banished. Mommsen, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des j. Plinius*, in *Hermes*, iii, 84 f. The passages in Clinton, *F. R.*, a. 90.  
 227, 3. Euphrates. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 10; Mommsen, in *Hermes*, iii, 36 f.  
 227, 10. land. Pliny, *Paneg.*, 47.  
 227, 13. Trajan. Vales., *Dionis vita* (Dio, ed. Dindorf, i, p. xxxii sq.).  
 227, 17. lies. Dio, *Or. de regno*, iii, p. 103 R., ed. Dindorf, i, p. 39.  
 227, 19. Rome. Symmach., *Epp.*, 10, 18, writes as urban prefect to Theodosius: inter praecipua negotiorum saepe curatum est, ut erudiendis nobilibus philosophi praeceptores ex Attica poscerentur. Nunc vestri saeculi bonitas ultro optimatam sapientiae Romanis gymnasiis arrogavit. Si quidem Celsus, ortus Archemo patre, quem memoria litterarum Aristoteli supparem fuisse sentit, juventuti nostrae magisterium bonarum artium pollicetur, nullum quaestum professionis affectans: atque ideo dignus in amplissimum ordinem cooptari, ut animum vitiis avaritiae liberum dignitatis praemio muneremur.  
 227, 28. schools. Vol. i, pp. 341, 361. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, i, 608 f. On the exemption of the teachers from taxes cf. Kuhn, *Röm. Verfas.*, i, 119.  
 227, 32. show. Dio, lxxi, 35; cf. vol. i, pp. 32, 254.  
 227, 41. honour. *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 3. He was consul for the second time in 162, urban prefect in 167. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v, 58 ss. Cf. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 358, 3 (and 4 on the Stoic Claudius Maximus).  
 228, 3. son-in-law. Borghesi, *Œuvres épigr.*, i, 247 (with Renier's note. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, i, 695).  
 228, 4. Severus. *V. Sept. Severi*, c. 18; *Getae*, c. 2.  
 228, 8. statues. Tertullian, *Apologet.* (199), c. 46.  
 228, 11. philosophers. Vol. i, p. 254.  
 228, 22. martyrdom. Martial, i, 61, 10; ii, 5; cf. i, 24 and 39; ii, *prooem.*, 2; i, 8.  
 228, 28. ground. Seneca, *Epp.*, 14, 11 sqq.  
 229, 8. brought. *Ibid.*, 73.  
 229, 28. letter. *Ibid.*, 103, 5.  
 229, 35. repeated. *Ibid.*, 5.  
 229, 41. sign-board. *Ibid.*, 68.  
 230, 19. Dio. Dio, lxvi, 12; *Fr. Vat.*, 102.  
 230, 28. Greece. Dio, *Chr.*, *Or.*, lxxii.  
 231, 5. Persius. *Pers.*, i, 126-134.  
 231, 11. manner. Vol. i, p. 194.  
 231, 17. Greeks. *Pers.*, 5, 189-191.  
 231, 28. nostrils. *Id.*, 3, 77-87.

- 231, 33. philosopher. Petron., *Sat.*, 71.
- 232, 11. things. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, p. 320, 2.
- 232, 21. two. Quintilian, *Inst.*, vii, 1, 38; 4, 39; Fortunatian., p. 43; Quintilian, *Decl.*, 268.
- 232, 40. Plutarch. In the catalogue of Lamprias, no. 207 (Byzantine according to Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.*, p. 27): *πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τὸ ῥητορεύειν μὴ φιλοσοφοῦντας*.
- 232, 41. Seneca's. Seneca, *Epp.*, 108, 22.
- 233, 1. seriously. *Id.*, *Ad Helv.*, 17, 4. Cf. vol. i, p. 253.
- 233, 19. schools. The passages are in Babucke, *De Quintilianī doctrina et studiis* (Regim. 1866), pp. 1-11.
- 233, 25. Fronto. Fronto, *De eloq.*, fr. 9.
- 234, 6. Fronto. *Id. ib.*, fr. 4, 4.
- 234, 10. renunciation. The treatises which contain unqualified, whole-hearted attacks on philosophy, were composed before *Bis accusatus*, viz. *Hermotimus*, *Icaromenippus*, *Necyomantia*, *Dialogi mortuorum*). Immediately after it were written *Vitarum auctio*, *Piscator*, *Peregrinus*, *Fugitivi*. Ivo Bruns, *Lucians philosoph. Satiren*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, xliii, p. 86 ff.; 161 ff.
- 234, 17. wisdom. Preller, *StRE*, iv, 1173; Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 732.
- 235, 5. faces. Lucian, *Hermotim.*, 2, 6, 48-67, 77, 79. Cf. also *Paras.*, 43; *Ver. hist.*, ii, 175; *Dialog. mort.*, 20, 5.
- 235, 18. education. Aristid., *Or.*, xlv, p. 96 Jebb; ed. Dindorf, ii, 128 sq.
- 235, 23. philosophy. Baumgart, *Aelius Aristides*, pp. 25-35.
- 235, 28. time. Aristid., *Or.*, xlvi, p. 307 sqq. Jebb; ed. D., ii, 397 sqq.
- 235, 36. practise. *Id.*, *Or.*, xlvi, p. 307 J.; ed. D., ii, 397 sq. (on p. 398 instead of the meaningless *τελών*, a word like *δνειδίζοντων* or *λοιδορουμένων* is required). Jebb's mistake in referring the whole passage to the Christians instead of the philosophers needs no refutation. He is, however, followed by A. Haas, *Quibus fontibus Aristides in componenda declaratione ὑπὲρ τεττάρων usus sit* (Greifswald, 1884), pp. 58 and 64. Cf. Baumgart, p. 26, 19. Choricus, *Apol. mimor.* (ed. Graux, *Rev. de philol.*, i, 222), 6, 27, understood the passage right: *ὁ γ' Ἀριστείδης, οὗς λοιδορεῖ φιλοσόφους καὶ πλείστην φησὶν ἀκολασία συζῆν, τοῖς Σοφοκλέους ἀπεικάζει σατύροις* (p. 307 J.). Perhaps Aristides was thinking here especially of the Cynics, but certainly not of them alone, as Bernays supposes (*Lucian und die Cyniker*, pp. 38 f. and 100 ff.). This is shown by the excuse of consideration for wife and children, which Aristides mentions, not merely as if it were an exceptional thing (Bernays, p. 103).
- 236, 21. wise. Aristid., *ib.*, p. 309 sq. J.; D., 404 sq. (p. 405, 6 instead of *ὥσπερ οὐ καὶ τοὺς δούλους* perhaps we should read *ὥσπερ οἶδαμεν καὶ τοὺς δούλους*, and p. 407, 2 instead of *εἶδον δ' ἐγώ γε καὶ ἐν ψαλμῳδίᾳ θεράποντας: ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ*). Minuc. Felix, *Octav.*, 38, 5 and Lactant., *Inst. div.*, iii, 15 take the same view, which is perhaps partly to be explained by their rhetorical training.
- 237, 5. Epictetus. Epictet., *D.*, iv, 8, 4 sq.

- 237, 23. pale. Gell., xix, 1.  
 237, 30. employment. *Digg., L.*, 13, 1, § 4.  
 238, 9. Cato. Seneca, *Ad Gallionem de vita beata*, c. 17-25.  
 238, 16. Seneca. Seneca, *Epp.*, 29, 5.  
 238, 25. cloak. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 32.  
 239, 1. courageous. Martial, xi, 56.  
 239, 12. ignore. Appian, *B. Mithridat.*, c. 28.  
 239, 20. infamies. Babucke, *loc. cit.*  
 239, 33. Vespasian. Schol. Juv., 4, 53 (cf. Mathias, *De schol. Juv.*, p. 14). Dio, lxviii, 1: ἐν οἷς καὶ Σέρας (read Σύρας) ἦν ὁ φιλόσοφος.  
 239, 34. beards. Martial, xi, 84, 7.  
 240, 6. necks. *Id.*, ix, 47. On the other hand, Martial perhaps acknowledges Fronto (xiv, 106), who was evidently very well known, as a real Stoic. Juv., 2, 1-43.  
 240, 15. civilization. Julian, *Orat.*, 3, p. 119C.: οὐκ οὐδὲ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων παντελῶς οἴχεται φιλοσοφία, οὐδὲ ἐπήλιπε τὰς Ἀθήνας οὐδὲ τὴν Κόρινθον ἥκιστα δὲ ἐστὶ (τούτων) τῶν πηγῶν ἔκρητι τὸ Ἄργος πολυδίψιον κ.τ.λ.  
 240, 21. wisdom. Vol. iii, p. 230. *Or.*, 72, 383 R., 388 R.  
 240, 25. reality. Gell., xvii, 19.  
 240, 29. perfection. Epictet., *D.*, iv, 8, 9 sqq.  
 240, 36. themselves. Gell., xiii, 8, 4 and 5.  
 241, 4. Cynics. Apulei., *Florida*, i, 7.  
 241, 5. Platonists. Apulei., *Apol.*, c. 39: Utrum igitur putas philosopho non secundum Cynicam temeritatem rudi et indocto, sed qui se Platonicae scholae (esse) meminerit, utrum ei putas turpe scire ista an nescire etc.  
 241, 9. Cynics. Lucian, *Bis accus.*, 6. Cf. vol. i, p. 32.  
 241, 12. philosophers. Epictet., *loc. cit.* Taurus in Gell., vii, 10.  
 241, 21. cocks. Lucian, *Piscator*, 34 sqq.  
 241, 25. vices. *Id.*, *Hermotim.*, 16 sqq.  
 241, 27. another. *Id.*, *Lapithae*, 32 sqq.  
 241, 30. Laws. *Id.*, *Fugitivi*, 18 (cf. vol. i, p. 254 f.); Gell., xv, 2.  
 241, 32. thinking. Lucian, *Lapithae*, 34.  
 241, 36. vices. Aristid., *Or.*, xlv, 309 J.; ed. D., ii, 398 sqq. Cf. above, vol. iii, p. 235 f.  
 242, 3. joke. Meineke, *Com. Gr.* iv, 308 (352).  
 243, 11. era. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 684 ff.  
 243, 23. pestle. Lucian, *Demonax*, 19, 48.  
 243, 27. philosopher. Epictet., *D.*, iv, 11.  
 243, 36. authors. Apparently the decision to declare war to the knife against Cynicism, was made about the time when Lucian published his *Auction of Philosophers*. Bernays, *Lucian und die Cyniker*, p. 48.  
 243, 38. money. Petron., c. 14.  
 244, 2. shoulders. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 22, 80 (οὐδὲν μισοῦνται ἐκείνους ἢ εἰ ἄρα οὗτοι πόρδωνες γίνονται).  
 244, 3. Atticus. Gell., ix, 2.  
 244, 25. luxury. Lucian, *Piscator*, 45; *Fugitivi*, 12 sqq.  
 244, 38. him. Cic., *Tusc.*, iii, 1-3.  
 245, 14. justice. Quintilian, *Inst.*, xii, *prooem.*, 3, c. 2, 1-28.



- 245, 29. minimum. Tac., *Agricola*, c. 4.  
 245, 39. gods. Seneca, *Epp.*, 53, 8–11. Cf. Haupt, *Varia*, lxi; *Hermes*, v, 32.  
 246, 6. philosophy. Seneca, *Epp.*, 16, 3.  
 246, 13. cases. *Id.*, *ib.*, 94, 95.  
 246, 35. mind. *Id.*, *ib.*, 15, 1.  
 246, 36. living. *Id.*, *ib.*, 90, 27.  
 246, 38. virtue. *Id.*, *ib.*, 89, 8.  
 246, 41. 64. *Id.*, *Nat. qu.*, vii, 32; cf. Clinton, *F. R.*, ad a. 63 A.D.  
 247, 4. empty. Seneca, *Epp.*, 95, 23.  
 247, 9. young. Tac., *A.*, xv, 71.  
 247, 11. classes. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 11, 5.  
 247, 16. Massilia. Strabo, iv, 1, 5; p. 181.  
 247, 17. Greeks. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 491. Bücheler (*Conjectanea de Siliio, Juvenale* etc., in *N. Rh. Mus.*, xxxv, 1880, p. 390 ff.) plausibly supposes the Roman philosopher Italicus (ὁ μάλιστα δοκῶν αὐτῶν φιλόσοφος εἶναι: Epictet., *D.*, iii, 8, 7) to be the poet Silius Italicus. That he was a Stoic is as good as proved by Bücheler's arguments.  
 247, 28. Sextii. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 599 ff.  
 248, 14. sentiments. Seneca, *Epp.*, 100, 12; 52, 11.  
 248, 27. school. Inscriptions of Stoic philosophers in Rome, *CIL*, vi, 9783 (viro magno philosopho primo) 9784, 9785.  
 248, 30. empire. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 348, 3, 353. To those mentioned there add the author of *Ciris*, v, 3s. On Lucilius Junior cf. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 307, 3. Petron., c. 132, calls Epicurus 'pater veri'. Inscription of an Epicurean philosopher from Rhodes at Brundisium, *CIG*, iii, 5873 = *CIL*, ix, 48. Οἱ Ἀθήνησιν Ἐπικούρειοι φιλόσοφοι, *CIG*, 4315 n. (*Add.*, p. 1148) Epicureans (πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν) as antagonists of Alexander of Abonuteichos, in particular at Amastris. Lucian, *Alexander*, c. 25. Survival of the Epicurean doctrine in the fourth century according to expressions of Hilary of Poitiers: A. Zingerle, *Studien z. H. v. P. Psalmenkommentar*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Wien. Akad.*, *Philol. histor. kl.*, 1884, p. 969. Assertions concerning its extinction made by opponents like Julian and Augustine (Usener, *Epicurea*, p. lxxv sq.) must be regarded with caution.  
 249, 2. city. Plutarch, *De curios.*, 15. Cf. on Plutarch's Roman friends Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter d. Römern*, ii, 179.  
 249, 4. Florus. Plutarch, *Otho*, c. 14; cf. *Quaest. Conviv.*, i, 9, 1; iii, 4; v, 7; vii, 4 and 6; Asbach, *Consularfasten von 68–96*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxix, 1885, pp. 107, 128.  
 249, 6. *Lives*. Cf. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, i, 1.  
 249, 6. Musonius. *Id.*, *De ira cohib.*, 2; *De tranq. an.*, 1.  
 249, 8. patron. *Id.*, *De def. oracc.*  
 249, 8. others. Paccius (Juv., 7, 12?): *De tranq. an.* Saturninus (Pompeius Saturninus? Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 341, 1): *Adv. Coloten.* Sulla; *De cohib. ira*, *De fac. in orbe Lunae*. Chenevière's treatise *De Plutarchi familiaribus* (Paris, 1886) contains nothing relevant.  
 249, 12. lectures. Gell., i, 2, 1; xviii, 2, 2.

- 249, 14. Crescens. Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, ed. Vall., ii, 865. Clinton, *F. Rom.*, ad a. 153.
- 249, 18. Proteus. Lucian, *Peregrin.*, 4 sqq. Bernays, *Lucian und die Cyniker*, p. 14 ff.
- 249, 28. servants. Galen, *Method. med.*, xiii, 15, ed. K., x, p. 909 sqq. (written after 165).
- 249, 29. 162. Clinton, *F. R.*, ad a. 162.
- 249, 30. Eudemus. Galen, *De prænnot.*, c. 2 sqq., ed. K., xiv, p. 605 sqq.
- 249, 33. praefect. Clinton, *F. R.*, ad a. 175. Lebas-Waddington, p. 731.
- 249, 34. behaviour. Galen, ed. K., ii, 218.
- 249, 37. Aristotelian. *Id.*, xiv, 612 sq.; cf. xix, 13.
- 250, 1. Athens. Clinton, *loc. cit.*
- 250, 3. teacher. Galen, xiv, 627.
- 250, 6. rank. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 8; Gell., xii, 1, 1-3.
- 250, 9. Rome. Gell., xviii, 1.
- 250, 11. Tibur. *Id.*, xix, 5.
- 250, 15. Africa. *CIL*, viii, 117 (Municip. Aelium Avitta, 159 A.D.): Q. Egrilio (*sic*) Plariano leg. pr. (pr.).
- 250, 12. Aquilinus. Fronto, *Ad amicos*, i, 4, p. 176 Naber; cf. Joseph Klein, *Zu Fronto*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1876, p. 639 f. Cf. below, vol. iii, p. 261.
- 250, 18. original. Apulei, *Apol.*, c. 64.
- 250, 23. philosophy. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 610 n. Clinton, *F. R.*, ad a. 200.
- 250, 25. Virgil. *Gordiani*, c. 7:—(Ἀπολλώνιος (II)ρωτάρχου σοφὸς περιπατ(ητικός) (Rome, bad writing. *Bull. comun.*, v, 1877, p. 32).
- 250, 28. statements. Cf. Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 358.
- 250, 30. guests. Vol. i, p. 218.
- 250, 35. century. Porphyry, *Vit. Plotini*, 7-9. Seeck, *Die Inschrift des Caejonius Rufius Albinus (336/337)*, in *Hermes*, xix, 186 ff. C. R. A. v. c. cons. — — philosophum. Apollinar. Sidon., *Epp.*, iii, 6 (to Eutropius, praef. praet. Galliarum, an adherent of Plotinus); iv, 1 (Probo): Tu sub Eusebio nostro inter Aristotelicas categorias artifex dialecticus atticissabas; iv, 11 (Claudianus): qui indesinenter salva religione philosopharetur; et licet crinem barbamque non pasceret, pallium et clavam nunc irrideret, nunc etiam execraretur, a collegio tamen Complatonicorum solo habitu ac fide dissociabatur. But Augustine, *Conf.*, iv, 16, 28, says that the Categories of Aristotle were hardly understood by the 'magistris eruditissimis—multa in pulvere depingentibus'.
- 250, 38. studies. Quintilian, xii, *prooem.*, 3: orator a dicendi magistris dimissus—majora sibi auxilia ex ipsis sapientiae penetralibus petit. Paulus Aegin., i, 14, designates the years from 14 to 21 as the time for instruction in mathematics and philosophy.
- 250, 38. Gellius. Cf. Appendix lx, p. 324.
- 250, 40. Aurelius. *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 2.
- 251, 3. word. Seneca, *Epp.*, 4, 2.
- 251, 10. Cornutus. *Vit. Persii Sat.*, 5, 30.

- 251, 12. Sotion. Seneca, *Epp.*, 49, 2 (puer); 108, 17 (juvenis).  
 251, 18. youth. Plutarch, *De audiendo*, cc. 1 and 2.  
 251, 23. importance. *Id.*, *Cupid. divit.*, c. 7.  
 251, 25. school. Plutarch relates e.g. that Arulenus Rusticus during one of his lectures in Rome received a despatch from the emperor. *Id.*, *De curiosit.*, cc. 15.  
 251, 33. idlers. Seneca, *Epp.*, 76, 1-4.  
 252, 1. globes. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 2.  
 252, 3. questions. Plutarch, *De audiendo*, c. 10. Cf., *Conj. praec.*, c. 18. *De adulat. et amico*, c. 7: *ἀν δὲ ὁ κόλαξ θηρεῖν φιλόλογον καὶ φιλομαθῆ νέον, αἰθὺς ἐν βιβλίοις ἐστί, καὶ πώγων ποδῆρης καθεῖται, καὶ τριβωνοφορία τὸ χρῆμα, καὶ ἀδιαφορία, καὶ διὰ στόματος ὅτε ἀριθμοὶ καὶ τὰ ὀρθογώνια καὶ τρίγωνα Πλάτωνος.* Cf. also Pers., 1, 131 sqq. The mathematical reminiscences in Gell., i, 20, 1; xvi, 18, 6 are not derived, as I formerly thought, from the teaching of Taurus, but, as M. Hertz remarks, from Varro (*Ritschl, Quaest. Varron.*, 30s., 38s.).  
 252, 5. dialectic. Epictet., *D.*, i, 17, 6.  
 252, 6. subjects. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 65 f.  
 252, 7. philosophers. Seneca, *Epp.*, 71, 6.  
 252, 10. superfluous. Marcus Aurelius' opinion: Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 676.  
 252, 11. Rufus. Epictet., *D.*, i, 7, 32.  
 252, 11. Epictetus. *Id. ib.*, i, 17, 1-12; ii, 25.  
 252, 14. discussions. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 664.  
 252, 17. education. Quintilian, xii, *prooem.*  
 252, 28. Sirens. Gell., xvi, 8, 16 sq. Cf. Epictet., *D.*, ii, 23, 41.  
 252, 34. life. Seneca, *Epp.*, iii, 5.  
 252, 41. the like. Zeller, ii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 188 f.  
 253, 11. sophistic. Plutarch, *De prof. in virtute*, 7.  
 253, 16. philology. Seneca, *Epp.*, 108, 23.  
 253, 18. living. *Id. ib.*, 88, 42.  
 253, 22. thereby. Gell., ii, 8.  
 253, 26. success. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 6, 3.  
 253, 33. morsels. *Id. ib.*, 26, 16; Plutarch, *De prof. in virt.*, 8.  
 254, 1. conclusion. Vol. i, p. 227.  
 254, 3. Gellius. Gell., i, 2.  
 254, 27. universe. Quintilian, xii, 2, 20.  
 254, 34. Epictetus. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 664 f.  
 255, 2. trammels. *Id.*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 622 f.  
 255, 6. health. Seneca, *Epp.*, 117, 29.  
 255, 18. existence. Prop., iv (iii), 5, 23-46.  
 255, 22. life. Wendland, *Quaest. Musonianae* (Berol., 1886), p. 12, 2.  
 255, 26. Boys. Plutarch, *De educ. puer.*, c. 10.  
 256, 2. passage. *Ib.*, c. 7.  
 256, 31. field. Plutarch, *De vitioso pudore*, c. 2.  
 256, 34. iron. Suid., s. *Μαρκιανός*. Cf. vol. i, p. 14.  
 257, 4. legacy. *Vita Persii*.  
 257, 13. studies. Pers., 5, 22 sq., 36-51.  
 257, 28. society. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 11.  
 257, 32. lesson. Gell., i, 26.  
 257, 35. dish. *Id.*, xvii, 8.

- 258, 1. considered. *Id.*, vii, 13.  
 258, 1. ill. *Id.*, xviii, 10.  
 258, 8. day. *Id.*, xx, 4.  
 258, 16. uprightness. *Id.*, x, 19.  
 258, 18. Crete. *Id.*, ii, 2.  
 258, 28. with it. Seneca, *Epp.*, 108, 3 sq.  
 258, 36. so forth. Volkmann, *Leben und Schriften Plutarchs*, i, 64 ff.  
 259, 4. Gellius. Gell., xiii, 22.  
 259, 11. impression. Seneca, *Epp.*, 108, 23.  
 259, 15. reject. Epictet., *D.*, i, 16, 9.  
 259, 21. pupil. *Id. ib.*, iii, 1.  
 259, 28. pig. *Id. ib.*, iv, 11.  
 260, 1. *Noctes*. Gell., xii, 1.  
 260, 8. judge. *Id.*, xiv, 2.  
 260, 15. derived. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 9.  
 261, 1. children. A certain Τ. Φλάουιος Μάξιμος Κρής Γορτύνιος φιλόσοφος (J. Schmidt, *Add. ad CIL viii, Eph. Epigr.*, v, p. 314, no. 439) buried in the burial-place of the imperial servants in Carthage, may have belonged (as tutor) to the imperial household, just as well as the *medici* and *paedagogi* also buried there.  
 261, 10. give. Dio, lxii, 26; Tac., *A.*, xvi, 32; *H.*, iv, 10 and 40; Juvenal, 3, 166. Cf. vol. iii, p. 238.  
 251, 15. province. Orelli, 5600 = Brambach, *CIRh*, 449. Cf. Urlichs, *Rhein. Jahrb.*, lxiv (1878), p. 14. Enaretus probably obtained civic rights through Q. Aegrilius Plarianus. Cf. vol. iii, p. 250.  
 261, 21. death. Seneca, *Epp.*, 77, 5-10.  
 261, 22. Petronius. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 18.  
 261, 30. soul. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, c. 14.  
 261, 30. Plautus. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 59.  
 261, 39. body. *Id. ib.*, xvi, 34.  
 261, 40. Julian. Ammian., xxv, 3, 23.  
 262, 11. employees. *Id. ib.*, xvi, 32: P. Egnatius—cliens Sorani (vol. iii, p. 261).  
 262, 16. family. Lucian, *De merc. cond.*, 2 and 4.  
 262, 23. cloak. *Id. ib.*, 25.  
 262, 33. practices. *Id. ib.* 11, 12, 40.  
 263, 5. money. *Id. ib.*, 19.  
 263, 14. Greeks. *Id. ib.*, 24 and 40.  
 263, 17. destitute. *Id. ib.*, 39.  
 263, 22. tavern. Seneca, *Epp.*, 29, 5.  
 264, 2. assistance. Plutarch, *C. princip. philosoph. esse*, c. 2, 12-14, etc.  
 264, 5. Domna. Vol. i, p. 254.  
 264, 6. Elagabalus. *Vit. Elagab.*, ii; cf. c. 10.  
 264, 13. hireling. Lucian, *Parasit.*, 52 (for αἰχμάλωτος read αἰχμοφόρος, and for μισθοφορεῖ read δορυφορεῖ).  
 264, 23. minds. Seneca, *Ad Marc.*, 4. Vol. i, p. 82 f.  
 264, 26. birthplace. According to Julian, *Ep. ad Themist.*, 265 B, he offered him (ὡς φασί) the prefecture of Egypt.  
 264, 28. wrangle. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 16.



- 264, 38. throne. Vol. i, p. 67 f.
- 265, 2. income. Artemidor., *Onirocr.*, v, 83 : ἔδοξέ τις ἄρτον ἀποβάπτων εἰς μέλι ἐσθίειν • ἐπὶ λόγους φιλοσοφικοὺς ὀρμήσας καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς σοφίαν ἐπορίσατο καὶ περιεβάλλετο χρήματα πολλά. ἐσήμαινε γὰρ τὸ μέλι τὴν εὐέπειαν τῆς σοφίας, ὡς εἰκός, τὸν πορισμὸν δὲ ὁ ἄρτος. Cf. *Vit. Anton. Pii*, c. 10.
- 265, 6. wares. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 25.
- 265, 36. Seneca. Seneca, *Epp.*, 108, 6-8.
- 266, 7. Musonius. Gell., v, 1, 3.
- 266, 14. Epictetus. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 23, 29. The mutilated beginning of the passage : εἰ εὐσχολεῖτε ἐπαυέσαι με shows that Epictetus refers to the remark quoted by Gellius (animus audientis—otium laudandi non habet) or to a similar saying.
- 266, 27. bandages. Plutarch, *De audiendo*, 9, 12, 16.
- 266, 31. nothing. *Id. ib.*, 17.
- 266, 41. society. Gell., i, 9, 8-10.
- 267, 6. pupils. *Id.*, vii, 10.
- 267, 6. Epictetus. Epictet., *D.*, ii, 21, 8-23.
- 268, 1. Plutarch. Plutarch, *De audiendo*, 7.
- 268, 32. rejoinder. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 9, 6.
- 268, 34. discourse. *Id. ib.*, ii, 23.
- 268, 37. philosophers. Seneca, *De brev. vit.*, 10, 1 : Fabianus non ex his cathedrariis philosophis, sed ex veris et antiquis.
- 268, 37. age. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 23.
- 269, 2. spear. *Id. ib.*, i, 21.
- 270, 37. flute. Gell., v, 1.
- 270, 40. encored. Plutarch, *De aud.*, 15 sq.
- 271, 17. avoided. *Id. ib.*, 13-15.
- 272, 3. Cynics. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 22.
- 273, 36. Romans. Cic., *Off.*, i, 41, 148. Lucill., *Epigr.*, 30, 47 (*Anthol. Palat.*, xi, 153-155) ; Martial, iii, 93, 13 ; iv, 53 ; vii, 64, 8 ; xi, 84, 7, show that in the first century Cynics were not at all uncommon in Rome.
- 274, 26. reproach. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 686 ff. ; Seneca, *Beneff.*, vii, 11 ; Epictet., *D.*, i, 25, 22 ; Sueton., *Vespas.*, c, 13 (vol. iii of this work, p. 226) ; Seneca, *Beneff.*, vii, 1, 3 ; *Epp.*, 62, 20, 9 ; *Beneff.*, vii, 8. Cf. Jonas, *De ord. libr. Senecae*, p. 50.
- 274, 27. treatise. Bekker and Bernays (*Lucian und die Cyniker*, p. 104 f.) deny that the treatise is Lucian's. Cf. also Croiset, *Vie et œuvres de Lucien*, p. 32, 3 ; 81.
- 274, 39. cheerfulness. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 22, 86 sqq. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 691-693. Lucian, *Demonax*.
- 275, 28. Proteus. Zeller, *Alexander u. Peregrinus, ein Betrüger und ein Schwärmer*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Jan. 1877 (pp. 74-83). J. Bernays, *Lucian und die Cyniker*, 1879 (where on p. 89 the name Proteus is discussed).
- 276, 16. Greece. Probably, as Bernays supposes (p. 30) the revolt mentioned in *Vit. Antonini P.*, c. 5 (in Achaia atque etiam Aegypto rebelliones repressit).
- 276, 28. required. Zeller, p. 76.
- 276, 37. Origen. Bernays, *Lucian und die Cyniker*, p. 93 f. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii, 50.

- 277, 11. monks. Julian, *Orat.*, vii, 224 B: ἀποτακτιστάς τινας ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι κ.τ.λ. Du Cange, *Gloss. med. et inf. Graecitatis*: Ἀποτάττεσθαι Renuntiare—Item renuntiare saeculo et vitam monachicam amplecti. Cf. ἀποτακτικός.
- 277, 17. Demonax. Lucian, *Demonax*, 21. Cf. also Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 1, 13, p. 563.
- 277, 29. ill-doing. Gell., xii, 11; cf. viii, 3.
- 277, 35. Calanus. Syncell., p. 352 B:—ἐαυτὸν ἐνέπρησε μιμούμενος Κάλανόν,
- 278, 3. statue. Athenag., c. 26.
- 278, 5. philosopher. Ammian., xxix, 1, 39.
- 278, 10. numerous. Cf. besides the passages quoted by Bernays, p. 99 f. Macrobi., i, 7, 3 (Teuffel, *RLG*<sup>4</sup>, 430, 5). Prudent., *Hamartig.*, 401: Hinc gerit Herculeam vilis sapientia clavam Ostentatque suos vicatim gymnosophistas. Augustine, *C. D.*, xiv, 20, 5: Et nunc videmus adhuc esse philosophos Cynicos; hi enim sunt, qui non solum amiciuntur pallio, verum etiam clavam gerunt. Also in the rescript on the *colluvio* of the false philosophers in the year 369, *Cod. Theod.*, xiii, 3, 7 (with Gothofred's commentary) the Cynics seem to be chiefly meant. Cf. Zeller, iii<sup>3</sup>, 1, 775 f.
- 278, 28. friendship. Zeller, who had doubted the assertion in *Vit. Hadrian.*, c. 16 (iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 660<sup>n</sup>, 4), admits (iii<sup>3</sup>, 1, 738, 3) the possibility that Hadrian, when he went to Greece (125/6, 129/30) visited Epictetus, who was 20 years old when Musonius was exiled from Rome, A.D. 65.
- 278, 37. concerned. Seneca, *Epp.*, 44, 1 and 2.
- 279, 19. influences. Epictet., *D.*, iv, 7, 6; M. Antonin., xi, 7. I see no reason for Renan's assertion (*Les Apôtres*, ch. 13) that *Sicarii* and Zealots are meant here, and in the second passage (where the text has οἱ Χριστιανοί) it seems to me quite impossible.
- 279, 27. influences. Boissier, *La religion rom.*, ii, 426. Cf. vol. iii of the present work, p. 222.
- 279, 30. antiquity. Cf. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 267 f. etc.
- 279, 37. benefits. *Id.*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 278 (Seneca); 660 (Musonius); 675 (Epictetus); 683 f. (Marcus Aurelius). Goethe could only have thought of these when he called the Stoics 'Christians among the heathen' (Riemer, *Briefe von und an Goethe*, p. 315).
- 280, 8. fellow-slaves. Zeller, ii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 571 (Plato); 2, 537 f. (Aristotle); iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 278–80 (Stoics).
- 280, 14. Epictetus. Orig., *C. Cels.*, vi, 2. An interesting testimony to the repute in which the doctrine of Epictetus was held is furnished by an inscription (of about the second half of the second century) in a sanctuary of Apollo in Pisidia. The author of this inscription was also a man of servile descent, trained in the Stoic school. Kaibel, in *Hermes*, xxiii, 1883, p. 541 ff.
- 281, 14. guilt. Seneca, *Beneff.*, i, 10; *Epp.*, 97.
- 281, 17. events. Tac., *A.*, iii, 55; *H.*, i, 3; Non tamen adeo virtutem sterile saeculum, ut non et bona exempla prodiderit.
- 281, 19. each. M. Antonin., *Comm.*, vii, 1; vi, 48.

## IV. BELIEF IN THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

- 282, 4. assumed. Cf. Lehrs, *Vorstellungen der Griechen über das Fortleben nach dem Tode*, *Populäre Aufsätze* (2nd ed. 1875), pp. 303-362.
- 283, 17. future. Pliny, *N. H.*, vii, 188-191 (on the omitted passage cf. Zeller, i<sup>2</sup>, 620, 1).
- 283, 25. stars. Pliny, *ib.*, ii, 95; Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 388.
- 283, 29. destiny. *Anthol. Palat.*, ix, 49: 'Ελπίς καὶ Τύχη μέγα χαίρετε· τὸν λυμέν' εὖρον; Οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ χ' ὑμῖν· παλῆτε τοῖς μετ' ἐμέ. Benndorf-Schöne, *Lateran. Mus.*, 345 ff.: Evasi effugi: Spes et Fortuna valete: Nil mihi vobiscum: ludificate alios. Cf. Orelli, 1174 and *CIL*, ix, 4756: Hac luce si excessi, Spes et Fortuna valete: Nil amplius in me vobis per saecula licebit. Quod fuerat vestrum amisi, quod erat meum hic est. These thoughts of course are not necessarily Epicurean. Lucret., iii, 398 sqq. (Horace, *S.*, i, 1, 119). The figure occurs first in Bio, *Borysthenit.* (Stob., *Floril.*, v, 67): ὥσπερ ἐκ συμποσίου ἀπαλλάττομαι οὐδὲν δυσχεραίων οὕτω καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βίου, ὅταν ἡ ὥρα ᾗ. Heinze, *De Horatio Bionis imitatore* (Bonn, 1889), p. 121. Similarly Caesar declared in the senate regarding the punishment of Catiline's followers: mortem—cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere, ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse (Sallust, *Catil.*, 51, 20); mortem ab dis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturae aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem. Boissier, *Relig. rom.*, i, 313, 1.
- 283, 34. sleep. Orelli, 1192.
- 283, 35. character. Somno aeterno: Orelli, 4428; cf. Henzen, *Index*, p. 200.
- 283, 36. immortality. Orelli, 3743 = *CIL*, iii, 5825: Perpetuae securitati; Orelli, 4448: J. O. M. (D. M. ?) et perpetuae securitati; 4453: D. m. s. perpetuae securitati; *CIL*, viii, 3873: securitati perpetuae; 4615 (perp. sec.); 3763: secur. eterne. These formulae are hardly to be taken always literally. *Securi* was a popular expression for the dead (Wilmanns, 575; *CIL*, xiv, 4276: secura facta est v Idus Oc[t. sepulta etc.], and *Securitati* (aeternae) is not only connected with D. m. (Wilmanns, 246; *CIL*, 3654; v, i, 3322, 2896), but *Dis securitatis*, Orelli, 2201 = *CIL*, vi, 2268; *Dis securis*, Gruter, 562, 6; *Dibus securis*, Orelli, 3091, were also said for *Dis manibus*.
- 283, 40. awaking. Stephani, *Tit. Gr.*, v (Ind. schol. Dorpat., 1850), s. xviii, p. 12 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 101.
- 283, 41. inscription. Marini, *Inscr. Alb.*, 117, 6.
- 284, 1. Greek. *CIG*, 6298.
- 284, 6. image. Stephani, *Bull. hist. phil. de l'Acad. de St. Petersb.*, xi, 238. Lebas-Waddington, *Asie min.*, Add. (Smyrna), 1532.
- 284, 10. distich. *Anth. Gr.*, xiii, 798 no. 44 = Welcker, *Syll. Epigr.*, n. 61, p. 93 sqq. (95) = Keil, *Syll. inscr. Boeot.*, p. 189. Stephani, *Tit. Gr.*, v, 18 = *CIG*, 6745 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, III 7.

284, 14. Marcus. Orelli, 4811.

284, 19. woman. Orelli, 4809 = *CIL*. v, i, 1939. Cf. the appeal to the reader of the epitaph in Renier, *Inscr. de L'Alg.*, 717 = *CIL*, viii, 2885 : Non fueras : nunc es iterum nunc desines esse. *CIL*, v, 1, 1813 = Henzen, 7337 : n(on) f(ui) n(on) s(um) n(on) c(uro) ; *ib.*, 2893 ; *CIL*, viii, 3463 : non fui. fui. non sum. non desidero. *Mém. des antiquaires de France*, xiii, 171, tab. 3, n. 17 (Lactora) : D. i. m. Non fui. fui. memini (?) non sum. non curo. Kaibel, 595 = *CIG*, 6265 : εὐφυχῶ Νικομήδης, ὅστις οὐκ ἤμην καὶ ἐγενόμην, οὐκ εἰμὶ καὶ οὐ λυποῦμαι. *CIL*, v, 1, 3415, l. 6 : nec scio quit nunc sim nec scio qu(it fuerim) ; *ib.*, ix, 4840 : Olim non fuimus nati, sumus inde quieti. Nunc sumus ut fuimus. Cura relicta vale. Auson., *Epit.*, 38, ex sepulcro Latinae Viae :—

Non nomen, non quo genitus, non unde quid egi.

Mutus in aeternum sum, cinis ossa nihil.

Non sum, nec fueram : genitus tamen e nihilo sum.

Mitte, nec exprobres singula, talis eris.

- CIL*, xi, 1, 856, 6 ; sumus mortales, immortales non sumus.
- 284, 21. remedy. Murat., 1597, 3 (Marini, *Inscr. Alb.*, p. 117, 7).
- 284, 23. Nothus. Henzen, *Inscr. antiche latine*, *BdI*, 1878, p. 240. A second fragment of the same inscription (which may thus have been in common use) De Rossi, *BdI*, 1880, p. 1018.
- 284, 29. come. *CIL*, ii, 1434 (epitaph of an eight year old child) ; *ib.*, 1877 : Es bibe lude veni. *Ib.*, 2262 : Tu qui stas et leges (*sic*) titulum meum, lude jocare veni. Lebas-Waddington, 798 = *CIG*, 3827 S. = Kaibel, 362 : παῖσον τρύφησον ξῆσον· ἀποθανεῖν σε δεῖ. Lebas-Wadd., 977 : "Ανθος τοῖς παροδείταις χαίρειν· λούσαι πίε φάγε βελήησον· τούτων γὰρ ᾧδε κάτω οὐδὲν ἔχεις. In *CIL*, vi, 3, 19,683 the concluding words may be restored approximately as follows : Ecce meo jaceo tumulo neque sentio quicquam. Tu, moneo, fruire, dum tibi vita data est. *Ib.*, xi, 1, 2547a : dum vibes homo vibe, nam post mortem nihil est ; omnia remanent, et hoc est homo quid vides.
- 284, 31. kind. Marini, 1, 1, 3 ; *CIL*, vi, 3, 16,169 : joceris, ludas : hic summa est severitas.
- 285, 7. form. Marini, *Inscr. Alb.*, p. 117 = Fabretti, *Inscr. dom.*, c. v, no. 387.
- 285, 9. fire. *CIL*, vi, 3, 17,985a (Henzen, 7410 from an interpolated copy in *Cod. Barberin.* ; otherwise Jahn, *Ber. d. S. Ges.*, 1851, p. 178 f.).
- 285, 22. manner. See above, note on p. 284, 29.
- 285, 25. lost. Muratori, 1677, 2 ; *CIL*, vi, 18,131 ; cf. Stephani, *Der ausruhende Herakles*, p. 36 (288), although I do not share his notion of a 'belief in the continuance of the effects produced by what has been eaten and drunk in this life'.
- 285, 31. himself. Orelli, 4816 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 15,258. Gruter, 910, 12 in Stephani, *op. cit.*, p. 16 f. Cf. cum vives, benefac (tibi : namque) hoc tecum feres : Henzen, 6042. De Rossi, *BdI*, 1853, p. 89s. Henzen, 7407 = *CIL*, ix, 2114 (Buecheler,



*Spec. anth., l. epigr., lxxxii*) : Dum vixi vixi quomodo ingenuom decet. (Nam) quod comedi et ebibi, tantum meum est.

- 285, 33. epitaphs. Among these one must count also some which presume a dissolution into the elements. *CIL*, iii, 3247 (Sirmium) : D. m. Terra tenet corpus, nomen lapis atque animam aer. Quammerus ser(vus). *Ib.*, ix, 2042 = *IRN*, 1804 (Beneventum) : Zoticus hic nomen nudum vanumque reliquit. In cineres corpus et in aethera vita soluta est. *Ib.*, xi, 1, 973a (Reg. Lepidum) :—Quoius ut est lenis patrium diffusus in aer (*sic*) Spiritus, hic mater (*i.e. tellus*) corpus operta tenet. Tocilescu, *Inscr. a. d. Dobrudscha*, in *Oesterr. Mitth.*, vi, 1882, p. 30 (a good poem, which denies the survival of consciousness after death) : ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς καὶ πνεύματος ἡ παρόνθεν, ἀλλὰ θανάων κείμαι πᾶσι τὰ πάντ' ἀποδούς. πᾶσιν τοῦτο μένει· τί δὲ τὸ πλεόν, ὁπποθέν ἦλθον εἰς τοῦτ' (αὐτ') ἐλύθη σῶμα μαραινόμενον. Inscriptions expressing doubts : Kaibel, 700 (ἀλλ' εἰ γ' ἐν φθιμένοισι τις αἰσθησις, τέκνον, ἔστιν) ; 722 : εἰ δὲ τίς ἐστι νόος παρὰ Τάρτασιν ἢ παρὰ Λήθῃ.
- 285, 39. jesting. Nor obscene ideas : Luxor. (*Anthol.*, ed. Riese 319), *De sarcophago ubi turpia sculpta fuerant*. Cf. the sarcophagus in O. Müller, *Denkmäler d. alten Kunst*, ii, plate xlv, no. 548.
- 286, 3. half-educated. Cic., *Tusc.*, iv, 3, 7 ; *Fin.*, i, 7, 25. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 348 n. 3 ; cf. 353 f.
- 286, 35. Greece. Lehrs, *Pop. Aufs.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 344n.
- 287, 5. principle. *Id. ib.*, p. 336 ff.
- 287, 12. *Phaedo*. Platonic doctrines on the survival of the soul, found in the Stoics, especially Seneca : Lehrs, *op. cit.*, 339 f.
- 287, 18. opponents. Cic., *Tusc.*, i, 17, 39 ; 21, 49.
- 288, 18. fire. Plato, *Phaedo*, p. 113c ; Virgil, *Aen.*, vi, 741 ; Lehrs, *op. cit.*, p. 308 ff.
- 288, 20. dogma. Gregory, *Dialogi*, iv, 39, 57 ; Ebert, *Gesch. der christl. lat. Litteratur*, i, 522 f.
- 288, 26. Plutarch. Plutarch, *De ser. num. vind.*, c. 22.
- 289, 40. epitaphs. For Elysium cf. Lehrs, p. 344 f. So *e.g.* the epitaph on Persius' friend, the physician Claudius Agathermus (Pers., ed. Jahn, p. xxvii, Lehrs, p. 346) : μετ' εὐσεβέων δ' ἔσμεν ἐν Ἥλυσίῳ. The formulae εὐσεβέων εἰς ἱερὸς θαλάμους, εἰς δόμον εὐσεβέων, ἐπ' εὐσεβέων χώρον, μετ' εὐσεβέεσσι, ἐν εὐσεβέων etc. : Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 215, 218, 222, 222<sup>b</sup>, 253, 338, 569 ; Elysium, 338 ; Isles of the Blest, 648, 649. Tocilescu, *Inscr. a. d. Dobrudscha*, in *Öst. Mitth.*, vi, 1882, p. 32 f. (νῆσσον ἔχεις μακάρων). *CIL*, iii, 1759 (Epidaur. Dalmat.) 5—nam mens aeterna profecto Pro meritis potitur sedibus Elysiis ; 1992 (Salernae) : vivas, qui dixeris : vivit Elysiis. *Ib.*, vi, 2, 12,877.
- 290, 16. gods. Lehrs., p. 340 ff. Kaibel, 314 : καὶ με θεῶν μακάρων κατέχει δόμος ἄσπον ἰόντα 324 : ψυχὴ δ' ἀθανάτων βουλαῖς ἐπιδήμιος ἔστιν Ἀστροῖς καὶ ἱερὸν χώρον ἔχει μακάρων. 650 (τείρεσσιν ἐν αἰθερίοισιν). Lebas-Waddington, 2771 = *CIG*, 2747 : ἤρπασεν ἀθανάτων με χορός etc. *Ib.*, 1024 = *CIG*, 3847 : ψυχὴ δ' ἀθανάτων αἰθέρα ναίεται. *Ib.*, 1771 : ἐς δὲ θεοὺς ἀνέλυσα καὶ ἀθανάτοισι μέτειμι. *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 2017 = *CIL*, viii, 7427 (Cirta) : haec abijt

- ad superos. *CIL*, vi, 2160 = Henzen, 6008: *cujus spiritus inter deos receptus est*. *Oesterreich. Mitth.*, viii, 1884, pp. 136, 139: *sede beatorum recipit te lacteus orbis*. Sometimes in accordance with the later Platonism the soul is called a god: *Lehrs*, p. 351 ff. *Kaibel*, 314 = *CIG*, 3272 (perhaps of the third century, at Smyrna): *Θεοὺς ἠρῶσιν*. The parents of a four year old child, *τέκνη γλυκυνάτω καὶ θεῶϊδιδυ ἐπηκόω*.
- 290, 26. departed. *Stat.*, *Silv.*, v, 3, 19-27.
- 290, 29. stars. *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,764: *Sed non hic Manes nec templa Acherusia visit, Ad caeli quoniam tollitur iste pius*. *Ib.*, viii, 8567: *Non tamen ad Manes, sed caeli ad sidera pergis*. *Ib.*, xi, 1, 2839: — — *corporeos nexus linquens et vincu[la carnis], aeternas sedes meruit complecti pio[rum]*. *Sublimes animas nullus putet ire sub [umbras]: Occubat in terris sapiens sed vixit in a[lto]*. *Ib.*, 3963: *Terrenum corpus; caelestis spiritus in me Quo repetente suam sedem nunc vivimus illic, Et fruitur superis aeterna in luce Fabatus*. *Ib.*, vi, 2, 13,528:—
- Hic corpus vatis Laberi. Nam spiritus ivit  
illuc unde ortus; quaerite fontem animae.  
Quod fueram non sum; sed rursum ero quod modo non sum.  
Ortus et occasus, vitaeque morsque itidem est.
- The conception is apparently that the soul lives again in another form.
- 290, 32. glory. *Pliny*, *Paneg.*, c. 89. An official apotheosis had therefore not yet taken place. *Hirschfeld*, *Z. Gesch. d. röm. Kaisercultus*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Berliner Acad.*, 1888, p. 847, 65.
- 291, 21. immortality. *Zeller*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 740. *Tertullian*, *De anima*, c. 6: *Soranus—corporalem animae substantiam vindicat, etsi illam immortalitate fraudavit*.
- 291, 25. decided. *Quintilian*, v, 14, 13.
- 291, 31. *Chrysippus*. *Tac.*, *Agric.*, 46. Cf. *Zeller*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 185, 5.
- 291, 35. body. *Zeller*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 1, 593.
- 292, 38. life. *Cic.*, *Tusc.*, i, 12 sqq.; *Rep.*, vi, 9 sqq.; *Ad Atticum*, x, 8, 8: *tempus est nos de illa perpetua iam, non de hac exigua vita cogitare*. *Lehrs*, *Pop. Aufs.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 349 ff.
- 295, 10. demand. Cf. vol. ii, p. 309.
- 295, 16. purpose. On what follows cf. *E. Petersen*, *Sepolcro scoperto sulla via Latina*, *AdI*, 1860, p. 348ss.; 1861, p. 190ss.
- 295, 35. death. Cf. for the use of the *Heracles* legend by the Stoics, *Bernays*, *Die Heraclitischen Briefe*, p. 45.
- 296, 8. mysteries. *Plutarch*, *Cons. ad ux.*, c. 10.
- 296, 23. fields. A ceiling painting, certainly from a tomb, probably near Rome, in the *Cod. Pighian.*, published by *Jahn*. *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1869, p. 1 ff. is of an allied kind. The principal picture (a figure in a *quadriga*, probably the deceased borne to heaven), is surrounded by pictures, referring to the after life: the *Danaids*, *Heracles* and *Alcestis*, *Apollo* and *Marsyas*, *Eros* and *Pan* (before *Dionysus* and *Ariadne*), all of which correspond with reliefs on sarcophagi, and are surrounded again by smaller figures, including many *Cupids*.
- 296, 38. peoples. *Peschel*, *Völkerkunde*, p. 270 f.

- 296, 39. exceptions. *Id. ib.*, pp. 308 f. and 317.
- 297, 12. rebirths. *Id. ib.*, p. 284 ff. The doctrine established in Buddhist communities expressly demanded from adherents that they should renounce the knowledge of the existence or non-existence of the perfectly blessed. This did not exclude the hope of eternal bliss. Oldenburg, *Buddha* (1881), p. 283 f.
- 297, 23. husband. Vol. i, p. 265. Cf. *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 3864 = *CIL*, viii, 9691 (Cartena) : Mi fil(i), mater rogat ut me ad te recipias. Gruter, 376, 5 (cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 60, 5) : mater rogat, quam primum ducatis se ad vos.
- 297, 33. darkness. Cic., *Tusc.*, i, 21, 48.
- 297, 35. dead. Seneca, *Epp.*, 24, 18.
- 297, 39. bark. Juv., 2, 149 (Esse aliquid Manes, with a reminiscence of Prop., v, 7, 1 : Sunt aliquid Manes).
- 297, 2. performances. Plaut, *Capt.*, v, 4, 1. Cic., *Tusc.*, i, 16. Boissier, i, 310.
- 298 7. unalloyed. Lucret., iii, 37 sqq.
- 298, 13. departed. Cf. e.g. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 75 : morte ejus ita laetatus est populus, ut pars Terram matrem deosque Manes orarent, ne mortuo sedem ullam nisi inter impios darent.
- 298, 27. money. Juv., 3, 265.
- 298, 33. underworld. Lucian, *De luctu*, 10 ; Schol., 3, 267 : et nunc apud Athenienses mortuis solent nummos inserere (the following words : 'ne apud inferos tamquam inopes errent' are a later addition). I do not know Seyffert's work, *De nummis in ore defunctorum repertis*, 1709.
- 298, 34. Greece. Wachsmuth, *Griechenland im alten das neue*, p. 118. K. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, i, 46.
- 298, 41. ferryman. B. Schmidt, *Volksleben d. Neugriechen*, i, 222 ff. ; Preller, *Gr. Myth.*, i<sup>3</sup>, 673. Deo Charoni Julius Anabus votum solvit : *CIL*, viii, 8992.
- 299, 9. countries. Beloch, *Campanien.*, p. 285. In several hundred tombs skeletons were found with bronze coins of the empire in their mouths and small clay vessels at their feet. F. Keller, *Röm. Ansiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*, ii, in *Mitth. d. Arch. Ges. zu Zürich*, xv, p. 103. In the graves at Lunnern near every skeleton was a coin (of Titus, Domitian, Hadrian or Faustina).
- 229, 10. ages. Marquardt, *Prl. d. R.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 349 f.
- 299, 21. Lucian. Lucian, *De luctu*, 1-10. On the survival of ancient conceptions of the under-world in the beliefs of the modern Greeks cf. B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 235 ff.
- 299, 31. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivi*, 27, 4, p. 1105.
- 300, 5. darkness. Aristid., *Or.*, xix, p. 259 Jebb ; cf. *Or.*, xiii, p. 185. Baumgart, *Aristides*, p. 94.
- 300, 11. torments. Plutarch, *De superst.*, 4 sq., p. 167 A.
- 300, 37. Lucian. Lucian, *De luctu*, c. 14.
- 301, 5. playthings. Marquardt, *Prl. d. R.*, i<sup>2</sup>, 366 f.
- 301, 6. Regulus. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 2, 3. Cf. vol. ii, p. 213.
- 301, 9. Philopseudes. Lucian, *Philops.*, 27.
- 301, 20. Celtic. Caesar, *B. G.*, vi, 19 ; Mela, iii, 2,

- 301, 25. horns. Kiessling, *Anecdota Basileensia*, i (1863) = Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 315.
- 301, 30. nature. Serv., *on Verg.*, *A.*, v, 769; cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 369 f. Lebas-W., 2452. Cf. also vol. ii, p. 215.
- 301, 30. Cirta. *CIL*, viii, 7854. Cf. *ib.*, vi, 2, 13,528.
- 301, 39. graves. On the survival of this belief among the modern Greeks cf. B. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 249 f.
- 302, 18. demons. Lehrs, *op. cit.*, 167 f. Apparently also Heraclitus was of the same opinion, to judge by the very corrupt passage, Hippolyt., 9, 10, p. 446, 18 (Bernays, *Die Heraklitischen Briefe*, p. 38).
- 302, 20. others. Nissen, *Das Templum*, p. 148; Preller, *RM*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 115 f.
- 302, 26. innocent. Lobeck., *Aglaoph.*, 302 K; Preller, *op. cit.*
- 303, 3. *Lemuria*. Preller, *op. cit.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 67 f.; 117 ff. The *Parentalia* which were not among the oldest sacrifices to the dead, Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 386) were for the *deus parens* or *dei parentes* (*parentum*), gods of the deceased parents. Jordan, *De genii et Eponae pict. Pomp.*, in *AdI*, 1872, p. 45. *Id.* in Preller, *RM*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 98, 2. *BdI*, 1880, pp. 188–191 (lead tablet): *dii inferi, si illam videro tabescentem, vovi sanctum illud (?) anniversarium facere dibus parentibus illius*.
- 303, 15. intention. Clement. Roman., *Homil.*, i, 5.
- 303, 20. truth. Henzen, 7346.
- 303, 26. ghosts. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 2, 208; Plutarch, *Dio*, 2, 2.
- 303, 38. philosophy. Lucian, *Philops.*, 5, 6, 29. Concerning the Peripatetic Antisthenes, mentioned as his authority by Phlegon, *Mirabb.*, 3, cf. Zeller, ii<sup>2</sup>, 2, 59.
- 304, 5. world. Zeller, iii<sup>2</sup>, 2, 182 ff.
- 304, 14. evil. Maxim. Tyr., xv, 6.
- 304, 26. present. *Id.*, xv, 7.
- 305, 2. burnt. Apulei., *Apol.*, p. 504.
- 305, 5. place. *CIL*, x, 2487: *Qui hunc titulum sustulerit, habeat iratas umbras qui hic positi sunt (sic)*.
- 305, 13. committed. Plutarch, *Dio*, c. 2; *Cimon*, c. 1.
- 305, 22. fever. Lucian, *Peregr.*, 27 sq., 36.
- 305, 29. fears. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 27.
- 306, 8. down. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 59. The ghost-story (mentioned in the first edition in this place) which gave Goethe the subject for his *Braut von Korinth* is not apposite. Rohde, *D. griech. Roman*, p. 391, 2, remarks that Phlegon took the story from a (pseudonymous) letter of Hipparchus, administrator of Amphipolis (which had been conquered by Philip II of Macedon), addressed to Arrhidaeus, half-brother of Alexander the Great. Cf. also Rohde, *Zu den Mirabilien des Phlegon*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, xxxii (1877), p. 329 ff.
- 306, 8. Pausanias. Pfundtner, *Des Pausanias Lebens- und Glaubensanschauungen*, p. 16 (Paus., i, 32, 3; viii, 10, 4; vi, 6, 3 sq., vi, 20, 8).
- 306, 26. Corinth. Dio, li, 17; lxii, 17.
- 306, 32. expense. *Id.*, lxxix, 18.



- 306, 40. object. Lobeck., *Aglaoph.*, p. 221 sqq. Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 113, 1. Cf. in particular Tertullian, *De anima*, c, 56 sqq.
- 307, 3. death. Dio, lxxiii, 16; lxxix, 11.
- 307, 8. Severus. Dio, lxxvii, 15; Herodian, iv, 12, 3.
- 307, 10. Agrippina. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 34.
- 307, 15. magic. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxx, 14 sq.
- 307, 21. Emperor. Genthe, *De Lucani vita et scr.*, p. 22.
- 308, 28. wretch. Lucan., *Phars.*, vi, 420-434.
- 308, 32. mentioned. *Id. ib.*, 706-711; cf. 529 sqq., 560.
- 307, 37. spoken to. *Id. ib.*, 761 sqq.
- 307, 41. believers. *Id. ib.*, 630 sq. Cf. Apulei., *Metam.*, ii, 40; Heliodor., *Aethiop.*, vi, 14; Quintilian, *Decl.*, 10; *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, i, 406.
- 308, 8. answer. Lehrs, *Qu., ep.*, p. 7.
- 308, 10. abated. Philostrat., *Heroic.*, ed. K., p. 319, 3. *Responsa umbrarum*, in Augustine, *C. D.*, x, 35, 56.
- 308, 14. tongues. Lobeck., *Aglaoph.*, p. 222 sq.
- 308, 16. preserved. Collected by Marquardt, *StV*, iii<sup>2</sup>, 112n.
- 308, 21. earth. Cf. also *CIL*, ii, 2255 (B.C. 19): dei Manes ad se receperunt Abulliam. *Id.*, vi, 3, 19,874: Quem quoniam Manes ut alumnus di rapuerunt, Ne calcare velis nec gravis esse loco. *Id.*, ix, 175: quem di Manes properarunt eripere immaturum.
- 308, 24. sacrifices. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 122 f., 310 ff. Before Augustus it was not customary to dedicate sepulchral monuments to the manes. Jordan, *De genii et Eponae pict. Pomp.*, *AdI*, 1872, p. 45. *Id.*, in Preller, *R. M.*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 66, 3.
- 308, 26. death. Livy, viii, 9; Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 279 f.
- 308, 31. oil. Henzen in Gerhard's *Archäol. Anz.*, no. 112, p. 201.
- 308, 35. gone. *CIL*, vi, 2, 12,072 = Henzen - Orelli, 6206.
- 308, 37. relatives. Renier, *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 283 = *CIL*, viii, 2803a (*Serva tuos omnes*).
- 308, 37. underworld. Orelli, 7400 (*Pete pro parentes tuos*). *CIL*, vi, 2, 12,072: Funde preces subolum ac votis utere nostris, Ut longum vitae liceat transducere tempus (orat maritus, ut uxor preces liberorum et vota ipsorum deis commendet). Boissier, *Religion rom.*, i, 305.
- 309, 20. Cicero. Cic., *Tusc.*, i, 15, 35.
- 309, 31. full. Jireček, *Archäol. Fragmente aus Bulgarien*, in *Oesterr. Mitth.*, x, 1886, p. 64 (*Kiustendil*): Πάντας ὅσοι στερχοῦσιν ἀπ' ἄσπερος ἡδὲ πρὸς ἄστυ Λεύσσω ἡδ' εἰς ὁρὼν.
- 309, 31. Varro. Varro, *L. l.*, vi, § 45.
- 309, 38. last. *CIL*, i, 1431—v, 1, 4111 (*Cremona*): Heus tu viator lasse, qui me praetereit Cum diu ambulareis, tamen huc veniundumst tibi. Cf. Bücheler, *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1872, 136 (lxxxiv, lxxxvii). *CIL*, xi, 1, 4010 (*Capena*): (H)eus tu seni hoc (et qu(e)iesc(e) pusi(l)um. Innuis et negitas. Tamen hoc redeu(n)-dus (instead of *redeundust*, like *molestust*, *moriundust*, *CIL*, x, 5371) tibi.
- 310, 1. Lollius. Orelli, 4737 = *CIL*, v, 2, 7464 (*Odalengi Ferratensi [= Monferrati] oppido*).
- 310, 5. comes. *CIL*, vi, 2, 13,075.

- 310, 8. gravestone. *E.g.* Orelli, 4743 sq., *BdI*, 1864, p. 155: 'Have Victor Fabianae'. 'Di vos bene faciant amici, et vos viatores habeatis deos propitios, qui Victorem Publicum Fabianum a censibus P. R. non praeteritis. Salvi eati, salvi redeatis. Et vos qui me coronatis vel flores jactatis, multis annis faciatis'. Other examples in Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 180.
- 310, 30. trees. Goethe, *Werke* (1840), 23, 43.
- 310, 33. posterity. So also Diderot: Rosenkranz, *Diderot*, p. 292.
- 310, 34. Epicurus. Zeller, *iii*<sup>2</sup>, 1, 354, 3.
- 311, 5. blessed. Jahn, *on Pers.*, 3, 105.
- 311, 7. life. *E.g.* Orelli, 1197.
- 311, 14. evil. Plato, *Apol.*, 40 C.
- 311, 33. immortality. Lactant., *Div. Inst.*, iii, 12; cf. vii, 8.
- 311, 39. sorrow. Augustine, *C. D.*, xix, 4, 1 and 20.
- 312, 17. good. Lehrs, *op. cit.*, p. 43 f.
- 312, 23. life. Herodot., i, 31.
- 312, 25. divinities. Cic., *Tuscul. disp.*, i, 47, 113. Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apoll.*, 14.
- 312, 27. Theognis. Theogn., 425 sqq. (cf. 1069).
- 312, 30. birth. Lobeck., *Aglaoph.*, p. 802 sqq. Nägelsbach, *Nachhomer. Theol.*, p. 228; cf. 373 and *Stobaei Florileg.* (P K), ed. Meinecke, iv, 102. Cf. also Bursian, *Über den religiösen Charakter des griech. Mythos* (1875), p. 20, 16.
- 312, 37. as. Read 'than'. Plato, *Apolog.*, 32.
- 312, 39. resignation. Horkel, *Die Lebensweisheit des Komikers Menander*, pp. 23 and 29 (Menander, *Hypobol.*, 2). *CIL*, vi, 3, 19,716 = Orelli, 4797: Quem di amaverunt, haec moritur.
- 312, 41. life. "Ἀρ' ἐστὶ συγγενὲς τὴ λύπη καὶ βίος; Menander, *Citharistria*, 1.
- 313, 13. die. Cic., *Hortens.*, fr., 55, ed. Klotz (90 Orelli<sup>2</sup>, 88, Baiter).
- 313, 14. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, vii, 130, 176 sq. See vol. iii, p. 282 f.
- 313, 41. bore it. M. Antonin., *Comm.*, v, 33, 23; iv, 49; iv, 3; ii, 17; iii, 5, 16; iv, 48.

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